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CONTENTS of No. XVII.

XII.

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EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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Nº XVII.

ART. I. *A Voyage to Cochinchina, in the Years* 1792 *and* 1793. *containing a General View of the Valuable Productions and the Political Importance of this flourishing Kingdom; and also of such European Settlements as were visited on the Voyage: with Sketches of the Manners, Character, and Condition of their several Inhabitants. To which is annexed, an Account of a Journey, made in the Years* 1801 *and* 1802, *to the Residence of the Chief of the Booshuana Nation, being the remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated. The Facts and Descriptions taken from a Manuscript Journal. With a Chart of the Route.* By John Barrow, Esq. F. R. S. Author of "Travels in Southern Africa," and "Travels in China." Illustrated and embellished with several Engravings by Medland, coloured after the original Drawings by Mr Alexander and Mr Daniell. 4to. pp. 448. London. Cadell & Davies. 1806.

WE have come to the dregs of Mr Barrow now. He must travel again before we allow him to publish any more travels. This is another volume made out of the Chinese embassy; and although it be not without its merit, it is indisputably the least valuable, as well as the most expensive, of all his publications. There are strong symptoms of book-making, indeed, in the form and decorations of the volume, as well as in its substance and contents. The account of Cochinchina is certainly curious; but it does not occupy one sixth part of the quarto; and the rest is filled with an account of the Bay of Biscay, Madeira, Teneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, Batavia, and such other places as are usually touched at in the outward bound voyage to China. Mr Barrow stopped but a few days at most of these places; and as he professes

fesses to have none of the qualifications of a naturalist, and enjoyed no uncommon opportunities of observation, it may easily be understood that the greater part of his remarks upon them are such as might be collected from the journal of any of the voyagers that yearly perform the same journey by the same stages. Besides a great deal of common-place description, the narrative is eked out by idle anecdotes of the personal adventures of the author and his companions,—of their being caught in a shower in attempting to climb the peak of Teneriffe,—their being obliged to carry an old sail with them for want of a tent, —and some of them being mounted on asses when there were not mules enough to accommodate the whole party. It was natural enough for Mr Barrow to divert the *ennui* of a long voyage, by inscribing these events in his journal; and his immediate friends perhaps might have read them with some interest, if he had narrated them in affectionate epistles; but we scarcely think his first-cousins would now care to peruse them, thirteen years after he was restored to them in safety; and can venture to affirm, that they will appear very childish and uninteresting to all those who have paid three guineas and a half for the pleasure of perusing them. There is still worse taste displayed in some of the moral declamations with which the narrative is incumbered, and in the silly rancour with which the author is pleased, in 1806, to attack the levelling principles of the French republicans.

After all, however, Mr Barrow is not an ordinary traveller; there is a vein of strong sense and vigilant observation about him, which rarely disappoints or misleads his reader; he fixes, for the most part, with much sagacity upon the interesting and important parts of his subject; and being perfectly free from enthusiasm, and tolerably free from theory or prejudice, he usually gives a more candid and judicious account of what he sees, than most men are able to do who think it worth while to give their account to the public. We shall run shortly over the contents of his volume, and try what we can glean for the amusement or instruction of our readers.

Mr Barrow left England in September 1792; and when he gets to the Straits of Gibraltar, does not fail to speculate upon the remarkable fact of the constant current which sets through it from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and which is said to be counterbalanced by an under-current which sets as constantly in an opposite direction. He recites, upon this occasion, an experiment communicated to him by Admiral Patton, which deserves, we think, to be extracted.

'The Admiral took up a small flask of salt water in the Atlantic Ocean, near Cape St Vincent, which weighed 22 oz. 5 drs. The same quantity,

quantity, in bulk, of salt water taken up by him in the Mediterranean near Minorca, was found to be 13 grains heavier. Two decanters were afterwards filled, one with fresh, the other with salt water, their specific gravities differing in the above proportion, and the fresh water tinged with red colouring matter. The decanters being placed horizontally, and their necks closely luted, a gradual interchange of their contents was observed to take place; the fresh and coloured water making its way through the upper, and the salt water in a contrary direction through the lower, part of the necks; being a just representation of the upper and under currents, which are supposed to flow in contrary directions through the Strait of Gibraltar.' p. 3.

When he approaches to Madeira, Mr Barrow is enchanted with the picturesque appearance of its woods and mountains, and the beautiful aspect of the white buildings of Funchal. On landing, however, he finds the streets dirty, and the roads bad; upon which he makes the following original and striking reflection: 'How deceitful are oftimes the fairest appearances; and how frequently is the beauty of objects, when viewed from a distance, converted into real deformity on a nearer approach!'

In this island, he assures us, that though there are several nunneries, 'not a single instance of the veil being taken has occurred for many years past.' He speaks rather unfavourably of the salubrity of the island; at least he affirms that the inhabitants have in general a meagre, sallow and sickly appearance, and that he could not hear of any instance of remarkable longevity. The monks, who swarm in every part of the settlement, he represents as very ignorant, immoral, and impertinent. The staple of the place is its wine; of which there is never more than 15,000 pipes exported in a year; and of this no more than 4500 come to England, while India takes at least 5500. Its peculiar excellence, he conceives, is owing to the incredible pains that are taken to select only the perfectly fresh and ripe grapes before putting them in the wine-press. There are no venomous creatures on the island, and 'few insects of any kind, to annoy the stranger, as usually happens (he is pleased to express himself) in *warm-weather countries*.'

The next place is Teneriffe; and Mr Barrow appears to be a little better pleased with it than with Madeira. The town is better built, and the people more vigorous and healthy; and though he got wet in trying to scale the peak, he passed over a fine picturesque country, and was hospitably entertained by some British merchants at Oratava. The clergy, however, are the predominant cast in Teneriffe, and maintain their supremacy by the terrors of the Holy Inquisition. It is to this institution that Mr Barrow ascribes the solitary, indolent, and secluded lives of the Spanish

nish colonists. The clergy exact the tenth of the whole produce of the land, besides innumerable alms and extraordinary contributions; and the situation both of sovereign and subject must be allowed to be sufficiently miserable, if we may rely on the fidelity of the following picture.

'All exports and imports are also taxed for the benefit of the Crown; and the luxuries of snuff and tobacco are royal monopolies prohibited, on very heavy penalties, from being imported by individuals or cultivated on the island. A little weed that grows on the rocks, the *Lichen Rochella*, usually called Orchella, used as a purple dye for silks, is also a royal monopoly. As an extraordinary indulgence on the part of the Crown, the small quantity of silk produced in Teneriffe is allowed to be manufactured into gloves and stockings; and the growth of the sugar-cane is not absolutely prohibited, because the cultivation of this article is not attended with any profit to the planter; but the culture and the manufacture of all such articles, as the mother-country or her more favoured colonies can supply, are directly prohibited on this island. Yet with all these restrictions, the whole amount of the taxes, imposts and vexatious monopolies on the Seven Islands, is scarcely equal, after the expenses are deducted, to the annual profits of a London brewer.' p. 52.

The landing at Laguna, which is the capital of the island, is extremely difficult, and the bay particularly hazardous for shipping. The defensive works in that quarter are also very respectable; and therefore Mr Barrow suggests, that if it should ever again be thought expedient to attack the island, the debarkation should be made at the opposite port of Oratava, which is very weakly fortified, and from which it would be easy to advance over an open country to Laguna, which is quite unprotected towards the land. He gives a short and unsatisfactory account of the Guanches, or original natives, who are now almost completely extirpated; and calculates the whole population of the island at about one hundred thousand.

The next chapter conducts us to the island of St Jago; but we are detained for twenty or thirty pages by the way, with an account of Mr Barrow's contrivances for passing the time in the languid intervals of a prosperous navigation—of his fishing of dolphins and sharks—his speculations on swordfish and flying fish—and his philosophical experiment of sinking an empty bottle, close corked, till the pressure of the water forces the cork into the inside. At last he arrives at St Jago, and finds the people beggarly, sickly, and enervated. There had been drought and famine, indeed, for three years before; but the race, which is debased by a plentiful mixture of negro blood, seems degenerate and wretched. The soil, in favourable seasons, is represented as unusually fertile: but industry and the arts are almost unknown in the Cape de Verd

Islands;

Iſlands; and they might be occupied at any time, according to Mr Barrow's account of them, by a handful of men acquainted with the landing places.

From theſe miſerable ſpots, Mr Barrow proceeded through what the Portugueze have termed 'the Graſſy Sea,' a vaſt expanſe of water, covered quite over with a thick and floating vegetation, to the celebrated harbour of Rio de Janeiro, on the coaſt of the Braſils. As he appears to have exhauſted his whole powers of writing in the elaborate deſcription which he has given of this region, it is but fair to extract the whole paſſage.

'The firſt remarkable object that catches the attention, after paſſing Cape Frio, is a gap or rent in the verdant ridge of mountains, which ſkirts the ſea-coaſt. This chaſm appears, from a diſtance, like a narrow portal between two cheeks of ſolid ſtone, which being perfectly naked are the more remarkable, as every other prominent part of the ridge of mountains is clothed with luxuriant vegetation. On approaching this chaſm, which is in fact the entrance into the grand harbour of Rio de Janeiro, the cheek on the left or weſtern ſide is diſcovered to be a ſingle ſolid ſtone of a conical ſhape, or, in nautical language, a ſugar-loaf, entirely detached, not quite perpendicular, but leaning a little towards the entrance. We took an opportunity, during our ſtay at Rio, of aſcertaining its height, by means of a line meaſured on a little ſandy beach which ſkirts its baſe on the ſide next to the harbour, and the angles which it extended from the extremities of this line. From the reſult of our operations it appeared that this ſolid maſs of hard ſparkling granite is 680 feet high above the ſurface out of which it riſes. The eaſtern or oppoſite cheek of the chaſm is a naked mountain, compoſed of the ſame material, but with this difference in point of form, that it has an eaſy and regular ſlope from the water's edge to the ſummit, which is about the ſame height as that of the cone. The whole of this ſide is occupied by forts, lines, and batteries, for an account of which I muſt refer the reader to the two plates in the following chapter.

'A little iſland ſtrongly fortified, juſt within the entrance, contracts the paſſage to the width of about three fourths of a mile. Having cleared this channel, one of the moſt magnificent ſcenes in nature burſts upon the enraptured eye. Let any one imagine to himſelf an immenſe ſheet of water running back into the heart of a beautiful country, to the diſtance of about thirty miles, where it is bounded by a ſkreen of lofty mountains, always majeſtic, whether their rugged and ſhapeleſs ſummits are tinged with azure and purple, or buried in the clouds— Let him imagine this ſheet of water gradually to expand, from the narrow portal through which it communicates with the ſea, to the width of twelve or fourteen miles, to be every where ſtudded with innumerable little iſlands, ſcattered over its ſurface in every diverſity of ſhape, and exhibiting every variety of tint that an exuberant and inceſſant vegetation is capable of affording—Let him conceive the ſhores of theſe iſlands to be ſo fringed with fragrant and beautiful ſhrubs, not planted by man,

but scattered by the easy and liberal hand of nature, as completely to be concealed in their verdant covering—Let him figure to himself this beautiful sheet of water, with its numerous islands, to be encompassed on every side by hills of a moderate height, rising in gradual succession above each other, all profusely clad in lively green, and crowned with groupes of the noblest trees, while their shores are indented with numberless inlets, shooting their arms across the most delightful vallies, to meet the murmuring rills, and bear their waters into the vast and common reservoir of all—In short, let him imagine to himself a succession of Mount Edgecombes to be continued along the shores of a magnificent lake, not less in circuit than a hundred miles; and having placed these in a climate where spring for ever resides, in all the glow of youthful vigour, he will still possess only a very imperfect idea of the magnificent scenery displayed within the capacious harbour of Rio de Janeiro; which as an harbour, whether it be considered in the light of affording security and convenience for shipping, for its locality of position, or fertility of the adjacent country, may justly be ranked among the first of naval stations.' p. 74—6.

The town of St Sebastian contains near 60,000 inhabitants; and the fortifications, quays, and public buildings, are magnificently built of beautiful granite: there are public walks, fountains, and aqueducts; and shops richly stored with all European productions, and, among others, with great variety of English quack medicines, and English caricature prints. Such is the jealous policy of the government, however, that no stranger is allowed to remain ashore after sunset, or to walk through the day without a soldier at his heels. The manners of the people are said to be extremely dissolute; but Mr Barrow, with a chivalrous zeal for the fame of the ladies, endeavours to defend them from this imputation, and to prove that their custom of tossing flowers to strangers in the streets, which has usually been considered as a sort of invitation to gallantry, is really a mere childish and innocent practice retained from the habits of the boarding school. The colonists live a gloomy and sequestered life; dividing their hours between sleep and superstition, and meeting in society only to show their ceremony, their jealousy, and distrust of one another.

The Brasils were first colonized under the pretence of a zeal for converting the natives to Christianity; but their apostles began by reducing the greater part of them to servitude; and though some little indulgence was afterwards procured for them by the policy of the Jesuits, the same inhuman system was adopted, with regard to them, that effected, in so short a period, the total extirpation of the native inhabitants of Cuba and St Domingo. The Brasilians are now so reduced in number, that it is with great difficulty, that twelve can be procured to row the government barge, on occasions

occasions of great solemnity. They have been succeeded in their slavery and wretchedness by negro slaves, as in the islands; and, notwithstanding the superior humanity with which they are said to be treated, Mr Barrow assures us, that it requires an annual importation of not less than 20,000 to keep up their numbers. He has introduced, upon this occasion, some remarks upon the slave trade, and negro slavery in general, which are not the less creditable to his heart and understanding, for being somewhat out of place. It is pleasing to observe the unanimity of the verdict which seems to be returned upon this interesting question. Mr Barrow is, of all modern travellers, perhaps, the least tinctured with false sentiment or idle superstition: nobody will accuse him of the cant of affected philanthropy, or foolish and unworldly enthusiasm; and yet he joins his voice to that of the enlightened abolitionists, with as much zeal and steadiness, as any of those by whom the cause was originally brought forward.

The soil and climate of Rio de Janeiro are admirably adapted for the production of almost every sort of vegetable; but the place is not by any means healthy, and is infested, even beyond the common lot of tropical countries, by innumerable swarms of insects. It is owing to the continual teazing of the musquitoes, Mr Barrow is persuaded, that America has hitherto produced so few works of genius. It is inconceivable to him, he says, how any man can think to the purpose, with such an odious creature eternally humming in his ears!

The government is as bad as possible; and the system of taxation very ingeniously contrived to impoverish and distress the people, without putting any thing into the pocket of the sovereign. The crown gains something less than 15,000l. a year by the monopoly of salt; in consequence of which, the fisheries are entirely destroyed, thousands of cattle are suffered to perish, and multitudes slaughtered for the sake of the hide only. The salt necessary to preserve a carcase, costs about three times as much as the whole animal. The government, indeed, seems to make the depression of this colony, one of the primary objects of its interference with it.

'It no sooner discovered,' Mr Barrow assures us, 'that sugars could be raised in any quantity, and afforded in the markets of Europe at reasonable prices, than it thought proper to impose on them an export duty of 20 *per cent.*, which operated as an immediate check on the growth of this article. When the cultivation of the indigo plant had been considerably extended, and the preparation sufficiently understood, so as to enable the colonists to meet their competitors in the markets of Europe, this article was assumed as a royal monopoly.' p. 122. 123.

Such a system of government is only intelligible, upon the sup-

position that the colonists would be tempted by a feeling of prosperity to throw off the heavy yoke of their rulers, and assert their independence; and this, Mr Barrow assures us, is very likely to happen at all events. He speaks of them as extremely dissatisfied with the government, and speaking freely of the advantages to be derived from separating from it; at the same time, he adds, that he conceives that one of their own countrymen from Europe, would be more acceptable as a chief, than either a stranger or a colonist; the people, in general, being strongly attached to their language, religion, and the name of their country. 'If the court of Portugal,' he adds, 'had sufficient energy to transplant itself to the Brasils, a mighty and brilliant empire might speedily be erected in South America, to counterpoise the growing power of the United States in the North:' and he proceeds to calculate the effects which this change would produce on the commercial interests of Great Britain.

We have heard of this scheme before; and we know that it has been sanctioned by the approbation of some very distinguished characters; but to us, we will confess, it has always appeared a very desperate and quixotic project. What the Court of Portugal is, is but too well known to all Europe: but if it possessed all the energy and liberality of the most vigorous and enlightened government that ever existed, we do not see how its transportation to the Brasils could enable it to create a mighty and brilliant empire. Who are to be the subjects of this mighty empire? The native Brasilians are almost entirely extirpated in the neighbourhood of the settlements, and detest the name and the sight of a Portuguese; all the American tribes, besides, are in a state of unreclaimed barbarism, and have hitherto shewn such an incapacity and indisposition for any of the higher attainments of civilized life, that another generation, at least, must be allowed to pass away, before it can be rational to talk of erecting a brilliant empire of such materials. The colonists themselves, consist of a few thousand superstitious and enervated traders; and it cannot be supposed that very many thousands would follow the fortunes of their sovereign from the mother country. If we were to admit, therefore, that the Portuguese would not be characterized in this settlement, by the same indolence and impolicy which has always distinguished them in their colonies, it might reasonably be asked, within what period this little germ of empire could be expected to expand into opulence or greatness? Population is not apt to increase with extraordinary rapidity among convents and nunneries; nor would the establishment of the Holy Inquisition, and a rigorous system of commercial regulations, be very likely to attract foreign settlers. If it be supposed that all these are to be abolished, and that the government is hereafter to conduct

conduct itself with consummate vigour and sagacity, then there can be no need for their emigration to Brasil. That colony will be administered of course, in the way best calculated for its improvement; and the regenerated Court will have two millions of Europeans to employ in subserviency to its views, instead of one hundred thousand.

From Rio de Janeiro, Mr Barrow proceeded, by the uninhabited island of Tristan de Cunha and Amsterdam, to the Straits of Java. The three Islands of Tristan de Cunha appear to be evidently of volcanic origin; and the largest is probably the greatest mass that has unequivocally been elevated from the depths of the sea, by the agency of subterraneous fire. It is upwards of twelve miles in circuit; the whole coast, except in one small spot, is as perpendicular as a wall; and rises, from the edge of the water, to the astonishing height of at least one thousand feet: from the top of this cliff, the land slopes gradually up to a high conical mountain in the centre of the island, the lofty crater of this creative volcano. If these appearances could leave any doubt as to the origin of Tristan de Cunha, the flames which still burn in the Island of Amsterdam, bear undoubted testimony to its genealogy. This island, which, with its smaller companion of St Paul, stands in the midst of the solitary ocean, at the distance of more than 2000 miles from any land, is about twelve miles in circumference, and surrounded, like that which we have just described, with a lofty wall of lava, bearing, in many places, the most evident marks of igneous fusion; many of the fissures are filled with volcanic glass, and the whole shore is scattered over with pumice-stone and obsidian: zeolite was also found in some of the clefts on the surface; but Mr Barrow could discover no specimen of this substance imbedded in the solid lava. The only accessible part of the island, is where the sea has broken into a huge extinguished crater on the east side, which it has converted into an elliptical pool, of about 3000 feet in the largest diameter. Every part of the island abounds with hot springs, from the temperature of boiling water, to that of 62° of Fahrenheit. The shore swarms with porpoises, whales, sharks, and cray-fish; the rocks are darkened with immense flights of sea birds; and the surface of the island itself is covered with a plentiful vegetation, chiefly of mosses, reeds, and a few grasses. The naturalist of the expedition collected upwards of fifteen genera, all known to be produced also in Europe. Mr Barrow very naturally wonders how they got there. There is no shrub, or frutescent plant, on the whole island; though the neighbouring land of St Paul, is quite covered over with a thick copse-wood: it is probably of a more ancient formation; though its igneous origin is attested as clearly, by the pumice

pumice and obsidian with which its shores are covered. In this melancholy spot, Mr Barrow found five human creatures, three French and two Englishmen. They had been left there five months before, to provide a cargo of seal-skins, for which their vessel was to return a year after. They had lived upon sea-birds and their eggs, with scarcely any sort of vegetable food, but had enjoyed uninterrupted health, and had met with great success in their hunting. Mr Barrow afterwards heard that the ship of these poor adventurers had been captured, and that they were taken up, at the end of two years, by an American cruiser, who landed them at New Holland, and ran away with the whole of their seal skins.

From these islands the vessels had a prosperous voyage to the Straits of Sunda. Mr Barrow recommends it to all vessels to stop for refreshment at Anjerie Point, on the Java shore, rather than on the Sumatra side, near North Island, which has hitherto been much more frequented. The supply of stores is infinitely superior it seems at the former—and the station is peculiarly healthy, while the extreme insalubrity of the Sumatra coast infinitely overbalances any advantage it may possess in being less liable to calms. The whole surface of the sea, from this place to Batavia, an extent of ninety miles, is broken by innumerable low islands of coral rock, the greater part covered with wood, and all clothed with the most beautiful verdure. Throughout the whole Pacific Ocean, indeed, the greater part of the islands, and the reefs by which the shores are surrounded, appear to owe their existence to the labours of this little insect; and it is truly astonishing to reflect upon the immense fabrics that are reared in the midst of the fathomless ocean by a creature so weak and diminutive. The coast of New Holland is girt round on the eastern part with reefs and islands of coral, rising like a wall from the depths of a sea, in which no bottom could be found with a line of 150 fathoms. In the West Indies, and, indeed, all over the Atlantic, though large masses and fragments of the coralline are frequently to be met with, it is remarkable that no island or reef of this substance has yet been discovered. Coral islands, it deserves also to be remarked, are usually covered with a luxuriant vegetation as soon as they emerge from the surface, whereas those which owe their origin to subterraneous fire, are probably some centuries before they acquire any clothing of verdure.

Mr Barrow is very long on Batavia; though we are not aware that he has added any thing very important to the common accounts. The population of the city and adjacent villages he reckons at 116,000, of which the Europeans and their families amount to about 8000, the slaves to 17,000, and the rest is made up of free

Javanese

Javanese or Malays, and 22,000 Chinese. The climate is dreadfully unhealthy, and the mortality among the new settlers tremendous. No less than three out of five die the first year; and, by the registers of the military hospital, it would appear, that the whole garrison had been regularly killed off in this manner within the twelve months. The establishment, Mr Barrow assures us, was never above 1500, and sometimes not half so many, and yet, for 62 years, the annual deaths amounted to 1258. Of the seasoned Europeans about twelve in a hundred die yearly, and scarcely any survive the middle period of life. Of the natives, the mortality is not quite three in the hundred. This terrible mortality Mr Barrow imputes, not so much to the nature of the climate, as to the unhealthy situation of the city, and the Dutch taste for canals and gluttony. Mr Barrow concludes this chapter with some account of the fruits and plants of the island; a case of hydrophobia, produced by the bite of a man in a passion; and a description of certain huge spiders, which make webs strong enough to catch birds, and have such large and sharp claws, that they are mounted in silver, and used for toothpicks.

The crowded streets of Batavia exhibit a greater mixture of races than is probably to be found in any other city in the world. The Dutchman, indeed, seldom condescends to walk, and always appears in a full dress suit of velvet, with a long retinue of slaves.

'But the Armenians, the Perſians, and the Arabs, always grave and intent on buſineſs; the half-caſt merchants from the different ports of Hindoſtan; and, above all, the Chineſe, ſome in long ſatin gowns and plaited tails reaching almoſt to their heels, and others crying their wares to ſell, or ſeeking employment in their ſeveral profeſſions, dreſſed in large umbrella hats, ſhort jackets, and long wide trowſers; the Javaneſe loitering careleſsly along, as if indifferent to every thing around them; the free Malays, with half-averted eye, looking with ſuſpicion on all who come acroſs them; and ſlaves, from every nation and country of the Eaſt, condemned to trudge in the ſame path with the carriages: —all theſe, in the early and later parts of the day, may be ſeen buſtling in crowds in the ſtreets of Batavia.' p. 203.

The following is Mr Barrow's picture of the Dutch colonist.

'The Dutchman, whoſe predominant vice in Europe is avarice, riſing into affluence in an unhealthy foreign ſettlement, almoſt invariably changes this part of his character, and, with a thorough contempt of the frugal maxim of *Moliere's L'Avare*, lives to eat rather than eats to live. His motto is, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." He obſerves, it is true, the old maxim of riſing at an early hour in the morning, not however for the ſake of enjoying the cool breeze, and of taking moderate exerciſe, but rather to begin the day's career of eating and drinking. His firſt eſſay is uſually a *ſopie* or glaſs of gin, to which ſucceed

succeed a cup of coffee and a pipe. His stomach thus fortified, he lounges about the great hall of the house, or the viranda if in the country, with a loose night-gown carelessly thrown over his shoulders, a night-cap and slippers, till about eight o'clock, which is the usual hour of breakfast. This is generally a solid meal of dried meat, fish, and poultry, made into curries, eggs, rice, strong beer, and spirits. *Currie* and rice is a standing dish at all meals and at all seasons of the year, being considered as an excellent stimulus to the stomach. The business of the day occupies little more than a couple of hours, from ten to twelve, when he again sits down to dinner, a meal that is somewhat more solid than the breakfast. From table he retires to sleep, and remains invisible till about five in the evening, when he rises and prepares for taking a ride or a walk, from which he uniformly returns to a smoking hot supper.' p. 211–12.

With regard to the native Javanese, their princes are prisoners to the Dutch, and the landholders slaves to the princes. They are mere savages;—the princes eating as much opium, and marrying as many wives as they think proper,—and the peasantry starving upon rice and cocoa nuts. They believe in the transmigration of souls, and seem to have derived their religious system from that of the Hindoos.

The Malays Mr Barrow conceives to be indubitably of Tartar origin;—they occupy the sea coast of most of the great islands in the Eastern Ocean, while a race, evidently descended from the Hindoos, continues to possess the central region. The Malay character is made up of savage vices—treachery, cruelty, caprice, love of intoxication, and gambling. Cock-fighting is their favourite sport; and for the honour of the Bantam breed, we think it but justice to state, that, so far from resembling the diminutive creatures that usurp that name in England, they are almost as large as a Norfolk bustard, and are often tall enough to peck off a common dining-table. The slaves are kept chiefly for state, or for domestic purposes; and are, on the whole, very mildly treated: yet it requires an importation of a thousand every year to keep up their numbers. They are mostly Malays,—some Malabars, and some negroes from Madagascar and the Mosambique.

From Batavia the ship proceeded, with the loss of fifty men, to the Bay of Turon, on the coast of Cochinchina. On their arrival, they were at first dispirited by an exaggerated report of the whole country being in a state of tumult, and of the difficulty and danger of attempting any intercourse with the inhabitants. After a few trials, however, they found means to obtain the necessary supplies in great abundance, and established such a communication with the natives, as enabled Mr Barrow to obtain tolerably accurate information as to the late history and present situation

tuation of the country. From the information of a Monſieur Bariſſy, an intelligent French officer, who commanded a frigate in the ſervice of his Cochinchineſe Majeſty, Mr Barrow has been enabled to lay before the public a very curious and intereſting ſketch of the recent revolutions of this neglected country. We muſt refer our readers to Mr Barrow's own narrative for many of the details, which are very characteriſtic and extraordinary; but we cannot reſiſt gratifying them with the following abſtract of the ſtory.

In the year 1774, the peace of the kingdom of Cochinchina was violated by a ſudden and overwhelming inſurrection, headed by three brothers of great wealth and influence. They ſeized the perſon of the ſovereign, whom they put to death, with all of his family who fell into their hands, and eſtabliſhed themſelves, without oppoſition, in full poſſeſſion of the government. The reigning uſurper ſoon took occaſion to quarrel with his neighbour the king of *Tung-quin*, who, being defeated in the firſt engagement, fled to Pekin, and implored the protection of the great Emperor, to whom he had long been tributary. A vaſt army of Chineſe was accordingly marched againſt the uſurper; but, by ſuperior ſkill and activity, he contrived to haraſs and elude them, till he was at laſt enabled to drive them back to the borders of Canton, with the loſs of more than half their numbers. The Mandarin who commanded this baffled army, and trembled for his life if his failure ſhould be known at court, had recourſe to one of thoſe daring impoſitions, which are only credible in extenſive deſpotiſms, and tranſmitted a deſpatch to Pekin, giving an account of a ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſſes; but enlarging, at the ſame time, on the bravery and popularity of the uſurper, and the incapacity of the fugitive monarch, and humbly ſuggeſting that it would be the wiſeſt courſe to invite the former to do homage for the kingdom of *Tung-quin* at Pekin, and to indemnify the abdicated ſovereign with ſome other appointment. The court adopted this counſel; and an invitation, in due form, was ſent to the uſurper to proceed to Pekin. This wary general, however, diſtruſting his Imperial Majeſty, thought it more prudent to employ one of his confidential officers to perſonate him on this occaſion, and to proceed to do homage in his ſtead. This repreſentative of royalty was accordingly received with due honour at the Imperial preſence, and formally inveſted with the ſceptre of *Tung-quin*. On his ſafe return to that kingdom, the uſurper, apprehenſive that the emperor might diſcover the impoſition that had been practiſed upon him, thought it moſt adviſeable to cut off the heads of his repreſentative and all his attendants, as quickly as poſſible, and eſtabliſhed himſelf, without farther oppoſition, on the throne of

Cochinchina and *Tung-quin*, in the end of the year 1779. An enemy was now arraying himſelf againſt him, however, of a more formidable deſcription.

At the time of the rebellion in 1774, there happened to reside, at the court of Cochinchina, a French missionary, of the name of Adran, who was strongly attached to the person and family of the rightful sovereign. By his aid, the queen, and the young prince, with his sister, were secretly withdrawn from the capital, when the king, and the rest of the royal family, fell by the hands of the insurgents, and remained for a considerable period of time concealed in a forest, where they were maintained by the labour and resources of this faithful adherent. When the heat of the pursuit was over, and the usurper had relaxed his vigilance, the enterprizing Adran led the young prince back to his capital, and erected his standard, to which the people flocked in great numbers. By his activity, too, several European vessels, then lying in the port, were purchased, and directed against the fleet of the usurper, to which they did considerable damage; but were speedily obliged to retire; and, that veteran commander returning to the centre of his dominions with a vast army, the prince was compelled once more to abandon the throne of his ancestors, and to take refuge, with about twelve hundred followers, in a small uninhabited island in the Gulph of Siam. From this retreat he was in danger of being expelled, by the restless vengeance of his enemy, when he thought it expedient to seek refuge at the court of Siam, and did good service to that monarch, by leading his armies to victory against the Birmans, with whom he had been long engaged in hostility. He soon lost the favour of this sovereign, however, and was in imminent danger of being sacrificed to the jealousy of his courtiers, when he escaped once more to his solitary island, which he now took care to fortify in such a way as to secure him against any sudden attack.

At this period, his faithful counsellor and assistant Adran conceived the idea of applying, in behalf of this injured sovereign, to Lewis XVI. of France; and accordingly set out on this generous and romantic mission, carrying one of the prince's sons with him, as an hostage and pledge of his veracity. They arrived in Paris in 1787; and that politic court, immediately perceiving the benefit which might be derived from an interference so apparently disinterested, actually concluded a treaty with the exiled king of Cochinchina, of which Mr Barrow has presented his readers with a full copy in this volume. In this curious document, it is stipulated, among other things, that France shall immediately furnish to her ally a fleet of twenty ships of war, with five regiments of French, and two of colonial forces, to be under the absolute

absolute command of the king of Cochinchina; and shall also immediately advance one million of dollars, half in specie, and the other in arms and ammunition. In return, the king of Cochinchina ceded, in perpetuity to France, the bay and peninsula of Turon, with the adjacent islands; stipulated to furnish fourteen ships of the line, with stores and tackling; to admit an establishment of officers of the marine in his dominions; and to allow the French consuls to build any number of vessels in his ports; and, for that purpose, to fell any quantity of timber in his forests. In case the king of France should be at war with any power in India, he is permitted to raise and discipline, in the European manner, fourteen thousand Cochinchinese soldiers; and the king is to provide sixty thousand more, disciplined in the manner of their country.

M. Adran set out triumphantly, with this treaty in his pocket; but, at Pondicherry, he had the misfortune to give offence to the mistress of the governor-general, who stimulated his excellency to thwart and oppose his further proceedings; and occasioned such a delay in equipping the necessary armaments at the Isle of France, that, before they were completed, the revolution broke out in Europe, and the whole scheme was abandoned. The zealous Adran proceeded, notwithstanding, to rejoin his heroic sovereign, whom he found once more in possession of his capital, in 1790, and whom he assisted, in the year following, to reconquer a considerable part of his dominions. In 1793, when Mr Barrow came to Turon, the indefatigable monarch had recovered about a third part of his territories; the other two thirds, including Turon and its dependencies, remaining in possession of the rebels. In the year 1796, it has since been ascertained, he had reconquered about one third more of the country; and in the year 1800, when the last authentic accounts arrived in this country, he was preparing to invade Tung-quin with a formidable armament.

The character of this monarch, who is known by the name of *Caung-shung*, is sufficient of itself to redeem the Aristocracy of Asia from the reproach of indolence or incapacity, and entitles him to be placed upon a level with the most illustrious names in European story. During the short intervals of peace which he has been permitted to enjoy, he has laboured, by the wisest institutions, to promote the peaceful, as well as the warlike, arts among his subjects. He has encouraged agriculture and manufactures of every denomination; he has established public schools in every part of his dominions; has caused a regular survey to be made of the whole sea-coast, and buoys and land-marks to be erected in the dangerous places; he has opened mines, and erected smelting furnaces.

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With a view to the military improvement of his country, he employed the faithful Adran to translate into the Chinese language, a system of European tactics for the regulation of his army; and applied himself to the erection of a marine, with such indefatigable activity, that, in 1800, he had actually a fleet of no less than twelve hundred vessels, several of them of European construction, and the whole trained to manœuvre by signals, according to the most approved methods of modern times. He is anxious to have the assistance of European officers and men of science in the different departments of his government; and has himself no mean knowledge of many of our useful arts, through Adran's translation of several articles in the Encyclopædia. To ship-building, in particular, he has applied himself with such persevering industry, that he is said to have purchased a Portuguese vessel, for the express purpose of taking it in pieces, plank by plank, with his own hands, fitting in a new piece of similar form and dimensions, till the whole had been completely renovated. Our readers may like to peruse Mr Barrow's account of the daily life of this extraordinary personage, who is now in the fiftieth year of his age.

'At six in the morning he rises from his couch, and goes into the cold bath. At seven he has his levee of Mandarins: all the letters are read which have been received in the course of the preceding day, on which his orders are minuted by the respective secretaries. He then proceeds to the naval arsenal, examines the works that have been performed in his absence, rows in his barge round the harbour, inspecting his ships of war. He pays particular attention to the ordnance department; and in the foundry, which is erected within the arsenal, cannon are cast of all dimensions. About twelve or one he takes his breakfast in the dockyard, which consists of a little boiled rice and dried fish. At two he retires to his apartment, and sleeps till five, when he again rises; gives audience to the naval and military officers, the heads of tribunals or public departments; and approves, rejects, or amends, whatever they may have to propose. These affairs of state generally employ his attention till midnight, after which he retires to his private apartments, to make such notes and memorandums as the occurrences of the day may have suggested. He then takes a light supper, passes an hour with his family, and, between two and three in the morning, retires to his bed; taking, in this manner, at two intervals, about six hours of rest in the four-and-twenty.' p. 277-8.

Mr Barrow's account of the Cochinchinese is longer than seems to have been necessary. They formed originally a part of the empire of China, and still use their written character. The spoken language has varied so much, as now to be nearly unintelligible to a Chinese; but in their diet and superstitions, their marriages and funeral ceremonies, their games, music, and entertainments, and

and the greater part of their ordinary life, they exactly resemble the people from whom they have been separated. The chief difference in their character and manners, consists in their habitual gayety and loquacity, and in the liberty which they allow to their women. Their feet are not cramped, nor are they confined to the house; but they do not seem much improved by the indulgence which is shewn them. There is no country in the world where female chastity is so little valued as in the neighbourhood of Turon: husbands and fathers, even of considerable rank, openly bargain with strangers for the use of their wives and daughters. They have no pretensions to beauty, though the cheerfulness of their temper made them appear to advantage, when compared with the dull and morose Chinese. It does not appear that they have adopted from the Chinese the inhuman practice of infanticide.

Though the bay of Turon was at one period the great mart for the commerce of Japan, there are now no towns or considerable villages in its neighbourhood; though there are said to be the vestiges of old walls and fortifications among the present groupes of cottages. The country is extremely productive, and might be made still more so.

Mr Barrow has a kind of patriotic covetousness about him, which, we are afraid, is scarcely reconcileable with the decalogue. He never sees a fine country abroad, but he immediately begins to imagine how comfortable it would be, if it belonged to Great Britain. He is much tempted with the convenient situation of Turon for our China trade; and thinks he may be forgiven for wishing for it, both because it bears some resemblance to the situation of Gibraltar, and because the sovereign at one time thought of giving it up to the French, who are much less deserving. If the Chinese should ever put in execution their often repeated threats of excluding all foreigners from their ports, it would no doubt be of vast importance for us to obtain a settlement at Turon; but Mr Barrow is more rational, we think, when he admits that it is not very probable that the government would ever consent to such a cession, and limits his ambition to the establishment of a commercial intercourse with this neglected country. It abounds with spices, sugar, rice, silk, cotton, and ivory; and, in particular, contains an inexhaustible store of teak, and other woods for ſhipbuilding, of which Mr Barrow alleges that our ſupply in other parts of the Eaſt is both ſcanty and precarious. He admits, indeed, that an attempt made about two years ago by the Eaſt India Company to open up an intercourſe with the country, was completely unſucceſsful; and that their agent found the ſovereign entirely ſurrounded by Frenchmen, and

disposed to treat him and his constituents with very little ceremony. He insinuates, however, that this might be owing in some degree to the envoy's utter ignorance of the language; and asserts positively, that no respect will ever be shown by any Oriental sovereign to the ambassador of a company of merchants. He recommends, therefore, that an embassy should be sent directly from the King of Great Britain; and concludes, that as the Chinese trade, which formerly employed upwards of two hundred vessels, has been wholly suspended since the rebellion, it cannot be difficult for the greatest maritime and commercial power in the world, with proper management, to open up an intercourse so obviously beneficial to both countries. Mr Barrow concludes his book with some observations on the probable extent of the Chinese trade and navigation in antient times, and on the grounds which there are for believing what they themselves give out as to their early knowledge of the compass, in spite of the ignorance of the Arabians, with whom they must have traded by its assistance. Of the journey in Southern Africa, which is appended to this volume, we have already given a full account in the preceding volume.

We have thus endeavoured to lay before our readers a concise, though accurate sketch, of Mr Barrow's latest publication; and we do not think it necessary to detain them with any general remarks. In point of sound sense and sagacity, we are disposed to rank him at least as high as any modern traveller; but he is far from answering our abstract idea of excellence in this department. He has rather shewn us to what objects a traveller should direct his attention, than in what manner they should be treated. His views are often narrow, and oftener unsound; though, in both cases, it is easy to perceive that he is not so much misled by errors in reasoning, as deceived by imperfect information; and that he would have concluded right, if all the premises had been before him. He knows well enough what is valuable, but does not always know what is new. He is *abnormis sapiens*, and allays his sterling sense with a good deal of obstinacy and precipitation. We should have great hopes of him, if he were twenty years younger. As it is, we hope he will live to make more voyages, and write more quartos. A concise and intelligent account of our Indian empire from such a pen as Mr Barrow's, would be of inestimable value.

ART.

Art. II. *Account of a Series of Experiments, shewing the Effects of Compression in modifying the Action of Heat.* By Sir James Hall, Bart. F. R. S. Edinburgh. From the Sixth Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Printed for Caddell & Davies, &c. 1806.

The experiments described in this paper are interesting, not to geology alone, but to chemical science in general. The fact, that the most refractory substances may be rendered fusible by repressing the elasticity of the gaseous parts contained in them, is one which not only throws great light on the operations of the mineral kingdom, but makes an important addition to our knowledge concerning the action of fire, and promises no small increase to the power which man has acquired over that element.

Sir James Hall informs us, that he was induced to enter on this course of experiments by the desire of verifying a principle assumed by Dr Hutton in his theory of the earth. This principle is no other than the proposition just mentioned, in consequence of which, if, while heat was applied to calcareous bodies, they were subjected to such a degree of compression as could force the carbonic acid to remain united to the earth, the calcination, or formation of quicklime, would be prevented; the substance might be melted; and, on cooling, might assume the form of spar.

The first part of this bold conclusion Dr Hutton drew from the experiments of Dr Black, which explained the nature of quicklime, and shewed that it depended on the separation of the gas from the earth;—the second part of it he deduced from analogy, or from this general maxim, that the combination of chemical substances increases their fusibility. Sir James Hall, however, was unwilling to trust merely to analogy, or to any indirect proof, for the truth of a principle on which a great deal depended, while the direct proof by experiment could be resorted to. The possibility of such direct proof might indeed be questioned; and it had appeared to Dr Hutton, that the experiments from which it must be derived were not likely to succeed, the degrees of heat and compression, which nature had employed in her operations, being far beyond the limits within which the power of man is circumscribed. Sir James Hall thought otherwise; and on comparing the experiments which he had formerly made on the fusion of whinstone with certain appearances observed in the mineral kingdom, he saw reason to believe that the heat required to melt the carbonate of lime was not excessive, nor beyond what art can easily produce. It is common to meet, he remarks, with nodules of calcareous spar included in whinstone; and if the Hut-

tonian theory be true, we muſt ſuppoſe that the whin and the ſpar were liquid together, the two fluids keeping ſeparate like oil and water. In ſuch caſes, the termination of the ſpar is generally ſmooth and globular; and this ſeems to prove that, when the whin had become ſolid, the ſpar ſtill remained liquid; for, had the ſpar congealed firſt, from its tendency to ſhoot into cryſtals, it would have darted into the liquid whin in various directions, according to the peculiar forms of its cryſtallization; as has happened to ſome ſubſtances contained in whin, more refractory than itſelf, ſuch as augite, felſpar, &c. When the whin congealed, therefore, the ſpar was yet liquid; but the whin, as appeared from the experiments above referred to, muſt have congealed at a temperature about 28° or 30° of Wedgwood's pyrometer. It ſeemed, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the heat neceſſary to fuſe the carbonate of lime, did not exceed the limits juſt mentioned; and that, if the carbonate could be forced to bear ſuch heat without decompoſition, it would neceſſarily enter into fuſion. Such was Sir James Hall's view of the matter; and the ſequel will ſhew that his conjectures were well-founded. In January 1798, he began a ſeries of experiments, in order to inveſtigate this matter to the bottom, which, for the ſeven years following, he ſeems to have proſecuted, at every interval of leiſure, with equal ingenuity and perſeverance.

The method that presented itself as the most simple and practicable, depended on this general view. If we take a hollow tube of iron, closed at one end and open at the other, it is evident, that by introducing one end into a furnace, we can apply to it as great heat as art can produce, while the other end is kept cool, or even exposed to extreme cold. If, then, the substance which is to be subjected to the combined action of heat and pressure, be introduced into the breech or closed end of the barrel, and if the middle part be filled with some refractory substance, leaving an empty space toward the muzzle, heat may be applied to the muzzle, while the other end is kept cool; and thus may the barrel, by welding, or other means, be sealed hermetically. Things being then reversed, and the other end introduced into the furnace, a heat of any required intensity may be applied to the matter which is the subject of experiment, and which must remain in a state of compression till the elasticity of the included gas is sufficient to tear the barrel asunder.

The first application of this scheme was carried on with a common gun-barrel, into which was introduced the carbonate of lime, previously rammed into a cartridge of paper or pasteboard, in order to protect it from the iron. The rest of the barrel was then rammed full of pounded clay, previously baked in a strong heat;

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after which, the muzzle was closed by a plug of iron welded upon it in a common forge. The breech of the barrel was then introduced into a muffle, heated to about 25° of Wedgwood. Though many of the barrels thus heated yielded to the expansive force, others resisted it, and afforded results that were highly encouraging, and even completely satisfactory, could they have been obtained with certainty from the repetition of the same process. In many of them, chalk or common limestone, previously pulverized, was agglutinated into a stony mass, which required a smart blow of a hammer to break it, and felt under the knife like a common limestone. It dissolved also entirely in the nitric acid, and that with violent effervescence, so as to prove that it retained its carbonic acid.

A circumstance which occurred in one of these experiments deserves to be remarked. From the action of the heat on the paper cartridge above mentioned, the baked clay, with which part of the barrel was filled, was stained black for two thirds of its length. This shews that, though all is tight at the muzzle, a protrusion may take place along the barrel, greatly to the detriment of complete compression; at the same time, it illustrates what has happened sometimes in nature, where the bitumen seems to have been driven, by superior local heat, from one part of a coal stratum, though it has been retained in others, under the same general compression. The bitumen so driven off is found, in other instances, to pervade and tinge beds of slate and sandstone.

In the course of these first experiments, a material improvement of the apparatus occurred, which was, to substitute a fusible metal, composed of certain proportions of bismuth, lead, and tin, instead of the baked clay that had been used to fill the barrel. This metal, which melts in a heat little greater than that of boiling water, was poured into the barrel after the carbonate was deposited in the lower end of it, so as to fill it to the brim. When the metal had become solid, the lower end of the barrel was introduced into the muffle, and the muzzle at the same time kept cool. In this manner, no more of the fusible metal being melted than what lay at the breech, the rest remaining solid, effectually confined the carbonic acid.

It was easy afterwards, when all was cool, to remove the fusible metal by the application of a moderate heat; after which, the carbonate could be taken out of the barrel. This expedient, which gave both facility and accuracy to the process, seems to us well entitled to the praise of ingenuity.

When one sets about a series of experiments with the true temper of philosophic investigation he does not want grounds

of consolation, even in the most unsuccessful of his trials, and has constant occasion to acknowledge the solidity of Bacon's distinction of experiments into luciferous and fructiferous.

An experiment of the former kind was purposely made with the fusible metal, in which a very curious phenomenon presented itself. A gun barrel being filled with that metal, without any carbonate, and the breech being placed in the muffle, Sir James was surprised to see, as the heat approached to redness, that the liquid metal exuded through the iron in innumerable drops all round the barrel. This increased as the heat advanced, till the liquid metal flowed out in continued streams, so that the barrel was quite destroyed. This phenomenon, no doubt, took its rise from the superior expansion of the fluid above the solid metal, in consequence of which the particles of the former were driven through the pores of the latter, in the same way nearly that water was forced through silver in the Florentine experiment. It occurred as the proper remedy, to enclose a small portion of air in the barrel; so that by yielding a little to the expansion of the liquid metal, it might prevent this last from forcing its way through the iron. This contrivance was found to answer the purpose effectually.

To these improvements another was still to be added, for the purpose of preserving the carbonate clean and free from all contamination of the iron. A small tube of glass, or of Reaumur's porcelain, was placed in the barrel, one half of which was filled with pounded carbonate of lime rammed as hard as possible, the other half being filled with pounded silex, or some other very refractory substance, in order to prevent the penetration of the liquid metal into the carbonate.

In some of the results obtained with this apparatus, the pounded carbonate was not merely consolidated into a stony substance, but into one that contained evident marks of crystallization, and therefore of fusion. One of these is particularly described.

'The inner tube, which was of Reaumur's porcelain, contained eighty grains of pounded chalk; the heat employed was 23° of Wedgewood, and the carbonate was found, after the experiment, to have lost 3½ grains. A thin rim, less than the 20th of an inch in thickness, of whitish matter, appeared on the outside of the carbonate, which was itself of a yellowish colour, and had a decided semitransparency, with a saline fracture. On breaking it, a space more than a tenth of an inch square was found to be completely crystallized, and to have acquired the rhomboidal fracture of calcareous spar. It was white and opaque, and presented three sets of parallel plates, which were seen under three different angles.'

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The experiments made in this manner, however, though in many respects very satisfactory, did not yet seem to Sir James Hall to have been carried to their utmost extent. What that extent was, could indeed only be discovered by trial; and, on that account, Sir James very naturally thought of varying the experiment, and employing a different apparatus. In this apparatus, tubes of porcelain were used for confining the carbonate, and the gun barrels were for some time entirely laid aside.

The porcelain tubes employed were about fourteen inches long, half an inch in the bore, with a thickneſs of about two tenths of an inch, and cloſe at one end. They were at firſt procured from ETRURIA in Staffordſhire, but were afterwards made by Sir James himſelf from the porcelain clay of Cornwall. The proceſs followed was, to ram the carbonate of lime into the breech; to fill the tube to within a ſmall diſtance of the mouth with pounded flint, and the remainder with the common borax of the ſhops, reduced to glaſs, and pounded; then to apply heat to the muzzle, ſo as to convert the borax into glaſs; afterwards, to reverſe the operation, and apply the requiſite heat to the carbonate in the other end.

This general plan, however, required many modifications, which were ſuggeſted in the courſe of the experiments; for the account of which, we muſt refer to the paper itſelf, p. 90, &c.

In this manner, experiments were made during 1801 and the two following years, amounting together, with thoſe made with gun barrels, to one hundred and fifty-ſix. Of theſe, Sir James ſays,

'That though many failed wholly or partially, yet many ſucceeded, and gave reſults that tended to eſtabliſh the eſſential points of the inquiry. They fully proved, that, by mechanical preſſure, the carbonate of lime may be made to undergo great heat without calcination, and to retain almoſt the whole of its carbonic acid, which, in an open fire at the ſame temperature, would have been entirely driven off. The effect of the joint action of this heat and preſſure was alſo to agglutinate the carbonate into a firm maſs, poſſeſſing a degree of hardneſs, compactneſs, and ſpecific gravity, nearly approaching to theſe qualities in a ſound limeſtone. Some of the reſults, by their ſaline fracture, ſemitranſparency, and ſuſceptibility of poliſh, deſerve the name of marble.'

The loſs of carbonic acid was material to be aſcertained, and was eſtimated by weighing the carbonate carefully before and after the operation. It was found, that the carbonate, which loſt from 42 to 45.5 *per cent.* of its weight in an open fire, would loſe, in the experiments we are now deſcribing, from 15 or 10, down to 3 or even 2 *per cent.*

When the loſs exceeded 10 or 15 *per cent.*, the ſubſtance produced

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was always of a friable texture, and without any ſtony character; when leſs than 2 or 3 *per cent.*, it poſſeſſed the properties of a natural carbonate. In the intermediate caſes, the reſult was ſometimes excellent at firſt, the ſubſtance appearing ſound, and even, in ſome degree, cryſtallized; but it was unable to reſiſt the action of the air; and, by attracting moiſture or carbonic acid, or both, after ſome time it crumbled into duſt. One ſpecimen of this ſort, formed from pounded ſpar, was ſo complete as to deceive the workman employed to poliſh it, who declared, that if the marble was a little whiter, the quarry from which it was taken would be of great value. In a few weeks, however, this ſpecimen fell into duſt; but many others that were produced at this time, have reſiſted the air, and retain their poliſh as well as any marble.

It remained, however, ſtill a *deſideratum*, to accompliſh the entire fuſion of the carbonate, and to obtain ſpar as the reſult of that fuſion. Some approaches to this had already been made, and gave hopes that ſomething better might ſtill be obtained. It was important for this object, to retain, if poſſible, all the carbonic acid, and to determine what became of that which was loſt in theſe experiments. Had it penetrated the veſſel, and eſcaped entirely; or was it retained within the apparatus in a gaſeous, but highly compreſſed ſtate? In porcelain tubes, this could be determined by weighing the veſſel before and after the heat was applied to it; but, with iron, it was more difficult, on account of its oxidation during the expoſure to heat. The tube (a porcelain tube), therefore, was weighed as ſoon as its muzzle was cloſed, and again, after the breech had been expoſed to the heat, taking care that it ſhould be cooled in both caſes; when this was done, ſome loſs of weight was always diſcovered, which ſhewed that the carbonic acid had, to a certain degree, penetrated the tube and eſcaped. To try whether any part of the acid, ſeparated from the earth, remained in a gaſeous but compreſſed ſtate within the tube, Sir James thought of a very good expedient. He wrapped up the tube, after it was taken out of the fire and cooled, in a ſheet of paper, and placed it, ſo ſurrounded, on the ſcale of the balance. As ſoon as the weight was aſcertained, he broke the tube by a ſmart blow, and replaced the paper containing the fragments on the ſcale. In thoſe experiments where an entire calcination had taken place, the weight was not found to be changed, all the gas having previouſly eſcaped through the tube. But in thoſe where the reſults were good, a loſs of weight was always the conſequence of breaking the tube. From this it follows, that in the porcelain tubes, even when the confinement was moſt perfect, ſome portion of the carbonic acid had made its way through the veſſel, and another had been retained within it, though ſeparate from the earth.

Becauſe

Becauſe this loſs ſeemed unavoidable in tubes of porcelain, and becauſe a greater heat than 27° of Wedgwood could not be applied to them, Sir James prepared to reſume the experiments with the gun-barrels.

This new ſeries of experiments was begun in 1803; and after many changes in the apparatus formerly deſcribed, and many trials of different kinds of iron, a Siberian iron, known to the workmen by the name of the *old ſable*, was found to have the power of confining the carbonic acid, when ſubjected to the action of intenſe heat, much better than any other ſubſtance. Sir James was now able to produce ſpecimens that were cryſtallized, and bore other unequivocal marks of complete fuſion.

Theſe marks of fuſion were viſible, even when, in conſequence of the great heat applied, the barrel had not proved quite ſufficient to reſiſt the expanſive force of the gas. Thus, in one where the pyrometer indicated [illegible]°, the barrel yielded by the longitudinal opening of the fibres (if they may be called ſo) of the iron; ' yet the carbonate appeared evidently to have boiled over the lips of the little tube in which it was encloſed, and to have run down the ſides of it. The ſubſtance in general had a frothy appearance, with large round cavities, and a ſhining ſurface. In other parts it was interſperſed with angular maſſes,' &c. p. 116.

In all the experiments, however, when the temperature was very high, and when no other ſubſtance, but the little portion of atmoſpheric air was uſed, as deſcribed above, to prevent the fuſible metal from making its way through the iron tube, the compreſſion was never very complete, and the loſs of carbonic acid was often conſiderable. Where the heat was more moderate, excellent ſpecimens were often produced. In one inſtance, where the heat did not exceed 25°, the loſs of weight was not 3 *per cent.*, and the upper ſurface of the chalk bore a ſet of white cryſtals, with ſhining facettes, large enough to be diſtinguiſhed by the naked eye, and ſeeming to riſe out of the carbonate.

In ſome caſes, the action of the carbonate on the ſmall porcelain tube was apparent, which action muſt be aſcribed to the preſence of the carbonic acid, as, by former experiments, it had been made evident, that quicklime cannot act on porcelain, even at the temperature of 79°.

In the conduct of these experiments, it had been observed, that when the small portion of air introduced into the apparatus for the purpose of restraining the expansion of the fusible metal, was so placed as to be exposed to great heat, the product obtained was, *cæteris paribus*, more perfect than when the same air was lodged in the part of the tube that was less heated during the operation. It seemed clear, that this could arise from

no cause but the increased elasticity of the air in the former situation. This observation determined Sir James to adopt a measure which had been some time before suggested to him by Dr Kennedy, viz. to employ aqueous vapour in the place of common air, for counteracting the expansion of the fusible metal. This expedient was attended with great success. The loss of weight was reduced to 1.5, 0.47, and even to .074 *per cent.*, amounting, in the last case, to no more than $\frac{1}{1351}$ of the whole. The pounded chalk was brought into the state of a saline marble, accompanied with crystallization and other evident marks of fusion. The heat applied in these instances did not exceed 30°. The weight of the water introduced, was from half a grain to a grain.

In order to remove all idea of any mixture from without having assisted the fusion of the carbonate, several experiments were made with the carbonate first enclosed in small crucibles of platina, and then placed in the barrel, the other circumstances remaining as before. In this way, many excellent products were obtained, and some of them, from carbonate of lime, rendered as pure as could be done by the most skilful chemists.

'Some pure carbonate of lime, prepared by Mr Hatchett, was subjected to trial in a platina crucible. The great purity of this substance rendered it extremely refractory, so that many of the experiments failed. At last, however, results were obtained similar to those already described. In one of these, where a strong heat was used, the mass produced was of a firm texture, had a saline fracture, and was moulded in several places on the little platina crucible. In another trial, when the barrel failed, the carbonate was found, when cold, in a state of froth, which clearly proved, that, when hot, it had been fluid.'

In these last experiments, every possible cause of error appears to be removed, and with them the enumeration terminates.

A matter, which was no doubt of great importance in these experiments, was to have the quantity of the compression compared with some known standard. This accordingly did not escape the attention of Sir James Hall. He contrived that the elasticity of the gas and steam should be constrained, not by the cohesion of the iron barrel, but by the application of a weight, nearly after the manner of the safety-valves in a steam engine. The particular description of this contrivance may be seen p. 140. The results are reduced into a table, p. 184, from which we derive these general conclusions, that a compressing force, equal to the weight of 52 atmospheres, or of 1700 feet of sea, is sufficient for the formation of limestone, if a due degree of heat be applied; that under 86 atmospheres, or about 3000 feet of water, a complete marble may be formed; and, lastly, that with a pressure of 173 atmospheres, or 5700 feet, or little more than a mile of

sea,

sea, the carbonate of lime is made to undergo complete fusion, and to act powerfully on other earths.

These compressions are, comparatively, by no means great. The force of gunpowder, at the least estimate, is equal to the weight of 1000 atmospheres.

If we are to suppose that nature has employed heat in the consolidation of mineral bodies, we must suppose the above to be the *minimum* of compression. The known depth of the sea affords, however, a much greater extent of compressing force; eleven miles, as Sir James Hall observes, being the mean depth of the ocean, according to inferences made by La Place from the phenomena of the tides. To us, it seems probable, that nature must have employed both greater heat and greater pressure than the above: as, with all the precautions employed, even with the best and strongest iron-barrels, the confinement of the carbonic acid was imperfect, in a considerable degree, whenever the heat exceeded 25°. Nature, though so economical in the employment of her resources, would not probably use the *minimum* of force in a case where such frugality must be often accompanied with a total failure in the effect. We must suppose, therefore, in general, that a much more intense heat was employed, and, if so, a much greater compression also. If it were true that the elasticity of gaseous fluids, like the elasticity of aqueous vapour, increases in geometrical, as the temperature increases in arithmetical progression, it might happen that the whole pressure of eleven miles would be necessary, when the heat became as great as 200 of Wedgwood's pyrometer.

In the prosecution of these experiments on calcareous bodies, some facts occurred which turned the attention of Sir James Hall to the consolidation of inflammable substances.

'Obferving,' he fays, 'in many of the laft mentioned clafs of experiments, that the elaftic matters made their efcape between the muzzle of the barrel and the cylinder of lead, I was in the habit, as mentioned above, of placing a piece of leather between the lead and the barrel; in which pofition, the heat to which the leather was expofed, was neceffarily below that of melting lead. In an experiment, made on the 28th November 1803, in order to afcertain the power of the machinery, and the quantity of metal driven out by the expanfion of the liquid, there being nothing in the barrel but metal, I obferved, as foon as the compreffing apparatus was removed, (which on this occafion was done while the lower part of the barrel was at its full heat, and the barrel ftanding brim full of liquid metal), that all the leather which lay on the outfide of the circular muzzle of the barrel, remained, being only a little browned and crumpled by the heat to which it had been expofed. What leather lay within the circle had difappeared; and, on the furface of the liquid metal, which ftood up to the lip

of

of the barrel, I faw large drops of a fhining black liquid, which, on cooling, fixed into a crifp black fubftance, with a fhining fracture, exactly like pitch or pure coal. It burned, though not with flame. While hot, it fmelt decidedly of volatile alkali. The important circumftance here, is the different manner in which the heat had acted on the leather, without and within the rim of the barrel. The only difference confifted in compreffion, to which, therefore, the difference of effect muft be afcribed: by its force, the volatile matter of the leather which efcaped from the outward parts, had, within the rim, been conftrained to remain united to the reft of the compofition, upon which it had acted as a flux, and the whole together had entered into a liquid ftate, in a very low heat. Had the preffure been continued till all was cool, thefe fubftances muft have been retained, producing a real coal.' p. 149-50.

This and other similar observations induced him to make a series of experiments with animal and vegetable substances, and with coal, the result of which was laid before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1804. Of these experiments, he says, in the memoir before us—

'I have made fome experiments with coal, treated in the fame manner as the carbonate of lime: but I have found it much lefs tractable; for the bitumen, when heat is applied to it, tends to efcape by its fimple elafticity, whereas the carbonic acid in marble is in part retained by the chemical force of quicklime. I fucceeded, however, in conftraining the bituminous matter of the coal, to a certain degree, in red heats, fo as to bring the fubftance into a complete fufion, and to retain its faculty of burning with flame. But I could not accomplifh this in heats capable of agglutinating the carbonate; for I have found, where I rammed them fucceffively into the fame tube, and where the veffel has withftood the expanfive force, that the carbonate has been agglutinated into a good limeftone, but that the coal has loft about half its weight, together with its power of giving flame when burnt, remaining in a very compact ftate, with a fhining fracture. Although this experiment has not afforded the defired refult, it anfwers another purpofe admirably well. It is known, that where a bed of coal is croffed by a dyke of whinftone, the coal is found in a peculiar ftate in the immediate neighbourhood of the whin: the fubftance in fuch places being incapable of giving flame, it is diftinguifhed by the name of *blind coal.* Dr Hutton has explained this fact, by fuppofing that the bituminous matter of the coal, has been driven by the local heat of the whin, into places of lefs intenfity, where it would probably be retained by diftillation. Yet the whole muft have been carried on under the action of a preffure capable of conftraining the carbonic acid of the calcareous fpar, which occurs frequently in fuch rocks. In the laft mentioned experiment, we have a perfect reprefentation of the natural fact; fince the coal has loft its petroleum, while the chalk in contact with it has retained its carbonic acid.' p. 151.

In

In some other trials, animal and vegetable substances were subjected to the joint action of heat and compression. These, no doubt, are peculiarly interesting, as tending to explain the way in which a substance passes from the animal, or vegetable, into the mineral kingdom. They appear, however, to be accompanied with considerable difficulty.

'I have made fome experiments of the fame kind with vegetable and animal fubftances. I found their volatility much greater than that of coal, and I was compelled, with them, to work in heats below rednefs; for, even in the loweft red-heat, they were apt to deftroy the apparatus. The animal fubftance I commonly ufed was horn, and the vegetable, faw-duft of fir. The horn was incomparably the moft fufible and volatile of the two. In a very flight heat, it was converted into a yellow red fubftance, like oil, which penetrated the clay tubes through and through. In thefe experiments, I therefore made ufe of tubes of glafs. It was only after a confiderable portion of the fubftance had been feparated from the mafs, that the remainder affumed the clear black peculiar to coal. In this way I obtained coal, both from faw-duft and from horn, which yielded a bright flame in burning.' p. 152.

When we look back on the whole of these experiments, and consider their novelty, their difficulty, and their importance, we cannot but regard the author of them as well entitled to the attention and gratitude of the scientific world. The task he entered on, involving a series of operations, tedious, delicate, and often dangerous, could not be accomplished without the exertion of much labour, patience, and ingenuity. He has had his own instruments to invent, and the use or manipulation of them to acquire. This was so much the case, that the pyrometer constructed several years ago by Wedgwood, was now to be made anew, and the art of constructing it was to be re-invented, before it could be made useful in these experiments. All these circumstances unite to give interest to the memoir before us. Indeed, the progress of philosophical discovery, affords few spectacles more gratifying and instructive, than that of a sagacious and inventive man, pursuing a scientific object through regions hitherto unexplored—watching every indication afforded, either by failure or success—guiding his course by the light which he acquires as he proceeds—and, after repeated corrections, arriving ultimately at the truth.

The application of the general conclusion deduced from these experiments to the purposes of geology, is not difficult to be perceived, and is stated, we think, with great fairness and precision, in the conclusion of this memoir. It is certain that fire exists in the bowels of the earth, and to assume the existence of it, is therefore only to state a fact of which we have the most undeniable evidence. It is true, that volcanic fire has been represented by some as residing near the surface,—

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as merely superficial, and as making no part of what may be called the regular economy of the mineral kingdom. There are, however, many strong reasons for doubting the truth of this hypothesis. The great distance to which the agitation of volcanic eruptions frequently extends, the long continuance of volcanoes in the same place, and the nature of the substances thrown out by them, all combine to prove, that the source of their activity is lodged deep under the surface of the earth.

It is therefore conformable to the fact, to suppose, that fire, or great heat, has acted on mineral bodies in the bowels of the earth. But if it did act on them in that situation, it must have done so with the accompaniment of great compression, arising from the weight of water, or of earth and stone that was superincumbent. In such circumstances, the fire applied to calcareous earth, agreeably to the results of the preceding experiments, instead of calcination, would produce the fusion of the earth, so that, after cooling, a stony substance would be formed, having, according to circumstances, the characters of limestone, marble, or calcareous spar.

In this manner, then, the experiments which we have now described, afford sufficient evidence that the consolidation of limestone or marble *might* be produced by subterraneous fires, and that the theory which assumes this to be true, does not ascribe to the agents which it employs, any power inconsistent with their nature. It assumes nothing that is not perfectly conformable to an established law of the material world; for the knowledge of which we are no longer obliged to have recourse to analogy, or indirect evidence, but can now appeal to the very conclusive and interesting series of experiments which has just been described.

The proposition, then, which we must consider as fully proved by these experiments is, that the calcareous rocks *may* have been consolidated by fire. But that they *have actually been* so consolidated, is a proposition different from the former, and is not deducible with equal certainty. Nature may have more ways than one of effecting the same end; and we cannot, without further investigation, determine which of them she has really followed. It is, however, even supposing the matter to rest here, a great deal, to have shewn that the cause employed is quite adequate to the effect ascribed to it; and we doubt if any other hypothesis, concerning the formation of rocks, possesses the same advantage, except that concerning the formation of whinstone, which, by former experiments, Sir James Hall has so happily illustrated. Indeed, there is but one way in which a geological theory, or any theory, where the causes are beyond the reach of actual observation, can possess more evidence than a *synthetical* argument like the preceding is able to afford. This happens, when the principle of

of the theory being first assumed, in consistency with known facts, is afterwards found to explain, in a simple and satisfactory manner, a very varied and complex sytem of phenomena.

It is not for us, who pretend not to the character of geologists, and only venture to give an opinion here as on a matter of general science, to say whether the theory invented by Dr Hutton, and so ably supported in the paper before us, is in full possession of the advantage just stated. The time perhaps is not yet come when this question can be brought to a complete decision, and when philosophers can determine finally, whether the element of fire or of water is the consolidating power of the mineral kingdom. One thing, however, is evident, that a theory, which, like Dr Hutton's, comes forward, assuming principles that are shewn by experiment to be true, and conformable to nature, is entitled to a fair hearing in all its parts, and is not to be rejected without a very accurate comparison with the phenomena of geology on the one hand, and with the conclusions of different theories on the other. In the mean time, we will hope that the ingenious author, who has bestowed so much time, and exerted so much talent in contriving and executing these valuable experiments, will not suffer himself to be diverted from this course of investigation. He is in possession of an art, acquired by much expense of time, labour, and reflection; an art, of which, though he has carefully explained the principles, no man can learn the practice without much study and long application. With the exclusive possession, as we may say, of this powerful engine, no inducement can be wanting to engage him in the farther application of it to geological or chemical researches. Among these are many similar to that which is here so successfully pursued. What modifications do the effects of heat receive from compression when applied to silicious or argillaceous bodies? Would the fire which, acting on clay in the open air, produces a brick, if it acted on it under pressure, produce an argillaceous schistus, or, with more intensity, would it melt it into a whinstone or a porphery? Above all, the origin of inflammable minerals remains to be investigated; and, though begun by this ingenious experimenter, is far from being thoroughly explored. This last research is highly interesting, as it seems to point to the avenues which lead from the animal or vegetable into the mineral kingdom, and may explain by what means the transition is made from two regions to a third, that to us appears so distant from them both. But we forget that these objects must be much more familiar to the author of these experiments than they can be to us—that he cannot stand in need of our exhortations, and much less of our instructions.

ART.

ART. III. *On Vaccine Inoculation.* By Robert Willan, M. D. F. A. S. 4to. pp. 160. London, 1806.

Commentaries on the Lues Bovilla, or Cow-Pox. By Benjamin Moseley, M. D. Author of a Treatise on Tropical Diseases, &c. and of a Treatise on Lues Bovilla, or Cow-Pox, Physician to the Royal Military College at Chelsea, Member of the College of Physicians of London, &c. &c. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 260. London, 1806.

A Reply to the Antivaccinists. By James Moore, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. 8vo. pp. 70. London, 1806.

Observations on the pernicious Consequences of Cow-Pox Inoculation, containing many well authenticated Cases, proving its insecurity against the Small-Pox. By Robert Squirrel, M. D. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 74. London, 1806.

MEDICAL subjects ought in general, we think, to be left to the Medical Journals; but the question as to the efficacy of vaccination is of such incalculable importance, and of such universal interest, as to excuse a little breach of privilege. We let our lawyers manage actions of debt and of trespass as they think proper, without our interference; but, when the case touches life or reputation, we insist upon being made parties to the consultation, and naturally endeavour at least to understand the grounds of the discussion. The question now before us is nothing less than, whether a discovery has actually been made, by which the lives of *forty thousand* persons may be annually saved in the British islands alone, and double that number protected from lengthened suffering, deformity, mutilation and incurable infirmity. This is not a question, therefore, which is interesting only to the physiologist or the medical practitioner; it concerns nearly every community in the universe, and comes home to the condition of almost every individual of the human race; since it is difficult to conceive, that there should be one being who would not be affected by its decision, either in his own person, or in those of his nearest connexions. To the bulk of mankind, wars and revolutions are things of infinitely less importance; and even to those who busy themselves in the tumult of public affairs, it may be doubted whether any thing can occur that will command so powerful and permanent an interest, since there are few to whom fame or freedom can be so intimately and constantly precious, as personal safety and domestic affection.

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Every body knows, that ever ſince Dr Jenner propoſed the practice of vaccination as a preventive of ſmall-pox, a controverſy has been maintained as to the ſafety and efficacy of that new inoculation. This controverſy has now laſted for upwards of eight years; in the courſe of which it has not only given birth to an infinite number of publications of all deſcriptions, but has been illuſtrated by a vaſt multitude of inſtances and experiments, from which both parties have attempted to draw concluſions in favour of their own opinions. Although the ſubject is not perhaps entirely exhauſted, and the zeal of the diſputants aſſures us that it will not be prematurely abandoned, yet it appears to us, that there is evidence enough already produced to determine the opinion of all impartial judges; and, at all events, we think it right, that the import of that evidence ſhould be fairly laid before the public, in a popular and conciſe form. It is among the firſt duties of thoſe who conduct a work that has obtained an extenſive circulation, to diffuſe the knowledge of every thing that may be [illegible] to mankind, and to conſider the amuſement of [illegible], or the formation of their taſte, as very ſubordinate objects to the communication of uſeful intelligence. We have, therefore, placed at the head of this article, the names of the moſt recent publications on both ſides of the queſtion; and propoſe, after giving a ſhort view of the diſcovery itſelf, and of the evils to which it profeſſed to be a remedy, to lay before our readers the reſult of the reaſonings and inveſtigations that have hitherto been made public with regard to it.

It is fortunately no longer neceſſary to caſt a glance on the ſtate of the original and natural ſmall-pox, before any thing had been deviſed for the mitigation of the horrors with which it was attended. A peſtilence it was, more deſolating and deſtructive than that which now engroſſes the name; and, after repeatedly laying waſte ſome of the faireſt provinces of the old world, proceeded to depopulate extenſive regions in the new. With all the advantages of our long experience, and improved medical ſkill, the natural ſmall-pox is ſtill fatal in the moſt favourable ſituations in Great Britain, to more than one in every ſix who are infected. *

Inoculation was brought into uſe nearly one hundred years ago; and a moſt noble and bleſſed diſcovery it certainly was, as it put it in the power of every one to diminiſh the hazard to which he was formerly ſubjected, in a moſt important degree. Of thoſe who have the diſorder naturally, we have already ſaid, that one is found

* See Dr Sim's evidence before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and the papers delivered in by him.

found to die in six. Of inoculated patients, only one dies in 250. This at least is Dr Willan's calculation; and we are persuaded that it is very near the truth. In London, where it ought to be best ascertained, some eminent practitioners have stated the proportion to be so high as 1 in 100. The zealous antivaccinists have denied it to be greater, under judicious treatment, than 1 in 1000. It cannot be denied, however, that besides this risk to life, the disease, even under this mitigated form, has frequently proved an exciting cause to scrophula, and other dreadful distempers, and has often been attended with blindness and deformity.

In this situation, it was not perhaps to be wondered at, that many individuals hesitated to expose their children spontaneously to a risk of such magnitude, and flattered themselves that, by carefully secluding them from occasions of infection, the danger might be smaller on the whole than that which they would certainly encounter in inoculation. The consequence of these impressions, independent of many superstitious antipathies, was, inevitably, that inoculation could never be *universally* adopted; and the result, however extraordinary it may at first appear, has been clearly proved to have been *an increased mortality* upon the whole, in consequence of its partial adoption.

To explain this, it is only necessary to recollect, that the inoculated small-pox is an *infectious* disease, as well as the natural small-pox; and that those who take it naturally from an inoculated patient, uniformly have it as violently as if they had been infected from a case of spontaneous disease: it is to all intents and purposes the natural small-pox again in them. Now, if it be considered that several hundred thousand persons have been annually inoculated in these kingdoms for the last fifty years, it will be easy to calculate the immense addition that must have been made in that period to the cases of actual disease, and the increase of natural small-pox that may be supposed to have arisen from this constant multiplication of the sources and centres of infection. From a calculation made by Dr Heberden, without any view to this question, it appears, accordingly, that for the last thirty years of last century, there were ninety-five persons died of small-pox in London out of every thousand reported in the bills of mortality; while the average number, before the introduction of inoculation, was only seventy in every thousand. Another calculation, made upon two periods of forty years, before and after inoculation was adopted, makes the proportion only as eighty-nine to seventy-two; but whichever of these we adopt, the increase of the total mortality must appear to be very formidable; more especially if it be considered that these calculations are made for the case of the metropolis, where the risk of infection, even before the use of inoculation, must at all

all times have been greater than in the less crowded districts of the country. In a general view, we may safely set down the additional mortality produced by the partial use of this admirable remedy, at little less than one fourth of the whole. Inoculation, therefore, though in itself a most precious and beneficent invention, has not hitherto been of any essential benefit to the community. Though many individuals have profited by it, it has destroyed more lives, upon the whole, than it has preserved, and has aggravated the sufferings of those who have refused to employ it, in a greater degree, than it has relieved those who have availed themselves of its protection. What sort of an evil the small-pox still is, in spite of the vaunted palliative of inoculation, may be judged of from the fact, that forty thousand persons are supposed to die of it every year in Great Britain, and that it actually kills one out of every ten who enter the bills of mortality.

In such a situation, it will be allowed that there was a sufficient motive to seek for some further improvement in our mode of managing this disease; and that it was natural to prosecute with enthusiasm every suggestion which held out a prospect of finally disarming this cruel depredator on the lives and happiness of the community. This is what Dr Jenner professes to have done by the introduction of the cow-pox. The best and most authentic account of his discovery is to be found in the evidence delivered by him when examined in 1802 before a Committee of the House of Commons. For the sake of such readers as may not have that publication at hand, we shall now give a short abstract of this simple and interesting narrative. The first part may be given in Dr Jenner's own words.

'My inquiry into the nature of the cow-pox commenced upwards of twenty-five years ago. My attention to this singular disease was first excited by observing, that among those whom in the country I was frequently called upon to inoculate, many resisted every effort to give them the small-pox. These patients I found had undergone a disease they called the cow-pox, contracted by milking cows affected with a peculiar eruption on their teats. On inquiry, it appeared that it had been known among the dairies time immemorial, and that a vague opinion prevailed that it was a preventive of the small-pox. This opinion I found was, comparatively, new among them; for all the older farmers declared they had no such idea in their early days: a circumstance that seemed easily to be accounted for, from my knowing that the common people were very rarely inoculated for the small-pox, till that practice was rendered general by the improved method introduced by the Suttons: so that the working people in the dairies were seldom put to the test of the preventive powers of the cow-pox.'

Upon inquiry at the medical practitioners in the country, Dr Jenner then tells us he was at first mortified to find that they all

agreed in holding, that cow-pox was not to be relied on as a certain preventive of small-pox; and their report seemed to be confirmed by the actual occurrence of small-pox in several persons who were said to have had the cow-pox. Dr Jenner, however, was not willing to abandon the pleasing prospect that had opened to him, and resolved to inquire into the matter more carefully than any one seemed previously to have thought of doing. The first discovery he made was, that the cow was subject to a variety of distinct eruptions upon her teats, all of which were capable of producing ulceration on the hands of the milkers, and passed in the dairies by the indiscriminate appellation of cow pox. After a short course of observation, he was easily able to distinguish the true cow-pox from other accidental eruptions, and flattered himself that he had thus discovered the true cause of the apparent uncertainty of a preventive, the powers of which were universally admitted to a certain extent. His hopes, however, were damped a second time, when he found that some persons who had been infected from the genuine cow-pox, had, nevertheless, proved liable to variolous infection, and that one was sometimes effectually protected, when another infected from the same sore, proved liable to after contagion. By diligent and continued observation, however, he was fortunately enabled to explain this anomaly also. He ascertained, by repeated experiments, that when the matter was taken from the ulcer or sore on the cow, after a certain stage of its progress, it produced a sore in the human body of a character altogether different from that which resulted from an earlier infection, and that it was only the disorder communicated in the earlier stages of the case, and before the matter originally secreted had undergone any change or decomposition, that had the power of shielding the patient from the infection of small-pox.

Having brought his observations so far to maturity, it occurred to him to try the experiment of propagating the disease by inoculation, first from the animal, and afterwards from one human creature to another. In the year 1796, he accordingly inoculated a young man from the hand of a milker, who had the distinctive symptoms of the genuine cow-pox, and had the pleasure of finding, that, when inoculated for the small-pox, at the distance of some months, he completely resisted the contagion. The experiment was afterwards enlarged; and, after inoculating some hundred children, and putting them, at different intervals, to the test of a subsequent inoculation for small-pox without effect, he ventured to communicate his discovery to the world in a treatise published in 1798, which was followed up the year after, by a still longer list of experiments and observations. In these works, Dr Jenner suggested, that the disease itself probably was not original in the animal

animal from which it took its name, and that several circumstances led him to believe that it originated from the distemper called the *grease* in the heels of *horses*, and was communicated to the cow by being milked by persons employed in dressing such horses. The cow-pox was uniformly unknown in those dairies where the milking was performed by women; and in all the instances in which Dr Jenner could trace its introduction, he found that the milkers had been recently before in the habit of handling horses affected with the grease. This conjecture, it is said, has since been verified by inoculating the cow from the grease directly, which produced the genuine form of the cow-pox.

The first public opposition that was made to this discovery, was in a publication of Dr Moseley's in 1798. In this work, which was entitled, a Dissertation on Sugar, the Doctor ingeniously contrived to introduce a violent philippic against the new practice of vaccination, in which, as he had no experience or observation to found upon, he contents himself with pouring out an immense quantity of abuse, in a style of which we shall by and by indulge our readers with a specimen, and summing up his argument in the following alarming interrogations. 'Can any person say what may be the consequence of introducing a *bestial* humour into the human frame after a long lapse of years? Who knows, besides, what *ideas* may rise in the course of time from a *brutal* fever having excited its incongruous impressions on the brain? Who knows, also, but that the human *character* may undergo strange mutations from *quadrupedan* sympathy, and that some modern Pasiphae may rival the fables of old?'

This delectable diatribe was republished three times, in different forms, before it attracted any general notice; but the enemies of the practice having been extremely active in spreading alarming reports as to its consequences among the lower people, the following advertisement was published in July 1800.

'Many unfounded reports having been circulated, which have a tendency to prejudice the minds of the Public against the Inoculation of the Cow-Pox, we, the undersigned Physicians and Surgeons, think it our duty to declare our opinion, that *those persons who have had the Cow-Pox are perfectly secure from the infection of the Small Pox.*—We also declare, that *the inoculated Cow-Pox is a much milder and safer disease than the inoculated Small-Pox.*'

This certificate was signed with the respectable names of Drs Baillie, Lettsom, Garthshore, Willan, Lister, Vaughan, and Thornton; and by those of Messrs Cline, Abernethy, Ashley Cooper, Moore, and by five and twenty other physicians and surgeons of the first reputation in the metropolis. Some candid and interesting discussion, as to the symptoms and effects of the

disease, took place about the same time, between Dr Jenner and Drs Woodville and Pearson, under whose superintendance the practice was prosecuted to a great extent. In 1801, Mr Ring published one thousand and forty chaotic pages in defence of the new practice; and in 1802, the subject was submitted to the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons, who, after taking the evidence of Drs Ash, Sir W. Farquhar, Blane, Woodville, Baillie, Pearson, Heberden, and thirty-two other practitioners of the first eminence in London, gave a report decidedly favourable to the new system. Out of the forty persons examined upon this occasion, indeed, there were only three, viz. Dr Moseley, Dr Rowley, and Mr Birch, who expressed any doubts of its efficacy; and at this time, it is remarkable, that neither of these gentlemen went beyond the expression of doubt; all the rest were decided and confident in their testimony; and Dr Woodville stated, in particular, that, in the last six months, he had vaccined, at the Small-Pox Hospital, 7,500 patients, the half of whom had been since inoculated with the small-pox matter, without the smallest effect being produced in any one instance.

This ample and public testimony seemed for a while to set the question at rest; and, except in a few obscure pamphlets, and communications to the medical journals, little was heard in opposition to it, till 1804, when Mr Goldson of Portsmouth published six cases of small-pox occurring after vaccination, accompanied with observations, calculated to shake the confidence which was now very generally placed in the security of the Jennerian inoculation. These were answered by Mr Ring and others, who endeavoured to shew that, in some of his cases, Mr Goldson's patients had not had the genuine cow-pox in the first instance, and that in others, they had not had the genuine small-pox thereafter. This part of the controversy was conducted with temper, and with a reasonable degree of candour. In the end of the same year, however, Dr Moseley published his treatise on the cow-pox, in which the ravings of Bedlam seemed to be blended with the tropes of Billingsgate. Dr Rowley followed on the same side, and in the same temper, with 500 cases of 'the beastly new diseases produced from cow-pox,' and attracted customers, by two coloured engravings at the head of his work, of 'the cow-poxed, ox-faced boy,' and 'the cow-poxed, mangy girl.' The battle now became general. The Reverend Rowland Hill thundered in defence of vaccination—Dr Squirrel leaped from his cage upon the whole herd of vaccinators—Mr Birch insisted upon stating his serious reasons for objecting to cow-pox—Drs Thornton and Lettsom chanted pæans in its praise—Mr Lipscomb strutted forward with a ponderous, wordy dissertation on its failure

ure and mischiefs; and Messrs Ring, Merriman, and Blair, answered every body; and exasperated all their opponents, by their intemperance and personality. Charges of murder and falsehood were interchanged among the disputants, without the smallest ceremony; the medical journals foamed with the violence of their contention; it raged in hospitals and sick-chambers; and polluted, with its malignity, the sanctity of the pulpit, and the harmony of convivial philanthropy.

In the whole course of our censorial labours, we have never had occasion to contemplate a scene so disgusting and humiliating as is presented by the greater part of this controversy; nor do we believe that the virulence of political animosity or personal rivalry or revenge ever gave rise, among the lowest and most prostituted scribblers, to so much coarseness, illiberality, violence, and absurdity, as is here exhibited by gentlemen of sense and education, discussing a point of professional science with a view to the good of mankind. At one time, indeed, we were so overpowered and confounded by the rude clamour and vehement contradictions of the combatants, that we were tempted to abandon the task we had undertaken, and leave it to some more athletic critic to collect the few facts and the little reasoning which could be discerned in this tempest of the medical world. We were encouraged, however, to proceed by the excellent pamphlet of Mr Moore, of which we have prefixed the title to this article; and, after refreshing ourselves with the sober sense and accurate information of Dr Willan, we at last found courage to go through Dr Moseley's commentaries, and the exquisite observations of Dr Squirrel.

Before entering into the particulars of the controversy which has been thus warmly maintained, or endeavouring to lead our readers to form any opinion from the evidence produced in the course of it, we think it proper to make one or two general remarks, on what may be called the external character of the debate, and on the circumstances which may impress us with a favourable or unfavourable opinion of the respective disputants, independent of the intrinsic weight of their proofs and reasonings. There are some cases which cannot be reached by argument or evidence, in which we must trust to the decision of authority; and there are others still more numerous, in which the preponderance of conflicting authorities must be determined by what we can learn of the character and motives of those who bring them forward.

Now, the first circumstance which seems calculated to make an indelible impression upon an ordinary mind, in a question of any difficulty, is where there is a decided majority of competent judges in favour of one side of it. In any disputable point

of law or medicine, most people would be pretty well satisfied with an opinion adhered to by nine tenths of the profession; and, imputing the dissentient of a small minority to caprice or ignorance, would probably never think it worth while to make any further inquiry. Now, the bitterest enemies of vaccination will not deny, that more than nine tenths of the medical world are decidedly and zealously in favour of it; and that all their demonstrations of its dangers and terrors have been insufficient to convert a single one of their brethren from so damnable and dangerous a heresy.

But testimonies, it may be said, should be weighed, and not numbered; and a few judicious voices should outweigh 'a whole theatre' of others. Here, again, we are afraid the vaccinators will have a splendid and indisputable triumph. The only physicians, we think, that have publicly combated the doctrines of Dr Jenner, are Drs Moseley, Rowley, and Squirrel. Now, without intending the least disparagement to those three ingenious gentlemen, we certainly may be permitted to doubt, whether they stand quite so high in the public opinion as some of those to whom they have opposed themselves, or even whether an opinion signed by all three would have so much weight, with competent judges, as the single judgement of Baillie, Heberden, Willan, Farquhar, Pearson, or Vaughan. As for the authority due to Messrs Birch, Rogers, and Lipscomb, we should humbly conceive that it might be fully balanced by that of Cline, Abernethy, Ashley Cooper, and Home. If the mere mention of these names were not sufficient to decide the question of authority, it would be easy for us to match each of the antivaccinists with at least ten London practitioners of higher name than himself, and of learning and opportunities as unquestionably superior. We confine the parallel to London, to give the antivaccinists all the advantage in our power; for, in the country at large, we believe, they have not one respectable practitioner on their side in five hundred. In this great seat and school of medicine, we are assured, they are without a single public adherent. If the question is to be settled by authority, therefore,—by the number or the respectability of those who have taken part in it, the antivaccinists can have no pretension to be listened to. If a clear opinion be given by all the leading counsel at the Bar, and an unanimous judgment be pronounced in conformity to it by the twelve Judges of the land, what should we say of a few Old Bailey pleaders and jobbing attorneys, who should appeal to the public in behalf of an opposite conclusion?

But eminent men may have interests and passions as well as other persons, and these may bias their judgments, or suborn their testimony; and it is right that a popular appeal should be allowed,

ed, to controul or expose those who might otherwise overbear every thing by their combination. This, no doubt, is a very important consideration; and it may help to explain some things that would otherwise appear very unaccountable in this controversy; though, we are afraid, not much to the advantage of the antivaccinists. It is a fact universally admitted, that the small-pox has, for a very long period, been the most lucrative of all diseases to the medical faculty in general, and that, whatever benefit the world at large might derive from its extirpation, the consequences, in a pecuniary point of view, would be extremely unfavourable to them. This has not escaped the sagacity of Dr Willan, when, probably with a view to abate the rancour of the antivaccinists, he recommends that the inoculation and subsequent cure of the patient should always be left to a regular practitioner; and adds, 'that indeed they deserve their reward, since, by adopting and encouraging the new practice, they abandon what has for centuries been the most lucrative part of their profession.' Of the light which this observation throws upon the management of the controversy, and of the influence which it ought to have with us in judging of the argument before us, we think it better to speak in Mr Moore's words, than in our own.

'It must be owned, indeed,' he observes, 'that, on this occasion, there was superadded to the general tendency of doctors to differ, a particular motive, which rarely fails of having that effect upon all mankind. Small-pox was the source of no inconsiderable portion of the income of every medical practitioner; insomuch, that neither physicians nor surgeons would abandon this disease to the management of the other. The physician claimed it as a contagious fever, and therefore a medical case; but as the surgeon was the inoculator, he did not choose to relinquish the profits of the subsequent treatment. While each was eager for the whole, it was hardly to be expected, that a plan to take it from both, would be kindly received by either.

'Jenner's discovery was a touchstone, to detect what proportion of selfishness alloyed the human heart. It was calculated to make known, whether the scenes of misery, which medical men are compelled to witness, blunt their feelings. The result has certainly reflected distinguished honour on the faculty; for the plan to exterminate the small-pox, has been zealously adopted by the medical men of every part of the world which it has reached. There are, however, and I acknowledge it with reluctance, a few practitioners, who must be excluded from participating in the praise thus acquired by the majority.' p. 4. 5.

It appears, then, that the great multitude of learned and judicious men, who have given their sanction to this practice, have done so in direct opposition to their own pecuniary interest, to their known dislike of rashness and innovation, and to that natural jealousy with which they must at first have regarded a disco-

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very so simple and important, in the merit of which they could claim no share. The few who have opposed vaccination, have acted, it must be admitted, exactly as those principles, with which the others had to struggle, would have induced them to act; and, in estimating their comparative authority, it is impossible not to impute something to the operation of such powerful agents. We are unwilling to urge this consideration very far; but it cannot be forgotten, when prejudice and bias are spoken of, that the medical advocates for vaccination give their testimony in opposition to their own interest and vanity, and that its opponents give theirs in conformity to the dictates of those principles.

There is still one general observation to be made on the history and complexion of this debate, which we are afraid will go as far to discredit the arguments of the antivaccinists, as any which have now been suggested. Almost all those who now oppose the practice of vaccination, and insist upon the proofs of its failure and mischievous effects, opposed it with equal vehemence and confidence, before they pretended to have heard of its failure or bad consequences at all. Dr Moseley, of whose language on the subject, in 1798, the reader has already had a specimen, has himself stated that his opposition to it was founded at that time 'on the basis of theory;' and, two years after he had three times reprinted that miserable specimen of scurrilous buffoonery, he informed the Committee of the House of Commons, that he did not himself know of any instance in which it had either failed to prevent small-pox, or been followed by constitutional diseases, although he had heard of some such things from persons, none of whom he could then recollect, or mention to the Committee. Mr Birch makes very nearly the same statement. Thus, we find Dr Moseley, in 1798, as full of contempt and abhorrence for vaccination, as he is at this moment, though it is certain that at that time he had neither read nor seen any thing that was not decidedly in its favour. It must be allowed that this disposition to oppose, before there were any grounds for opposition, does not indicate a very liberal or impartial disposition in an observer; and naturally disposes us to regard with some suspicion the evidence which he may afterwards bring forward in support of his preconceived antipathies. An avowed enemy is rejected as a witness in every court of law; but if it appears that he is not only hostile, but necessarily ignorant, we may well ask what weight can be given to his testimony in opposition to that of impartial persons, who must have known much more of the circumstances. We are glad, upon this subject, to avail ourselves once more of Mr Moore's excellent observations.

'If

'If vaccination frequently fails, and occasions miserable consequences, these disappointments and disasters ought naturally to occur most frequently to those who have vaccinated the greatest numbers; and repeated mortifications and reproaches would naturally excite so much vexation, as to induce them to abandon the practice. But, so far from this being the case, those who have vaccinated the most extensively, persist in recommending it with the same zeal as ever; their infatuation continues, though in other respects they are men of distinguished good sense, and good nature.

'Who then are those, who meet with the unlucky failures, and wretched effects of vaccination? The very persons who opposed the practice before any failures could have existed; and when every known fact was favourable. They decried vaccination, from its commencement, among all their acquaintances; they never adopted it, and consequently have seen little of the practice; yet it unaccountably happens, that all the unsuccessful cases fall under their observation.' p. 15. 16.

There is but one other criterion to which we wish to appeal, before entering with our readers upon the precise points that are at issue between these disputants. All the presumptions are against Dr Moseley and his adherents. His opponents are confessedly many, and learned, and judicious; and as he differs from their concurring opinion, the natural inference is, that he is not judicious and learned, and that he cannot be safely relied on as an accurate observer, a sagacious expounder, or a correct reporter of the phenomena. It is possible, however, that this inference may be erroneous;—Dr Moseley and his friends may be persons of transcendent genius and exemplary candour. Reputation may be unmerited, and multitudes may be deceived. If the opposers of vaccination give indisputable proofs of superior talents and better temper than their adversaries, there will be a certain presumption in favour of their conclusions, from the admitted characters of the men, independent of the reasons which they may urge in their support. On the other hand, if, from their writings, it be manifest that they are men of weak and uncultivated understanding; that their passions are vehement, and their judgement infirm; that they are ignorant or negligent of the first rules of reasoning, and incapable of stating their opinions in intelligible language, it probably will not appear too much to affirm, that they are entitled to little credit, in a controversy which confessedly requires much accuracy of discrimination, much nice observation, and patient and persevering research. It would not be fair to the reader to lay the statements of the parties before him without making him in some degree acquainted with their character. We shall venture, therefore, to present him with a few extracts from the most recent and most vaunted compositions of the antivaccinists, that he may judge for himself what manner of men they are

are that have set themselves thus boldly against the opinion of their most celebrated brethren.

Of this sect, Dr Moseley is the great champion, and perhaps the founder. Our readers may take the following specimen of this learned person's temper, modesty, and taste in composition.

'It is a lamentable reflection, that men of learning should have joined in this *diabolical conspiracy*. But much more lamentable is the reflection, that such men should persevere in it;—wish to remain in mental bondage; and be as eager in retaining this slavery of thought, as those illiterate and ignorant cow-pox pamphleteers are, who have so pestered the public.

'Driven from post to post, they still struggle for existence; and, with worm-like tenacity of life, they seem determined to expire in the last expedient.

'From this cow-pox medley of weak philosophers, and *strong fools*, the world will form some estimate of the state of physic in England.

'The medical tribe in London, must be viewed in an extraordinary light by people of understanding, when they see what havock Dr Jenner and his cow have made in their intellects.

'Their wild rhapsodies, and devotions for these authors of their distraction, were never equalled without the walls of a Pagan temple.

'One bewildered soul, starting in his phrenzy, vows that "the sweet influence of the Pleiades, and the bands of Orion," are nothing but Jennerian pustules;—then decorates Vaccina with moons and stars,—worships the divine Beast in Pythagorean relationship,—sends her to the Heavens as a Constellation,—and swears he will have a Cow instead of a Bull in the Zodiac.

'Another *cut-throat, Smithfield scelerat*, drags Vaccina to the slaughter-house; and in carnivorous hymns, sings the praises of her divisibility on the shambles, in beef-steaks, rounds, and surloins,—like a savage of New Zealand.

'But these ravers are not the men who alone have carried the cow-pox disastrous practice into its widely extended effect. Nor are these the only men, from whom the public will, in due time, expect retribution.

'The *culprits* who keep out of sight, and prompt the mischief, and have not honour enough to renounce, nor courage enough openly to defend their conduct, will not be forgotten.' Moseley's Pref. p. xiii. xiv.

It will be remembered, that Dr Benjamin Moseley is here speaking of such men as Baillie, Farquhar, Heberden, Cline, Cooper, and Abernethy, and in fact, of the whole practising physicians in London, with the exception of his facetious friend Dr Squirrel. After this, it can excite no surprise to find him exclaiming, that 'the evasions and base subterfuges which have been resorted to, to support this wicked project, equal in depravity the blackest page in the history of man.' Of his pleasantry and rea-

soning

ſoning powers, we meet with the following example at the ſecond page of his commentary.

'The public can now diſcern the " darkneſs viſible " in which they have been enveloped. They can diſcover a Cow Poxer from another man; and can determine that, though a Cow Poxer may be an human being, it does not follow that he ſhould be rational.

'Cow Poxers have gone a great way, to prove that man is not endowed with reaſon; and that, though he may be capable of performing, and ſometimes addicted to, rational purſuits, yet the ſource thereof is not radical, nor always preſent in his compoſition.

'It appears by their philoſophy, that the brain of man is not the proper bed of that numen in which reflection and forethought repoſe, and cogitate on the fitneſs, and conſequence of his actions.

'Reaſon, it ſeems, is only a momentary right way of thinking; which, in the abſence of caprice, comes and paſſes away like a thief; or a ſhadow; or a lucid interval of ſenſe in the head of a Cow Poxer.

'Reaſon, they ſay, and ſay rightly, gives no pleaſure to its poſſeſſor; and generally pain to others. Beſides, they find it is deſtitute of the comfortable ſodality of folly;—that contagious felicity, in which one fool makes many.

'The public have admitted, ſince this new light has " purged their viſual ray "—that I had a *genuine*, and not a *ſpurious* paroxyſm of reaſon, about the autumnal equinox of the year 1798:—brought on by reading Dr Jenner's firſt publication on the Cow Pox.

'In this paroxyſm, I denounced the people of England, *en maſſe*, for being Cow Pox mad.

'Part of its effects are known; and part to be related;—which is the purport of this diſſertation.' p. 2, 3.

After narrating a nonſenſical and deſpicable ſtory of a patient vaccinated by the Reverend Rowland Hill, who is ſaid to have broken out afterwards into ulcers, which were followed by patches of hair, " ſome of it very like cows' hair! " he breaks out into the following rhapſody of low and miſerable buffoonery, which we really believe is unequalled for dulneſs and vulgarity by any thing that ever iſſued from Grub-Street.

'Rowland Hill may tell people there is no harm in a ſhaggy ſkin; and may ſay the heart of Ariſtomenes was hairy; and that he was not the worſe for it. So the fact certainly was. But then he never had the Cow Pox. Beſides, the caſe is not ſimilar in other reſpects. Ariſtomenes was an Athenian general; this poor child is not an Athenian general.

'Rowland Hill may alſo ſay, Eſau was hairy all over, and that he was not the worſe for it. Here again Rowland Hill will be wrong. For it is well known to people who read the Scriptures, that it was from the circumſtance of Eſau's having an hairy ſkin, that his cunning mother was enabled to make his brother Jacob cheat him out of his father's bleſſing.

'Perhaps

‘ Perhaps Rowland Hill thinks there is no bleſſing but his own worth a farthing. I think differently. Let him conſider the loſs of power and property which Eſau ſuſtained from his hairy ſkin, and aſk himſelf if he ſhould have liked it.

‘ This is not all the above child's miſery. He has had a conſtant vaccine diarrhœa upon him ever ſince he had the cow-pox; and his food runs through him involuntarily.’ p. 55. 56.

This is sufficiently commiserable; but if we would ‘ sound the very base string of humility,’ we must turn to the Doctor's separate chapters addressed to the said Reverend Rowland Hill; the first of which begins in this manner,

‘ Rowland,—I bought your pamphlet, entitled, “ *Cow-Pock Inoculation Vindicated;* ” dated the 25th of March 1806.

‘ I paid a ſhilling for it. Rowland,—it is not dear. The ſame quantity of folly, falſehood, and impudence, could not have been bought for twice the money of any other cow-poxer;—from the Ganges to the Miſſiſſippi.’ p. 189.

We are almoſt aſhamed to pollute our page with the traſh that follows; but Dr Moſeley is cried up by the antivacciniſts as a man of infinite wit and genius; and it is our duty to make his pretenſions public. After introducing a paltry piece of buffoonery in a ſuppoſed dialogue between Mr Hill and a Lady, the reverend vaccinator is made to conclude as follows.

‘ Rowland. “ And well you may. Madam, I tell you her very dung is a fine poultice for horſes feet, and *greaſy heels.* Kings and princes eat it, by way of *muſtard;* and Dr Moſeley knows it, if he were candid enough to confeſs it.”

‘ Rowland,—I do confeſs it. You are very right. Truth ſometimes ſurpriſes me, but never offends me. I have ſeen many kings and princes eat voraciouſly of this cow-pox muſtard. Try it, Rowland; and you will never eat Durham muſtard again. I will give you the receipt for making it, from a work of the higheſt authority.

‘ Mind, Rowland.

“ Take the fineſt part of the filth in the guts of the cow, and ſeaſon it [illegible] ſalt and pepper. Mix the ingredients well together.”

‘ I know my credit has long ſtood very low with cow-poxers; but I hope this will raiſe it; and, as a further confirmation of your correctneſs, I refer ſcrupulous readers to the learned work itſelf; where [illegible] the above receipt, but the following intereſting [illegible]

‘ This *Muſtard,* made with cow-dung, is reckoned a moſt curious [illegible]ce by the Æthiopians,—mind, Rowland—by the Æthiopians;—and they call it *Manta.* But only princes, and very great perſons, can attain this royal diſh; becauſe it requires much pepper, which all men have not.

‘ Mind, Rowland. It requires *much* pepper; an article, luckily for Cow Poxers, not dear in England.’ p. 198—200.

Poor

Poor Dr Moseley! Yet this is the gentleman who complains (p. 182. 3.) of 'the rude expressions' of Dr Thornton, and of those 'violations of decorum which communicate so much asperity to discussion,' and who thinks it necessary to tell Mr Hill (p. 225.) that 'his language is licentious, gross, ungentlemanlike, and highly reprehensible.'

Dr Rowley writes worse, if possible, than Dr Moseley; and does not reason any better. He agrees with him in thinking all the advocates for vaccination 'raving mad;' and is almost as eloquent in descanting on 'the horrid, filthy, *beastly* diseases which they have nefariously introduced among mankind.' He is pleased also to say, that 'small-pox is a visitation of God; but the cow-pox is produced by presumptuous and impious man. The former, heaven ordained; the latter is, perhaps, a daring and profane violation of our holy religion; and heaven seems daily to justify this supposition, from the dreadful calamities cow-pox has occasioned.' He afterwards quotes a text in support of this pious opinion, which is too indelicate even to be referred to; and then seriously proposes it 'as a question to be considered by the learned ministers of the gospel of Christ, Whether it be not impious and profane, *to wrest out of the hands of the Almighty the divine dispensations of Providence?*' That these passages are not culled, with any malignant skill, from the Doctor's publication, but are really taken at random, as fair specimens of his writing, our readers may perhaps be more inclined to believe, after perusing the following entire paragraph, which contains the whole of his argument against the possibility of exterminating small-pox. It appears at the 16th page of his book, with this regular title.

'*Small-pox not exterminated, but at this moment epidemic, and never can be exterminated by vain man.*

'The ſmall-pox, in 1805, is, at the moment I am writing this work, *epidemic* in various parts of London, and it muſt be always epidemic at certain ſeaſons, unleſs the vaccinators have *more* power than the Almighty God himſelf; unleſs they be blaſphemous enough to [illegible]oſe human weakneſs can oppoſe the divine ordin[illegible] of God, the creator of man, and all beings. I have lately had un[illegible] care ſome of the worſt ſpecies of malignant ſmall-pox ever ſee[illegible] after *vaccination*, in our ſmall-pox wards at the *St Mary-le-Bone* [illegible]; which many of the faculty have ſeen. The mode of treatm[illegible] mixtures of bark and vitriolic acid, with the comparative view [illegible] cow-pox and ſmall-pox inoculation, was read by me before the H[illegible]rable Committee of the Houſe of Commons, deputed to examine co[illegible]pox inoculation; the paper was delivered to the Honourable Com[illegible]ttee, and, as I underſtood, was to form part of the report, but, for what reaſon I cannot pretend to ſay, never appeared. This requires ſome future explanation; for, what I did read and ſay, is for the moſt part ſuppreſſed; and what it

it was impossible for me to say, has been, through some error, published, as the original paper in my possession fully proves. *It appears then, that extermination is impossible.*' p. 16.

In this exquisite piece of ratiocination, Dr Rowley first of all asserts, that God Almighty cannot prevent the small-pox; he next alleges, that the House of Commons garbled his evidence; and, from these curious premises, he draws this logical conclusion, that the extermination of the small-pox is impossible! We can safely assure our readers that the rest of his reasonings are constructed in the very same manner.

Dr Squirrel's book, however, is the most entertaining of the whole. We will venture to say, though we know it to be a bold assertion, that there never was any thing so ill-written, or so vulgar and absurd, produced before, by a person entitling himself a Doctor of Medicine. There is a certain nimbleness and agility about him, however, which keeps us in good humour, and he whisks about with such a self-satisfied springiness and activity, that it is really enlivening to look on him. In an unauthorised address to the King, he assures him that the practice of vaccination 'has undermined the health, and destroyed *more lives of the most innocent and infantile part of his Majesty's dominions* than can well be imagined.' He then proceeds to the display of his reasoning faculties in the following profound and eloquent paragraph.

'The cow-pox is unnatural to the human frame; and whatever operates contrary to the law of nature, can seldom boast of long inheritance; for nature detests an enemy as well as abhors a vacuum, and she endeavours with as strong efforts to destroy the one as to fill up the other. Providence never intended that the vaccine disease should affect the human race, else why had it not, before this time, visited the inhabitants of the globe? Notwithstanding this, the vaccine virus has been forced into the blood by the *manufacturing hand* of man, and supported not by science or reason, but by conjecture and folly only, with a pretence of its exterminating the small-pox from the face of the earth, and producing a much milder disease than the variolous inoculation; yet, after these bold and unqualified assertions, the natural infection has exerted its own right, and the small-pox, subsequent to vaccination, has made its appearance; for "nature will be nature still:" hence the puerility and the impropriety of such a conduct, viz. of introducing vaccination, with a boasted intention not only to supplant, but also to change and alter, and, in short, to pervert the established law of nature. The law of God prohibits the practice; the law of man, and the law of nature, loudly exclaim against it.' p. iii. iv.

After this, he complains bitterly of Parliament for voting a reward to Dr Jenner 'for introducing the cow-pox virus into the vital fluid of the helpless infants of his Majesty's subjects;' and ends with supplicating that exalted personage 'to *prohibit* the destructive

destructive practice of vaccine inoculation throughout his dominions.'

In the book itself, we have the old cry about horrid, filthy, *beastly* diseases; a positive assertion, that the grease in horses is the scrophula; a proposal to put all the infants that have been vaccinated through a course of mercury; and an earnest recommendation of a book called 'Maxims of Health,' and a medicine called 'Tonic Powders;' both compounded by, and sold for the benefit of, the said Dr Squirrel. He also threatens to prosecute Mr Moore for having written contemptuously of him; and very wittily recommends his powders to another antagonist, in the following smart sentence.

'They lessen irritability, correct and evacuate vitiated humours, and have a great tendency to cool and diminish the fury of the brain, by which means they will induce a conduct of reason and consistency; and, as they have a power to remove nervous symptoms, especially deception and cowardice, they come particularly well recommended to Aculeus.'

Such are the three graduated champions who have openly taken the field against the patrons of vaccination, and boldly challenged the rest of the medical world to defend that abominable practice against them. It would be injustice to Messrs Goldson and Birch to confound them with this triad of Doctors, whom they have submitted to follow in this contest. They both write, especially the former, like men of some sense and moderation; and we entertain good hopes of seeing them converted from their present heresy to the faith of the majority of their brethren. They neither of them join in the absurd clamours of the genuine antivaccinists; but, admitting the greater part of what the advocates for the new practice have asserted, they think it necessary to enlarge upon difficulties and discouragements to which we shall proceed to say something immediately. In the mean time, we may surely be permitted to observe, that from the specimens we have already seen of the talents and disposition of the antivaccinists, there would be some reason to wonder if it should turn out that they had discovered a truth which had escaped the researches of the rest of the medical world.

The controversy which has engendered all this virulence and absurdity, resolves itself, when strictly considered, into a few distinct points of inquiry. The practical question is, simply, Whether vaccination ought to be adopted in preference to inoculation with small-pox? and this question can only be decided, it is evident, by taking a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of vaccination and small-pox inoculation.

The great advantage of small-pox inoculation is, that it prevents certainly, or almost certainly, the recurrence of that disorder,

order, and that it is, in general, infinitely milder than the natural form of the disease. Its disadvantages are, partly, that it is attended with considerable hazard, both to life and to the general constitution; and, that being an infectious disease, its partial adoption exposes greater numbers to the natural malady, than would otherwise fall in the way of it. In consequence of this circumstance, we have already seen that the total mortality by small-pox has increased nearly one fourth since the practice of inoculation became general.

The advantages of vaccination, according to the report of its advocates, are, 1. That the disease which it communicates is not in any degree infectious; 2 That it is as effectual a preventive of small-pox as the old inoculation; and, 3. That it produces a disease infinitely milder, and less hazardous, than arose from the former practice.

Of these three invaluable properties ascribed to cow-pox by its admirers, the *first* is unequivocally admitted by its opponents:—the disease is universally allowed not to be infectious. If there be any ground for ascribing the other properties to it, this alone must be admitted to give it an immense advantage. If it be but *nearly* as safe a disease as inoculated small-pox, or *nearly* as effectual a preventive, it must be incalculably preferable to it, with a view to the interests of society By inoculating small-pox, the hazard of the community is inevitably increased; and as the disease is extremely infectious, it is evidently quite impossible to aim at its extirpation by the continuance of the practice. By vaccination, no malady can be propagated beyond the person of the patient; and if he be effectually withdrawn from the risk of small-pox contagion, it is evident that a prospect is held out, of finally extirpating that tremendous distemper altogether. In inoculation, we only hunt the wild tygers with the tame ones, and therefore never can exterminate the breed. In vaccination, we run them down with other animals, and, with due exertions, may clear the country of them entirely.

The other two points, however, are the most material; and it is with regard to them chiefly that the debate has been all along maintained The opposers of vaccination deny, positively, that it will effectually prevent the small-pox; and they allege that it is more dangerous to life, and more prejudicial to health, than the inoculation of small-pox. We shall consider these two positions as shortly as possible, in the order in which they have been mentioned.

The most determined enemies to vaccination do not pretend to deny that it prevents small-pox for a certain time, or to a certain degree. The unquestionable facts that have been accumulated by its admirers, have established that general point in the most complete

complete and satisfactory manner. Dr Woodville, alone, subjected near 4000 vaccinated patients to the small-pox inoculation, in the course of six months, and found that every one of them resisted the infection. That experiment has since been repeated, probably not less than a million of times, with the very same result. Cow-pox, therefore, is confessedly a preventive of small-pox; and the only question is, whether it be an infallible and a permanent preventive.

Upon this question, it is rather unfortunate for its opponents, that their little phalanx has been divided into a number of irreconcileable interests. Mr Goldson acknowledges that the natural or original cow-pox, received directly from the animal, does appear to afford a perfect security from small-pox; but that the operation of the inoculated disease is more precarious and uncertain. The rest of the antivaccinists, we believe, reject this distinction. Dr Moseley rather seems to admit, that inoculated cow-pox will render the constitution incapable of small-pox infection for a certain period; but that its virtue wears out in the course of time, and leaves the unsuspecting patient to a more dangerous attack of the malady. Dr Rowley, and we rather think Dr Squirrel, though we would not rashly pretend to have ascertained the meaning of that eloquent person, appear to deny it even this limited efficacy, and contend, that it affords no security against small-pox infection for any period whatsoever. Differing thus from each other in every essential particular, they agree in nothing but the vehemence with which they clamour against all who oppose themselves to their practical conclusions.

Mr Goldſon's theory need not detain us very long. It exhibits, we think, as perverſe an application of ſcepticiſm and credulity, as we have ever met with. There are perhaps one hundred authenticated caſes of natural cow-pox, in which the patients have been found to reſiſt variolous infection; and upon this ſcanty teſtimony, Mr Goldſon implicitly believes that natural cow-pox is an infallible preventive of ſmall-pox. There are more than one hundred thouſand caſes of inoculated cow-pox, in which the patients have equally reſiſted all ſubſequent infection; and yet he refuſes to believe that the inoculated cow-pox can be depended upon as a preventive! This is almoſt as abſurd, as it is in Mr Birch firſt to tell us that cow-pox is nothing but ſmall-pox tranſmitted through a cow, and then to maintain that it is in the higheſt degree hazardous and improper to ſubſtitute the cow-pox inoculation for that of ſmall-pox. Yet theſe are the two moſt rational antagoniſts of vaccination.

Dr Moſeley's notion, however, we believe, has had more currency; and certain timid perſons, we are afraid, have been induced to ſuſpect, that the ſecurity afforded by vaccination is not

of a permanent nature, but is liable to be exhausted by time. It is certain, however, that there is nothing either in Dr Moseley's reasonings, or in the analogy of other physiological facts, to justify such an observation. Dr Moseley says, that there are many eruptive diseases which render the constitution for the time incapable of variolous infection, though they were never understood to impart any permanent security; and that 'cow-pox possesses no more specific power to resist the small-pox, than scald-head, or itch, or the yaws, or leprosy, or the *pustule maligne*, or the bites of venomous insects, or other eruptive and cutaneous disorders.'

Now, we admit the premises upon which this reasoning is founded; but we utterly deny the conclusion. We believe it to be perfectly well established, that certain violent cases of eruption will often indispose the body to receive the infection of small-pox, and enable it indeed for the time to resist every species of cutaneous infection; but it is most material to observe, that this effect is only produced during the actual presence and continuance of the eruptive distemper. It was never pretended by any body, not even by Dr Moseley, that a person who had been completely cured of scald-head, or itch, or leprosy, would resist the infection of small-pox, merely because he had been affected with these distempers some months or years before. If the cow-pox, therefore, have no other preventive virtue than these disorders, then it ought only to resist small-pox during the fifteen or twenty days that the vesicle continues; and the patient must be liable to contagion again in less than a month at the farthest. The fact, however, is indisputable, that out of the hundred thousand vaccinated patients who have resisted variolous infection, no one was ever put to the test of it, till after he had been for many months recovered of the cow-pox, and free from any symptom of distemper.

Dr Moseley's argument, therefore, is founded upon a false analogy; but the facts to which he alludes evidently furnish ground, when properly considered, for the very contrary conclusion. When infection is prevented by the active subsistence of a previous and sensible [illegible]ease, we naturally ascribe our immunity to the disordered or [illegible]ended action of those organs by which infection is communicated; and reasonably infer, that, as soon as they are restored to their functions by the return of health, the infection will take place as before. There is here a visible change, to which we can impute the restoration of our susceptibility; or, rather, there is the removal of a visible obstacle which stood for a while in the way of it. But if, in consequence of any preceding operation, we find that we are enabled to resist contagion *in a state of perfect health*, and while all our organs appear to perform their offices with perfect vigour and regularity, we naturally infer, that this

this immunity will prove permanent, as we feel that it does not depend upon any extraordinary state of the system, or the action of any occasional cause that may afterwards be withdrawn. There is no event, in this case, to which we can look forward as likely to deprive us of this immunity, because it does not depend, as in the other, on an unnatural and accidental state of the body, which must speedily come to an end. The power of resisting small-pox is, in the one case, the symptom of a disease, and may be expected to disappear along with it;—in the other it is a constitutional property, which there is no reason to think will be altered by the mere lapse of time. A patient affected with itch, is prevented from taking small-pox, only as a man is prevented from seeing by the swelling of his eyelids; when the itch is cured, and the swelling subsides, he is infected, and sees as before. A vaccinated patient is prevented from taking small-pox, as a man is prevented from seeing by having the optic nerve destroyed,—he can never see again. In the one case, the enemy is resisted by our own superior force, and, of course, may be resisted always. In the other, he is only repelled by the accidental interference of strangers, and, of course, may overpower us as soon as they turn their backs.

It seems contrary, therefore, to all analogy, and all rules of reasoning, to suppose, *à priori*, that an immunity which is found to subsist for a certain time in the usual and healthful state of the system, will gradually and insensibly wear away without any apparent cause, or any sensible change to indicate its extinction; and the facts which bear at all upon the question, so far from suggesting or supporting such a supposition, seem, in our apprehension, completely to refute and discredit it. In the first place, the natural and inoculated small-pox,—the measles, and the hooping-cough, which are the only other cases in which a preceding disease is found to bestow an immunity after its own cessation, are allowed to confer a permanent immunity, and not one that is gradually and silently destroyed by the lapse of time. In the second place, the matter seems experimentally settled, in the case of the *natural* cow-pox, in which the security has been found unimpaired and entire after the lapse of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty years. Lastly, even if we were to admit the whole of the cases of small-pox occurring after vaccination, which the enemies of the practice have founded on, we could never hold that the preventive virtue naturally wore out in a certain time, because these cases are alleged to have occurred indiscriminately at all periods after vaccination which have yet been possible. In cases of continual exposure, they are said to have taken small-pox at all distances, from three months to seven

 years

years after vaccination. It is impoffible to fuppofe, therefore, that the preventive power of cow-pox wears out of the human frame in a certain period of time. If the cafes are to be admitted at all, it would be more rational to fuppofe that it imparted a weak or imperfect power of refiftance, which might be overcome by a powerful contagion.

But there are cafes, it feems; and, whatever be the errors or inconfiftencies of the theories propofed by thofe who bring them forward, the cafes themfelves muft be decifive of the fate of vaccination. If fmall-pox have repeatedly occurred after it, it muft be rafh to truft to its fecurity, and the fyftem muft eventually be abandoned. It is true, no doubt, that multitudes of fuch cafes have been alleged; and that fome of them have not been explained in a manner quite fatisfactory to the fanguine admirers of vaccination; but our impreffion is, upon the whole, very decidedly, that by far the greater part of them are either cafes in which there never was the genuine cow-pox at firft, or cafes in which there was not genuine fmall-pox at laft; and that the remaining lift of failures and difafters, if any remain, is neither more numerous nor more difcouraging than may be fupplied from the hiftory of variolous inoculation. Of the individual cafes themfelves, the ftatement and verification of which fill many hundred pages of the controverfial volumes before us, it cannot be expected that we fhould give any detailed hiftory; but we are perfuaded we fhall do much more for the fatisfaction and illumination of our readers, by laying before them the following admirable obfervations of Mr Moore upon the medical law of evidence. We make no apology for the length of the quotation, as we are perfuaded that the writing and the reafoning of this paffage muft afford the higheft gratification, even to thofe readers who are not particularly interefted in its prefent application.

'The evidence that is requifite to prove or difprove any propofition in the fcience of medicine, is of a peculiar kind. It differs entirely from that fpecies of proof which fatisfies a court of law. Both direct and circumftantial evidence, which would leave no doubt in the breafts of judges and juries, have often not the flighteft tendency to render a medical fact even probable. The declarations, and even the oaths of the moft confcientious, difinterefted, and able men, are all infufficient.

'The reafon of this is, that few men, even thofe of confiderable capacity, diftinguifh accurately between opinion and fact.

'When a man afferts he has been cured of a particular difeafe by a certain drug, he is apt to think he is declaring a fact which he knows to be true; whereas this affertion includes two opinions, in both of which he may be completely miftaken. The firft is an opinion of his having had the difeafe fpecified; the fecond, that the medicine employed

ed removed the disease. Most people are convinced that they are acquainted with the malady they are afflicted with; they consider it as a mere matter of fact: and when they are cured, they have as little doubt of the remedy that accomplished it. This belief is often strengthened by the confident declarations, and specious behaviour of the person who exhibits the remedy: and if the patient possesses gratitude, this also heightens the delusion. He is thus easily prevailed upon to swear positively, both to the disease and the remedy, as if they were plain facts obvious to the senses; whereas, both the one and the other are frequently beyond the reach of human knowledge.

'The cases adduced of diseases caused by vaccination, to the truth of which the parents will often take their oath, form no stronger presumption of these facts, than the affidavits that are daily sworn to of consumption, gout, or cancer being cured, prove, that a specific for these distempers has been discovered. This species of unintentional perjury has been very common during the last century in every part of Europe; and the more improbable the fact is, the more numerous are the affidavits, and the more respectable the signatures. Clergymen, judges, and peers, are daily swearing, that they have been cured of incurable diseases: but the meanest apothecary smiles with contempt, when he reads their splendid testimonials.

'If the difficulty of ascertaining the proper dose of the best medicines was fully known, it would prevent any man of sense signing a paper to induce others to buy a nostrum. One man, for example, can take eight or ten grains of calomel, whereas another with the same complaint cannot endure more than half a grain. Hence it appears that one man requires twenty times the dose of another: how then can this medicine be graduated for public sale? The most credulous bishop, or even the most foolish gentleman, who exposes his name on a quack bill, would laugh at a shoemaker who pretended that he could make shoes to fit all feet.

'The character of the person for whose advantage these affidavits are taken, is little understood by the public. Reflect for a moment what kind of man that must be, who is base enough to conceal a medicine endowed with the power of curing cancer, gout, consumption, or any of the deplorable distempers that afflict mankind. If such a discovery were actually made, and kept secret, the discoverer must be both a villain, for concealing what would save thousands from misery and death; and a fool,—because, by this conduct, he lives despised and probably poor; whereas, the disclosure of such a secret would infallibly procure him honours and riches.

'It is not with medicine alone, that the cunning empiric performs his cures. He sometimes operates more successfully by an unusual incomprehensible legerdemain trick. Mesmer convinced thousands of the nobility, and even some men of science in Paris, that he could cure diseases without either medicine or change of diet. He placed his patients round a box full of broken glass, and made them pinch each other's thumbs,

 while

while he waved a rod of steel in the air. By employing a mysterious jargon, he even made many believe that they were capable of doing the same; and they paid him large sums for being taught this valuable art. De Mainaduc and Miss Prescott have improved upon this plan. By moving their hands, they could extract any disease out of a sick man's body; swallow it themselves, and then puff it into the air. Distance did not hinder them from operating with success. They could cure a man in India. And, though the knave de Mainaduc, with this wonderful power, died young, the art continues to be practised and paid for magnificently, and the cures are attested by coronets and mitres.

'After these instances, it is superfluous to speak of Perkins, though he had a better trick than either. The other quacks commonly took the trouble of seeing their patients, hearing their cases, and talking to them. Perkins saved himself all this embarrassment. He soldered bits of brass and iron together; which, he said, could cure gout, rheumatism, sprains, inflammations, and twenty other diseases, and sold them for six guineas a pair. He quickly printed, with most respectable attestations, many more cures than are now published of the failure of Vaccination. He established a Perkinian society of gentlemen of consideration, who zealously, to this day, extol the fame of the tractors. Several worthy clergymen purchased tractors, and most patiently and charitably applied them to their poor parishioners. For a time they performed surprising cures, and thought they rescued the afflicted from the extortion of the apothecary. These miracles are now at an end; the gout and rheumatism rage as formerly; but Perkins has made his fortune.

'It thus appears that lists of cases, however certified, rather deceive, than enlighten. The regular physician who adopts this method of proving a medical fact, takes the very path he ought most sedulously to shun. Yet if any one should attempt by investigating each particular case to refute it; he would soon discover the impossibility of succeeding. I have been requested, on various occasions, to make such researches, and generally found that the patients were completely convinced of the truth of the attestation; whether the remedy was physic, magnetism, or a tractor. In short, they were ready to take the most solemn oath to what was quite impossible to be true.

'Not aware of this, some of Dr Jenner's friends first investigated the cases of pretended failure of Vaccination. In some instances they discovered, that what had been called the Small-pox, was, in fact, the Chicken-pox, in others a rash, and in some bug-bites. Where the small-pox had occurred, the patient had either never been vaccinated at all, or the spurious inflammation alone had taken place.

'But as soon as one case was refuted, another was rumoured. The investigation sometimes occasioned a dispute with the medical attendant. For if any mistake was committed by him, either in vaccinating, or in the opinion he had given of the eruption, he found his reputation at stake.

ſtake. This occaſioned warm altercations; both parties obſtinately perſiſted in being in the right, and neither could be confuted nor ſilenced; for the queſtion does not admit of demonſtration.' p. 29—36.

Of the truth of theſe poſitions we are ſo perfectly convinced, that, even if our limits admitted of it, we ſhould decline laying before our readers the particulars of any of theſe diſputed caſes. It is neceſſary, however, to explain a little more particularly the grounds of our ſcepticiſm as to facts ſo ſtrongly aſſerted.

The firſt poſition is, that in all, or almoſt all the caſes, where ſmall-pox have really occurred after an alleged vaccination, the patient really never had the cow-pox, the inoculation having miſcarried, by accident or inattention. The total number of ſuch caſes, we believe, is conſiderably under an hundred out of little leſs than half a million of vaccinated ſubjects; and, when the following particulars are attended to, we are perſuaded that they will appear infinitely fewer than might have been reckoned on, from the novelty, and, in ſome reſpects, the nicety, of the practice. In the firſt place, it is well known that, within a ſhort time after the promulgation of the diſcovery, a multitude of individuals, of all ſexes and profeſſions, (Dr Willan ſays not leſs than 10,000), many of whom had never ſeen the diſorder in their lives, took upon them to practiſe the inoculation in all parts of the kingdom. That ſome miſtakes ſhould be committed by ſuch practitioners, even in a matter of the utmoſt ſimplicity, could not excite wonder; but the truth is, that the operation was a matter of conſiderable nicety, and not perfectly underſtood, even by medical practitioners, till after the publication of Dr Jenner's full directions and engravings in 1802. The cauſes of miſtake were various. 1ſt, The matter was ſometimes taken from a ſpurious ſore, in the firſt inſtance, which, though it raiſed a veſicle, and excited inflammation in the inoculated patient, could never, of courſe, communicate the genuine diſeaſe. 2d, It was ſtill oftener taken from the true ſore at too late a ſtage of its progreſs, in which caſe, though it ſeldom failed to produce a very active inflammation, it could never give the true cow-pox. 3d, The matter, though taken in proper time, was ſometimes decompoſed or corrupted, by being too long kept, or expoſed to air, or heat or cold, or diluted in too much fluid. 4th, When all theſe circumſtances were attended to, it ſometimes happened that, owing to the exiſtence of eruptive fever, or violent cutaneous diſorders, the patient did not receive the full conſtitutional affection, nor indicate the decided ſymptoms of regular vaccination. Laſtly, It was ſome time before even the regular practitioners were ſo perfectly acquainted with thoſe characteriſtic and decided appearances, as to be able to ſay with certainty, whether the vaccination

had

had actually taken effect or not. The circulation of Dr Jenner's descriptions and engravings went far to remove this uncertainty; but it was not, perhaps, completely obviated till the publication of Dr Willan's excellent observations, in which he has described all the various forms and appearances of the spurious, as well as the true vesicle, in a way which puts it in the power of any attentive reader, in the least degree acquainted with the subject, to attain perfect assurance in every case that can occur to him.

These observations apply chiefly to the earlier periods of the practice; and it is very remarkable, accordingly, that by far the greater number of instances of alleged failure occur before the year 1802, and that they occur infinitely oftener in the practice of those inexperienced persons, whom zeal had induced to usurp the functions of a profession to which they had not been educated, than of the regular practitioner, who had vaccinated to a much greater extent. No one instance of failure has occurred in the practice of Dr Jenner himself; and his relative, Mr G. Jenner, publicly states, that he also has inoculated 5000 persons, without a single miscarriage. We agree entirely with Dr Willan, in earnestly dissuading any person from practising vaccination, who has not been carefully instructed in all the necessary precautions, and has not learned, by long observation, to recognize with certainty the genuine from the spurious infection. It would be much better, indeed, that the operation should in all cases be entrusted to a regular practitioner, except where there is a difficulty in obtaining his assistance in a situation of urgency.

The circumstances that have now been mentioned would account, we conceive, for a considerable number of alleged failures, without the necessity of supposing that vaccination itself is, in its completest form, a precarious and insecure preventive of infection. By far the greater number of those alleged failures, however, are cases in which some other distemper has been mistaken or misrepresented for small-pox. The error that has been committed here is of two kinds. In the first place, by mistaking eruptions altogether of a different description, such as chicken-pox, rash, swine-pox, and even itch, and the bites of insects, for small-pox; and in the second place, by representing, as genuine and formidable small-pox, that secondary variolous affection, to which it is perfectly well known that many persons are subject, when exposed to contagion, who have formerly had the disease in the most unequivocal manner.

The first requires no explanation. A multitude of such cases have been detected and exposed by the advocates for vaccination; and a multitude have been abandoned by those who first brought them forward, as having been originally stated upon inaccurate information. The second point is of more consequence,

as it has served to bring into general notice a fact in the history of small-pox, which the patrons of the old inoculation were much disposed to keep out of observation.

The general rule certainly is, that no person has the disease twice; and in a certain sense, the exceptions to it must be allowed to be very few indeed; but it is an established fact, that very many persons who have gone through the disease, either in the natural way, or by inoculation, are liable, when inoculated a second time, or exposed to powerful contagion, to a secondary and mitigated attack of fever and eruptions, in the course of which pustules are formed, from which the genuine ſmall-pox may be inoculated. Nurſes who ſleep with children in the ſmall-pox are familiarly known to be liable to theſe affections; and that, many times in the courſe of their lives. And a multitude of indiſputable caſes are cited in the volumes before us, of ſimilar effects being produced by a ſecond inoculation for ſmall-pox, after the firſt has taken full effect; * or even after a very ſevere and dangerous attack of the natural diſorder. In all theſe caſes, however, the ſymptoms are decidedly milder than in the proper original ſmall-pox; the fever is of ſhorter duration, and the puſtules are ſmaller, and dry up and fall off much earlier than in the genuine form of the diſeaſe. There is no inſtance in which it has been followed by fatal or ſerious conſequences. Now, it is apparent, even upon the face of the ſtatements made by the antivacciniſts themſelves, that almoſt all the alleged caſes of ſmall-pox following vaccination were caſes of this deſcription. The fever was always ſhorter than uſual; the puſtules were ſmaller, and uſually fewer in number; and, almoſt in every caſe without exception, they were found to dry up and diſappear much ſooner, than in the true and original diſorder. It is the opinion of Dr Willan, therefore, (p. 70, 71), and it ſeems to be confirmed by the import of the whole evidence, that the vaccine inoculation beſtows as great ſecurity at leaſt as that for the ſmall-pox; and has even this advantage over it, that imperfect vaccination has always a certain effect in modifying the ſubſequent attack of ſmall-pox; whereas, an imperfect inoculation for ſmall-pox is admitted to have no ſubſequent effect whatſoever, (p. 76.) It ſeems alſo to be aſcertained, that the vaccine inoculation, even though not adopted till after the contagion of ſmall-pox has been received, will modify and controul the original diſtemper to ſuch a degree, as to deprive it of all alarming malignity. It was for ſome time ſuppoſed, that a ſort of neutral or hybrid diſeaſe, was

* See Ring's anſwer to Moſeley, and authorities cited, p. 194, &c. —Moore's reply, p. 55, 56, &c.—Willan, p. 65-71, &c.—Birch's Serious Reaſons, p. 45.

was generated by this coincidence of the two ſeparate ones; but the experiments detailed by Dr Willan (p. 7.) ſeem to prove that each of them runs a diſtinct courſe, although modified and reſtrained as to the violence of the ſymptoms, by the preſence of the other.

With theſe cautions and obſervations, we may ſafely leave the reader to peruſe all the caſes which are detailed by the enemies of vaccination, in evidence of its inefficiency as a preventive of ſmall-pox. Of the temper and judgment with which they are ſelected and narrated, ſome conjecture may be formed from the ſpecimens which have been already given of their writing; but there is one ſentence of Dr Rowley's which ſeems to render any further obſervation unneceſſary, and to make it ſuperfluous to hunt through the laborious and perſevering detection of the vacciniſts. This learned Doctor, who has collected many more caſes of failure than all his brethren put together, diſpoſes of the whole controverſy in this peremptory manner.

'Indeed, no other queſtions are admiſſible in vaccination; than, Have the parties been *inoculated* for the cow-pox? Have they been vaccinated? *Yes.* Have they had the ſmall-pox afterwards? *Yes.* As to *how, when, where, whether the cow-pox took, was genuine, or ſpurious, or any arguments, however ſpecious,* as pretexts for doubt or failure, they are evaſive and irrelative to the queſtion. They may confound fools, but not heighten the credit of vaccination.' p. 34.

After such a declaration, it certainly cannot be worth while to refute Dr Rowley's cases. It would be little less absurd to tell a Jury, in a trial for murder, that the only question was, whether a pistol had been fired or not, and that it was of no consequence to inquire, whether it was loaded with ball, or whether the sufferer had died by a pistol shot.

The antivaccinists themselves seem to admit, that by such *irrelative* and *evasive* inquiries, more than nine tenths of their cases of failure may be explained in a satisfactory manner. But still, they urge, there are a few remaining, which have been admitted by the vaccinators themselves to have exhibited the decisive symptoms of genuine cow-pox, followed by genuine small-pox. The admission to which these gentlemen allude, is contained in the first of the following paragraphs of a Report given in by the Medical Council of the Jennerian Society, and signed by upwards of fifty of the most eminent practitioners in London. That Council, upon considering the Report of a Committee, declare, that it appears to them, among other things,

'That it is admitted by the Committee, that a few caſes have been brought before them, of perſons having the ſmall-pox, who had *apparently* paſſed through the cow-pox in a regular way.

'That

'That cases, supported by evidence equally strong, have been also brought before them, of persons who, after having once regularly passed through the small-pox, either by inoculation or natural infection, have had that disease a second time.

'That in many cases, in which the small-pox has occurred a second time, after inoculation or the natural disease, such recurrence has been particularly severe, and often fatal; whereas, when it has appeared to occur after vaccination, the disease has generally been so mild, as to lose some of its characteristic marks, and even sometimes to render its existence doubtful.'

Now, there are two ways of viewing this, equally reconcileable with the facts of the case, and with the report of the society. The one is, to hold that though those few persons *appeared* to have gone through the cow-pox regularly, yet that, in reality, there had been something imperfect in the vaccination; and that, if the means of more exact scrutiny had been afforded, such an imperfection might have been made manifest. This is the decided opinion of Mr Moore, who says, 'he can more easily believe that an able physician should commit a mistake (or disguise one) than that such an incongruity should occur;' and of Dr Willan, who, after stating the result of his own most careful observation to be uniformly in favour of the claims of vaccination, says, 'If such failures do ever occur, they must occur in a very small proportion; and I am convinced that the subjects of them will not be found liable to take small-pox in the same manner and form as before vaccination.' The other view of the question is, that these failures do really occur, but in so very small a proportion, as to furnish no objection whatsoever against the practice of vaccination. That practice must maintain its ground triumphantly, if it can be shewn to be *as effectual* a preventive of small-pox as the old inoculation. Now, we think it has been demonstrated, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the number of authenticated cases of small-pox after the old inoculation, and even after a former attack of the natural disease, are more numerous in proportion, than those that are alleged, with any probability, of such an occurrence after complete vaccination.

It has become a fashion among the opposers of vaccination to assert, without ceremony, and in the most positive manner, that no person ever had the small-pox twice,—and from this they conclude, without any more ado, that, if they can show one instance of its occurrence after vaccination, the question is decided in favour of the old method. We have heard the same confident assertion made in conversation; and we have therefore been at some pains to look into the evidence of the opposite proposition, which appears to us as clearly and completely established as any fact in the history of diseases. We have no longer room to insert even

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an abſtract of thoſe caſes; but we ſhall refer our readers to the places where they may be found, after ſtating, very ſhortly, the two earlieſt that appear on record.

The firſt occurred in the caſe of a child of Dr Croft. 'He was inoculated by Dr Steigerthal, phyſician to King George the Firſt. Dr Deering was an eye-witneſs of the operation; and aſſures us, great care was taken in the choice of matter. He had the ſmall-pox of the confluent kind, and in a ſevere manner, in conſequence of this inoculation, and yet had it again *very full*, in the natural way, twelve months after. This, ſays Dr Woodville, in his Hiſtory of Inoculation, p. 217, is *a ſtriking fact, which has never been contradicted.*' A ſecond caſe was publiſhed about the ſame time by Dr Pierce Dod: 'It occurred in a ſon of Mr Richards, member of parliament for Bridport, who was inoculated for the ſmall-pox. About ſixty puſtules came out; which maturated, ſcabbed, and went off in the uſual manner. Two years afterwards he had the diſeaſe again, more ſeverely, in the natural way. This caſe was communicated to Dr Dod by Dr Brodrepp, a learned and experienced phyſician, the grandfather of the child, who attended him on both occaſions,' and was much canvaſſed by the controverſaliſts of that day. A third very ſtriking caſe is mentioned by Mr Ring in his anſwer to Dr Moſeley (p. 209. &c.), of a perſon who was much ſeamed and ſcarred by natural ſmall-pox in his youth, who, after he was a grandfather, died of a ſecond attack of the confluent diſorder. A fourth caſe is mentioned at p. 211. of the ſame work, of the very ſame deſcription, and with the ſame iſſue; a fifth is detailed at p. 213.; a ſixth at p. 215.; and a ſeventh at p. 280.: three others are given from a foreign publication at p. 199. Several ſimilar facts are detailed in Mr Ring's large treatiſe, p. 59. 86. 946, &c.; and the caſe of the Earl of Weſtmeath's child has lately been laid before the public in a way that precludes all doubts as to its authenticity.

On the whole, we think there are not fewer than twenty diſtinct caſes of ſmall-pox occurring a ſecond time in the ſame ſubject, each of them authenticated far more completely than any one that has been cited by the adverſaries of vaccination. We are perſuaded, indeed, that we ſhall be ſupported by every impartial perſon who makes himſelf maſter of the whole evidence, in ſaying, that there are not ſo many as ten caſes of ſmall-pox, after perfect vaccination, proved in ſuch a way as to be entitled to any ſort of attention. Now, the Medical Council, conſiſting of almoſt all the great practitioners in London, have reported, that 'nearly as many perſons have been already vaccinated in this kingdom, as were ever inoculated for the ſmall-pox, ſince the firſt introduction of that practice;' ſo that, if the two caſes were exactly upon a footing,

ing, the risk of failure seems to be at least twice as great in the small-pox inoculation as in that for cow-pox.

But the cases are not by any means on a footing; and, when rightly considered, the advantage will be found to be still more decidedly on the side of vaccination. In the first place, an infinitely greater proportion of vaccinated patients have been intentionally subjected to the most violent forms of variolous infection, than of those who had been inoculated for small-pox. For fifty years back, the confidence of the country, in the efficacy of inoculation, has been so firmly established, that it was seldom put to the test, either by a second inoculation, or by voluntary exposure to infection. The anxiety, and the contest about vaccination, had the effect of making it almost a regular practice to inoculate again with variolous matter, or to put the patient in some other way to the proof. It is not too much, perhaps, to say, that one fifth of the whole number vaccinated has been subjected to this severe ordeal; and that not more than one in five hundred of inoculated patients have undergone a similar probation. If the two operations, therefore, were only of equal virtue, the cases of failure should be an hundred times more numerous among the vaccinated than the inoculated patients. In point of fact, they are absolutely fewer. It deserves also to be considered, that cases of failure in inoculated small-pox must now be picked up, in a great measure, from old books or old people, and that it is fair to presume that a much greater number than can now be authenticated have occurred, and been forgotten in the course of the last seventy years; whereas, all the instances of failure in vaccination having happened within these six years, and while the keen eyes of so many disputants were fixed on the issue, it may be concluded, that few or none have been lost to the public, and that we are now completely aware of the full extent of the calamity.

In whatever way this part of the question be considered, therefore, we conceive it to be clearly made out, that vaccination, if it do not absolutely and certainly secure the patient from the contagion of small-pox, gives him a security, at least as effectual as could be given by the old practice of inoculation. We are conscientiously persuaded, that, to this extent, it may be relied on with the most implicit confidence.

The only other point which remains to be considered, is, whether vaccination communicates as safe and mild a disease as inoculation? Upon this, however, it would be a mere waste of words to enlarge; the public knows perfectly, by experience, that the cow-pox is incomparably a milder disease than the inoculated small-pox; and there is certainly no one instance in which the fever attending it has risen to a fatal, or even to an alarming height. As to the

the trash that has been written to prove that it has given birth to a multitude of new and dreadful cutaneous distempers; as there is not a shadow of evidence to connect these appearances with the preceding vaccination, the only answer that can be made to it is, that it was never pretended that the cow-pox would insure the patient, for all the rest of his life, from scrophula or itch, or tinea, or leprosy, or syphilis. The whole proof that is offered, in any of the alleged cases, is, that a person who had been vaccinated, was afterwards affected by these disorders, sometimes at the distance of years.

It was not necessary, perhaps, to make any other answer to assertions so improbable and intemperate; but Dr Willan has condescended to answer them; and has set this part of the question, it appears to us, finally to rest. Dr Willan, it is well known, is the oracle of the metropolis in all cutaneous disorders, and has more practice in that department than all the rest of his brethren put together. Now, he says, in the first place, that after a careful examination of all the cases alluded to, *no new disorders* have been introduced into the nosology since the discovery of vaccination; and that the old cutaneous complaints of the metropolis have not become either more virulent or more general. As a proof of this, he exhibits a table (p. 82.) of the number of cases of cutaneous eruption in the public dispensary, from 1796 to 1805; the result of which is, that their proportion to other diseases was rather greater before Dr Jenner's discovery, than in the sixth and seventh years of vaccination. In the next place, he exhibits a statement, from the senior surgeon of the Gloucester Infirmary, in which cow-pox has been familiar for the last fifty years, which purports, 1st, That there is not a more healthy race of beings, or one more free from cutaneous complaints, than the milkers at dairies, who are constantly exposed to cowpox; and, 2nd, that though many hundred patients have been under his charge for cowpox in the last fifty years, *not one* has complained, in all that time, of any cutaneous affection as its consequence. In the last place, Dr Willan gives it as his decided opinion, that the vaccine inoculation is much less apt to produce inflammation and suppuration of the glands than inoculated small-pox; and that he has never known an instance of scrophula that could be fairly referred to it.

There are, no doubt, one or two unfortunate cases, and we believe no more, in which the wound in the arm has degenerated into a dangerous ulcer. This may be owing to the incautious use of a rusty lancet, or of one charged with matter which had run into putridity; or it may be owing to a singular and unaccountable irritability of constitution, akin to that which Dr Willan says he has known produce the most violent disorders from the application

cation of a blister, or give rise to incurable ulcerations from the bite of a leech. It is needless to say that similar disasters may arise from common inoculation—they may arise from the scratch of a pin.

Although the arguments in favour of vaccination appear, when impartially considered, to be thus evidently triumphant, we are well aware, from the recollection of our own sentiments on the occasion, that some people, who have not leisure to enter into the merits of the controversy, may be staggered by the simple and palpable fact, that a certain number of persons, of some education and acuteness, have set themselves so outrageously against it, and may think it safer to resist novelties, as to the merit of which there is a difference of opinion, and adhere to the good old way, which every body so lately concurred in recommending. To such persons, it may be of some use to state, that the good old way of inoculation of small-pox met, in its day, with an opposition not less virulent and persevering, than cow-pox seems destined to encounter; and was assailed with as much bad language, and nearly as much bad argument, as is now poured out against vaccination. Dr Wagstaffe, in 1721, published a variety of pamphlets against it, in which he maintains, with great vehemence, that it does not prevent the small-pox in future; that it produces a variety of shocking distempers, itch, ulcers, boils, hectic, *caries*, &c.; that it often produces an unfavourable confluent small-pox; and, in general, that it is to the full as fatal as the natural disorder. The same positions were maintained in a great variety of eloquent publications by Dr Hillary, and Messrs Howgrave, Sparham, and Massey. But the most magnificent and imposing piece of composition that has been preserved upon this side of the question, is a sermon preached by the Reverend Edmond Massey, 'upon the dangerous and sinful practice of inoculation,' in 1722. In this performance, the reverend person maintains, that Job's distemper was the confluent small-pox, and that he had been inoculated by the Devil: he then asserts, that diseases are sent by Providence for the punishment of our sins; and that this attempt to prevent them, is 'a diabolical operation.' He comforts himself, however, by reflecting, that its pretensions, in this way, are utterly vain and groundless;—he says they are mere 'forgers of lies,' who pretend that it will prevent the small-pox; enlarges upon the miseries and evils that inoculation threatens to introduce; and hopes that a time will come, when those preparers of poison, and spreaders of infection, will have a stigma fixed on them, and no longer be permitted to mingle with other professional men; which, he says, indeed, is as presumptuous in them as it was in the Devil to mingle with the sons of God.

These, and similar expressions, which abound in the writings of that day, will go far, we fear, to deprive Drs Moseley and Squirrel of any claim to originality in the style of eloquence they have exerted themselves so meritoriously to revive. We beg them, however, to believe, that it was by no means for this invidious purpose that we have referred to their prototypes, but merely with a view to set the minds of those readers at rest, who might be inclined to doubt, whether men of education could possibly be so positive and so angry in support of what was certainly wrong. Drs Wagstaffe and Hillary, with their faithful squires and followers, have been effectually confuted by the experience of little less than a century; and their forgotten cavils and rhapsodies now excite no other emotions in the reader, than those mild sensations of contempt and wonder with which the next generation will look on the lucubrations of Squirrel and Moseley, if any accident should draw them from the shelter of that oblivion to which they are rapidly descending.

We will not add to the length of this article by any general observations on the importance of the subject on which it is employed. There is only one point of practical importance which we have omitted to consider; and that is, the propriety of continuing the practice of putting the efficacy of vaccination to the test, by subjecting the patient afterwards to repeated variolous inoculation. Most of the violent admirers of the new practice oppose this as unnecessary; and the instances of troublesome, and even dangerous affections, resulting from such inoculation, although no genuine small-pox be produced, certainly afford an argument of some weight against it. At the same time, we believe this risk to be so small, that, in order to allay the anxiety of parents, we do not see any great harm in continuing the practice till that anxiety shall disappear from the increasing reliance on vaccination, or until the extinction of small-pox shall render it impossible to find matter for the inoculation. It is a point still less doubtful, however, that it would be advisable to institute a very strict examination into the cases of all persons vaccinated before 1802, and to repeat the operation in every case that appears in the slightest degree doubtful; ascertaining, at the same time, the fact of the constitutional affection, by Mr Bryce's ingenious test of inoculating one arm from the vesicles formed on the other, and judging of the state of the system by the sudden maturation of the second incision. If the first vesicle be quite regular, we are inclined to think, that the success of this experiment will afford the most perfect assurance of the constitutional affection having been completely produced.

Art. IV. *Journal des Mines*, publié par L'Agence des Mines de la République. Tom. II.—XV. inclus. 8vo. Paris. An 8.

We endeavoured to explain, in a former Number, the general plan and character of these Journals; and shall now proceed with our rapid examination of a few of the most prominent articles.

The abstract of *Duhamel's* communication *on coal*, presents, as we formerly intimated, few original or important views to the practical observer; yet, as a geological and economical paper, and, especially, as connected with other essays on the same subject, it posseses sufficient merit to excite our regret, that it is published in an abridged form. The petty jealousy which long subsisted among the coal proprietors in this country, has deprived the world of much valuable information relative to the native states of this combustible substance, and to the most eligible modes of working it. Had regular registers of all proceedings and observations been kept at every coal-field, and rendered easily accessible to those whom views of science or of interest invited to accumulate facts, and institute comparisons, it is extremely probable, that much superfluous and wasteful labour might have been spared, much fuel economized, new stores discovered, and several curious and important geological positions accurately established. We have learned, with pleasure, that, in some of the southern districts of our island, a more liberal spirit of inquiry begins to prevail, and that not only the bearings, thickness, quality, &c. of each stratum, which is disclosed in the course of working, are distinctly recorded, but that samples of their substance are preserved, for the inspection of the interested and the curious. On a subject of such immediate concern to individual comfort, and to the maintenance and extension of the manufacturing community, we receive with gratitude every species of information which proceeds from the pen of a judicious and intelligent observer. Such M. Duhamel seems to be; and we have no hesitation in recommending the perusal of his memoir (in the enlarged form, if it can be procured), to all who direct their investigations to this department of mineralogy. At the same time, we must beg leave to remark, that a more intimate acquaintance with the few printed works, which exist on the subject, and a more ample range of practical observation, would have greatly enhanced the value of his treatise. His synoptical view of the coal strata in different parts of Europe is peculiarly defective, both in regard of localities, and of the number of workable seams which have been discovered at each. Edinburgh and

Carron,

Carron, for example, to the former of which, two veins, and to the latter three, are assigned, are the only places mentioned in Scotland; and Newcastle, Whitehaven, and *Worsleg*, (no doubt Worsley), make up the English catalogue. Marienburg in Misnia, Rotenbach in Silesia, Bilin in Bohemia, where there is one seam of fifteen feet in thickness, and another which is at least sixty feet, with the abundant magazines which have been unfolded in the mountains of Upper Styria, are unaccountably omitted. On comparing even his French list with Lefebvre's enumeration, (which we have to notice in the sequel), the reader will perceive similar instances of omission. The vague expression, too, of *several seams*, when the exact number might be stated, indicates a disregard of precision, which should never be tolerated in the construction of tabular abstracts. The plan of M. Duhamel's chart is, however, sufficiently commendable; for it is intended to exhibit, at a glance, the names of the known mines, their geographical situation, their stratiform or amorphous distribution, their direction and inclination, the nature of the roof, pavement, and of the interposed and adjacent mineral substances, with appropriate observations. We trust, therefore, that the day is not distant, when the author, or some properly qualified person, will bestow on it the requisite extension and correction.

As the exiſtence of coal in limeſtone had been long denied by ſome eminent naturaliſts, the learned author of this memoir, very properly, devotes a few pages to the conſideration of this queſtion. Buffon had formerly noticed the mixture of calcareous matters in the coal of Alais, which is often burned for the expreſs purpoſe of obtaining lime. Inſtances of the fact are likewiſe enumerated by Sauſſure; but the moſt appoſite examples have been adduced by M. Bertrand of Marſeilles.

'The coal ſtrata of Provence,' ſays this ingenious mineralogiſt, 'are ſituated at the foot of the higheſt mountains of Lower Provence. Running along a ſoil of a whitiſh red, they traverſe a pretty uniform range of hills, whoſe internal ſtructure preſents nothing remarkable to the ordinary obſerver. To the firſt layer of earth, ſucceeds a bed of ſtone, more or leſs thick, and followed by a layer of earth, of the ſame nature as the firſt, which, in turn, repoſes on new beds of hard ſtone. This ſeries continues to a variable depth, when the earthy layers diſappear, to make place for thoſe of coal, which are always included between beds of limeſtone.' The latter, it may be of conſequence to remark, are ſeldom of any conſiderable thickneſs, have a foliated texture, and, in proportion as they approach to the coal, exchange their dingy white for a blue of a lighter or deeper ſhade, and thus frequently aſſume a ſchiſtoſe aſpect, though they are unqueſtionably calcareous,

ous, and abound in marine and river shells. This disposition of the coal strata of Provence, extends over a district of more than twenty leagues in length; but the thickness of the seams seldom exceeds two or three feet. We may add, that a calcareous stratum, of six or seven feet in thickness, forms the roof of the caking coal that is worked at Blackburn, in West Lothian; and that at Carlops and Spittlehaugh, in the county of Peebles, the coal which lies immediately under the lime-quarry, is employed in burning the stone.

The occasional interposition of layers of peat-earth between those of coal, is another curious circumstance, connected with the geology of the Provençal district, which has furnished M. Bertrand with his proofs. In the present abstract, however, this appearance is mentioned in such general terms, as to leave it somewhat doubtful whether the alleged peat may not more properly be classed with vitriolic or bituminous earth, or even, perhaps, with fossil wood.

We are amused with our author's visible terror and anxiety, lest coal should be found incumbent on basalt, or even come into contact with it. When compelled to admit the occurrence of basalt above coal, he is still careful to insert a thin and saving clause of schistus; and, as we never explored the coal-fields of Auvergne and the Vivarais, we dare not venture to break a lance with him on such slippery and precarious ground. We know, however, that in Scotland, nature sometimes dispenses with this slim partition. 'Strata of basaltine rocks,' says Williams, in his *Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom*, 'are very common in many coal-fields in Scotland. There are several thick beds of this stone betwixt the different seams of coal at Borrowstounness; and one of them is the immediate roof of a seam of coal in that ground; and there is a thin seam of coal below a bed of beautiful columnar basaltes, at Hillhouse lime-quarry, a mile south of Linlithgow. In the Bathgate hills, south of Linlithgow, there are several strata of coal, and several strata of basaltes blended together, *stratum super stratum*.'

M. Duhamel has adopted, and, in our opinion, with too little reserve, the commonly received doctrine, that the strata which accompany coal, or which alternate with it, are composed of the same materials as the adjacent primitive mountains, and that, consequently, they owe their formation to the abrasion or decomposition of the latter. The exceptions to this rule, however, are so numerous, that we may be allowed to question its foundation in fact. Many of the coal strata in France are, no doubt, encompassed by primitive rocks; but most of those of England and Flanders are insulated in secondary soil, and have their intermediate

ſpaces occupied by beds of ſandſtone and ſchiſtus, ſometimes of great extent and thickneſs, though very remote from any maſſes which can be ſuppoſed to have contributed to their compoſition. Beſides, the homogeneous complexion of the concomitant ſtrata, ſeems rather to have reſulted from ſome immediate chemical operation, than from the gradual ſubſidence of preexiſting materials.

In his account of the different derangements and diſlocations incident to coal ſtrata, the writer of this memoir is much leſs minute and explicit than we could deſire; but the deficiency is well compenſated in a ſubſequent paper, tranſmitted by *Struve* and *Berthout*, who lay down ſome ſkilful directions for the treatment of ſuch unwelcome interruptions. We only regret, that, without the aſſiſtance of the plates, we cannot render their inſtructions very intelligible, and muſt, therefore, be contented with a ſimple reference to the original. Some excellent precautions againſt the fatal effects of the fire and choak-damps in coal mines, are ſuggeſted by Macquart and Baillet; and an ingenious contrivance is explained by Humboldt, for preſerving the lives of the workmen, and the light of lamps, in ſubterraneous paſſages infected with deleterious vapours. On theſe particulars, however, we cannot afford to dilate; and the papers to which we allude really are not ſuſceptible of abridgement.

We ſhall paſs, then, to *Lefebvre's Report of the different Coal-Mines in France*, which we regard as no unimportant ſupplement to the preceding articles. From this review, which occupies nearly two Numbers, and which ſeems to be compiled induſtriouſly from authentic documents, we are enabled to infer, that coal is actually worked in 47 departments of the *empire*; that indications of its occurrence have been traced in 16 others; that the yearly produce from the mines of 34 departments, has been fairly eſtimated at 77,600,000 quintals; that if 3,880,000 be allowed for the 13 undetermined departments, the total of quintals will be 81,700,000, which, if converted into money on the coal-grounds, would fetch 32,280,000 francs; and that more than 60,000 individuals earn their ſubſiſtence at the coaleries, independently of thoſe who are engaged in the carriage and exportation of the commodity.

Before we take leave of this uſeful claſs of writers, we ſhall juſt hint at the propriety of digeſting, into a regular treatiſe, all the important facts and obſervations which have been publiſhed on the ſubject of coal, which at preſent lye ſcattered in the volumes of Jars, Genneté, Genſanne, Morand, Williams, &c. and in various periodical and ſcientific communications. Such a compilation, if judiciouſly and ſcientifically arranged, would amply reward the trouble of ſome intelligent chemiſt and mineralogiſt. At all events,

events, we would invite some of our humane and benevolent societies to prepare directions for escaping the fatal effects of noxious vapours, and to distribute such salutary instruction among those who are doomed to toil and danger in procuring the comfort of fuel to others.

Among the contributions of the celebrated *Dolomieu*, we remark a long and interesting account of *the Manganese Mine at Romanèche.* We can only note, in passing, that it is distinguished by the following particulars. 1. It contains a very considerable quantity of sulphat of barytes, about one sixth of the mass, not accidentally mixed, but in a state of chemical combination. 2. The total absence of iron from its composition is the more extraordinary, because the affinity between these two substances is so great, that few iron ores are destitute of manganese; and analysis has not hitherto revealed another instance of manganese devoid of iron. 3. The hardness of those portions of the ore which contain the least quantity of oxygen, and are, consequently, denominated *oxydulated*, is so considerable, that they not only scratch glass, but even rock-crystal; and give bright sparks, when struck with steel. 4. When plunged for a minute in water, the oxidulated variety absorbs a certain quantity of the liquid, and, when taken out of it, emits a very strong argillaceous odour, though no clay has been detected in its composition. 5. In the same circumstances, the *oxidated* rapidly absorbs a great quantity of water, with a hissing noise, and disengagement of air. 'The odour which it then exhales is very strong; but, though approaching to the argillaceous, it produces a different sensation, which it is very difficult to describe.'

The same ingenious and accurate observer has communicated some important details concerning *the formation of leucite* or *vesuvian.* Among other arguments for the preexistence of this substance in the basis of the lava, he notices its frequent adherence to volcanic ejections which had not experienced the action of heat. He likewise contends, that the temperature of liquified lava is by no means sufficiently intense to reduce *leucite* to fusion, any more than hornblend, feldspar, mica, pyroxene, and other crystallized substances which occur in the ignited masses. This temperature, however, is probably subject to great varieties; and, with respect to the mineral in question, the presence of potash may accelerate its fusion.

'Among the specimens of gold ore from Mexico,' continues the author, 'which I received at Rome from the Chevalier Azara, the Spanish ambassador, I found one which had leucite for its matrix.

'In this instance, the crystals are a line in diameter, of a greenish

 white

white colour, semi-transparent, and agglutinated or cemented by an oxyd of iron and copper, containing laminæ of gold.

'My friend and colleague Lelièvre, of the Board of Mines, discovered, in 1785, in the mountains of *Travaux de la Providence*, near Gavarnie, in the Pyrenees, a granitous rock, composed of quartz, brown mica, and some red garnets, interspersed with small greyish garnets, of a line in diameter, which become white and refractory in the fire, and exhibit all the other characters of leucite. I know of no other mineralogist who has mentioned this substance as occurring in circumstances unconnected with volcanoes.'

If this intelligence be accurate, it is certainly curious; but we are not informed of the specific gravity and analysis of the Mexican and Pyrenean crystals, which, we are much inclined to suspect, are only accidental varieties of the garnet, not essentially different, perhaps, from those pale green specimens which Launoy conjectures have been found in Siberia. The striking conformity, too, in the composition of lava and leucite, as indicated by Vauquelin's analysis, renders it extremely probable that they have a similar origin. We, moreover, collect from the observations of Salmon and Buch, that the leucites of Borghetto on the Tiber, contain, in their centre, a nucleus of the very lava which surrounds them; and, in many cases, a filament of the same lava, proceeding from the nucleus, and traversing the crystal, is observed to be connected with the general mass. Hence, we cannot easily resist the conclusion, that these leucites have shared the fluidity of their encompassing paste at the period of its formation, and that their crystallizations have been determined by the laws of their affinities, or that the crystallization of leucite and the progress of lava to solidity are simultaneous. In confirmation of this view of the subject, we may add, that the leucites of Pompeii inclose nuclei of the tufa, formed of the ashes which overwhelmed that unfortunate city; that Breislak, Thompson, Sage, and Spallanzani attest the volcanic crystallization of augite, olivine, feldspar, and even mica; and that the hills of *Roca-di-Papa* and *Monte-Cavo*, in the vicinity of Rome, are entirely composed of the matter of leucite.

After all, if we can conceive the formation and cooling of lava in the bowels of the earth as well as on its surface, we need not be startled at the projection of ready formed masses, by expansive impulse, without their being subjected to such violent ignition as to fuse the crystals imbedded in their substance. But it is a point of some consequence to determine, whether leucite be, in the strict sense of the expression, a volcanic product; since, if the affirmative could be established, its presence in districts, which are at present cool and undisturbed, would infallibly bespeak their volcanic

volcanic origin; and one important ſtep would be gained in the hiſtory of many baſaltine rocks. We truſt, therefore, that the queſtion will continue to be inveſtigated in thoſe ſituations in which alone it can be fairly decided.

In another part of the Journals, Dolomieu favours us with a report of one of his mineralogical excurſions, which comprizes ſome ſingular information relative to the extinct volcanoes of Auvergne. In the firſt place, it is of ſome conſequence to be aſſured, on the authority of ſuch a competent judge, that the lavas of Italy and Auvergne are perfectly analogous, ſince thus we can no longer doubt the identity of their cauſe. There is, however, a marked difference in the *ſtyles*, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, of the two volcanic fields. In Italy the ſubordinate hills are diſpoſed in groupes around the principal and central volcano; whereas, in Auvergne, the elevations are detached, and ſeem to have formed ſeparate fiery ſyſtems. It deſerves likewiſe to be remarked, that, in Italy and Sicily, the aſhes, ſcoriæ, and incoherent ejections of various deſcriptions, have formed immenſe accumulations over a great extent of circumjacent ground, on which ſtreams of lava have been afterwards induced; whilſt, in Auvergne, they diſtinctly repoſe on the original granitic ſoil, the eruptive torrents having forced a paſſage through the maſſes of granite, on whoſe ſurface they were deſtined to flow. The author has, we apprehend, more merit in stating these distinctions, than in hastily inferring from them, that the materials of volcanic products are of more ancient formation than granite, and that the interior of our globe is still in a fluid state. Indeed, his conclusions are rendered still more problematical, when we turn to the unassuming assertions of M. Muthuon, who follows him in the same walk, who was bred in the volcanic district in question, and who has prosecuted the study of geology with unwearied diligence and zeal. This gentleman acquaints us, that the granite hills contain in their bosom large heterogeneous masses, and veins of indubitable volcanic origin; that the ancient volcanoes are frequently approximated to one another; and that the fragments of granite detached by eruptions, are more or less calcined, opaque, or deprived of their water of crystallization.

We confeſs, too, that the hypotheſis of ſudden refrigeration in water, appears to us inadequate to explain thoſe well known priſmatic forms, which are occaſionally aſſumed by baſalt. If ſome appearances on the ſhores of Sicily ſeem to countenance ſuch an opinion, others on the coaſts of Iceland, St Helena, the Iſle of Bourbon, &c. may, with equal propriety, be quoted in oppoſition to it. Beſides, we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve this columnar diſpoſition near the top of a hill, when the whole

inferior

inferior part of the mass was amorphous. From a variety of facts, which we have not leisure to detail at length, there arises at least a very allowable presumption, that exposure to the external air is one of the requisites in the formation of these prismatic ranges. Mr Williams, whom we have already quoted, and whose opportunities of observing the mineral productions of this country were many and favourable, is decidedly of this opinion. After citing Salisbury Craigs, in our immediate neighbourhood, and the beautiful columns at Hillhouse lime-quarry, near Linlithgow, as proofs of his assertion, he proceeds thus.

'The basaltine rock is to be judged of and denominated from its quality and colour and component parts, and not only from the figure it sometimes assumes, which is merely accidental, arising from situation more than from the quality of the stone. This rock is very common in the coal countries, and in many other parts of Scotland; and it is frequently found formed into globous, spherical, and other figures, as well as the columnar; but always where it now is, and we have good reason to suppose that it always was exposed to the external air.

'Wherever we trace a stratum of basaltes under the cover of other incumbent rocks, it is not then formed into any regular figure. Whereever we cut through it in sinking coal-pits, we do not find it regularly formed. Wherever the face of a regularly formed basaltine rock is quarried away until it goes under other incumbent rocks, we soon lose the angular figures, and an uniform face of a rock comes in without the least appearance of a prismatical, glebous, or any other regular figure.'

To M. Dolomieu we are also indebted for an acute and elaborate essay on '*Mineral Species.*' That accurate and competent specific distinctions have not yet been laid down in the science of mineralogy, we will readily grant; but the proposed innovation of founding these distinctions on the integral molecule, however philosophical it may appear in theory, is liable to the twofold objection, that the integral molecule is neither easily detected nor easily characterized.

Upon this author, however, we cannot find in our hearts to be severe, since the same genius which inspired this masterly and eloquent fragment of an original system, under peculiar circumstances of vexation and discomfort, might, in happier hours, have devised methods of obviating practical difficulties. In the dungeon of Messina, in which he was detained, in violation of the laws of nations, and in spite of the remonstrances of courts and learned societies, the author traced these new views of mineralogical arrangement on the margins of a few books which the gaoler had left him, with the black of his lamp-smoke and water, for ink, and a bone rubbed against the wall into the rude semblance of a pen. The editors of the present work have inserted Lacépède's

historical

historical notice of his life and writings, which is, unfortunately, disfigured by the pompous declamation of a French *eloge*. A plain recital of facts would have better accorded with the noble simplicity of Dolomieu, the recollection of whose virtues and sufferings is still fresh in the minds of many, and the memory of whose talents and unwearied zeal in the cause of science can never perish.

Lapeyrouse's relation of his *journey to Mont-Perdu*, is written with spirit, though his style sometimes verges on affected stateliness. We shall quote his general results, which are abundantly perspicuous, and most of them fairly deducible from his interesting observations.

'1. There are chains of mountains, in which beds of granite, porphyry, trapp, hornstone, and petrosilex, alternate with those of limestone.

'2. This limestone is so blended and incorporated with the granite, trapp, and other rocks, at the junction of their beds, and they are so completely locked into one another, that it is impossible not to recognize their common origin.

'3. We are compelled to admit, that this limestone, uniformly destitute of organic remains, is primitive, and coeval with the granite, porphyry, trapp, hornstone, and petrosilex.

'4. The limestone which contains vestiges of petrified animals, which has its appropriate characters, which is never blended with the primordial rocks, but is often incumbent on them, has a different origin, and is of a more recent formation than these rocks.

'5. Numerous tribes of petrified marine animals occur in this limestone; and, as their prototypes still live in the bosom of the sea, we cannot reasonably reject the belief, that the sea, during a long period, covered the places in which these petrified tribes are now found.

'6. Mont-Perdu, and all that central and most elevated portion of the Pyrenees, which includes a profusion of petrified marine bodies, distributed even in large families, have been formed under the waters of the sea.

'7. When the sea accumulated the great calcareous masses of the centre of the Pyrenees, there existed continents inhabited by quadrupeds.

'8. The mixture of marine bodies with the bones of quadrupeds, attests that they were deposited by the sea.

'9. The alternations and the nature of the beds of rock which sustain these secondary masses, their inclination in a contrary direction, their want of every organic body, their symptoms of decay under the secondary stone which invests them, prove that they existed long before the period which can be assigned to the deposition of these secondary ridges and masses.

'10. The primordial ridges of the Pyrenees had another position than that of the highest elevations of the present chain.

'11.

'11. As most of the summits of these regions, whether those of porphyry, hornstone, or trapp, have their tops or sides encompassed with limestone, it is probable that the waters which gave rise to the loftiest central ridges, deposited the same secondary rock on the above mentioned summits, which they wholly cover.

'12. The regularity, the sporting, and the caprices of the vertical beds of submarine sandstone and limestone, the heterogeneous insertions of one rock into another, the uniformly vertical position of the beds of the primitive chain, and of the secondary ridges, the upright beds cut by horizontal strata, exclude the admission of any sudden or irregular commotion, which gave an erect position to the horizontal strata.

'13. The sandstones are a deposition from the waters. Those of Mont-Perdu are the result of their last work.'

Reserving his botanical stores for the *Flora Pyrenaica*, the author only slightly notices, as rarities, *Ranunculus glacialis*, *R. parnassifolius*, *Androsace aretia*, (probably *Carnea* of Linn.) *Daphne calycina*, *Saxifraga longifolia*, and *Arenaria fruticulosa*.

Lapeyrouse and his party only approached the summit of Mont-Perdu; but *Ramond* attained to it. The account of his ascent and observations, forms an excellent supplement to the preceding paper: but, as his exposition of the Pyrenees forms a separate publication, we wave the discussion of this single memoir.

In the *Mineralogical Report of the Department of the Ardèche*, it is stated, on the authority of *Gensanne*, but with a degree of brevity which too much characterizes the Report, that antimony has been found imbedded in a matrix of pit-coal. This we notice, merely on account of its singularity; and we hope that the circumstances will soon be more distinctly and fully explained.

It appears from *Vauquelin's analysis of the steatic earth*, which is swallowed by the famished natives of New Caledonia, that it contains no nutritious ingredients, but, on the contrary, two principles inimical to the human constitution, namely, the oxyds of iron and copper. The devourers of this miserable fare, then, must have recourse to it merely from the imperious desire of allaying the uneasy sensation of hunger; and this may, in some measure, be effected by preserving the distension of the viscera.

Before we dismiss these volumes from our table, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise at M. de Luc's scepticism respecting the existence of atmospheric stones. Though Chladni's hypothesis may be fanciful, or even untenable, it does not follow, as a necessary consequence, that the Siberian mass of iron, of enormous bulk, and containing nickel, is the produce of some forgotten forge. Even if the truth of this last opinion could be established, which, reasoning on chemical principles, we conceive to be impossible, it could not materially invalidate the evidence of positive testimony, on which the existence of meteoric stones, whether

whether formed in the atmosphere or elsewhere, securely rests. After diligent and repeated researches, M. Mettich, inspector of mines, could discern no trace of any foundery in the neighbourhood of the Siberian mass; Pallas was convinced, indeed, that it could never have been formed in the rude forges of the miners, which never yielded more than fifty or sixty pounds of metal at a time; and the analyses of Howard and Vauquelin present results which we should in vain expect from iron artificially prepared from its ore, and which seem evidently to confirm the tradition of the Tartars, who assert that the mass in question descended from the clouds. Proust and Klaproth, whose accuracy is not to be rashly impeached, have discovered, that native iron, reputed meteoric, differs from that which occurs in a fossil state, by the presence of nickel; and the numerous and minute coincidences which chemical investigation has revealed between the vulgar and scientific history of these insulated fragments of iron in the metallic state, powerfully induce us to class them with those stony substances which have fallen from the atmosphere.

In this class, we no longer hesitate to insert the celebrated stone of *Ensisheim*. The narrative which was deposited with it in the church, may be rendered thus.

'In the year of the Lord 1492, on Wednesday, which was Martinmas eve, the 7th of November, a singular miracle occurred; for, between eleven o'clock and noon, there was a loud clap of thunder, and a prolonged confused noise, which was heard at a great distance, and a stone fell from the air, in the jurisdiction of Ensisheim, which weighed two hundred and sixty pounds, and the confused noise was, besides, much louder than here. Then a child saw it strike on a field in the upper jurisdiction, towards the Rhine and Inn, near the district of Giscand, which was sown with wheat, and did it no harm, except that it made a hole there: and then they conveyed it from that spot; and many pieces were broken from it; which the landvogt forbade. They, therefore, caused it to be placed in the church, with the intention of suspending it as a miracle: and there came here many people to see this stone. So there were remarkable conversations about this stone: but the learned said that they knew not what it was; for it was beyond the ordinary course of nature, that such a large stone should smite the earth from the height of the air; but that it was really a miracle of God; for, before that time, never any thing was heard like it, nor seen, nor described. When they found that stone, it had entered into the earth, to the depth of a man's stature, which every body explained to be the will of God, that it should be found; and the noise of it was heard at Lucerne, at Villing, and in many other places, so loud, that it was believed that houses had been overturned: and as the King Maximilian was here, the Monday after St Catharine's day, of the same year, his royal Excellence ordered the stone which had fallen, to be brought

to

to the castle; and after having conversed a long time about it with the noblemen, he said that the people of Ensisheim should take it, and order it to be hung up in the church, and not to allow any body to take any thing from it. His Excellency, however, took two pieces of it, of which he kept one, and sent the other to the Duke Sigismund of Austria: and they spoke a great deal about this stone, which they suspended in the choir, where it still is; and a great many people came to see it.'

Trithemius, in his Chronicle, vol. XI. p. 551, employs language to this effect. 'In the same year, on the 7th day of November, in the village of Simtgaw, near the townlet of Ensisheim, not far from Basil, a city of Germany, a stone called a thunder-stone, of a prodigious size, for we know from eye-witnesses, that it weighed two hundred and fifty-five pounds, fell from the heavens. Its fall was so violent, that it broke into two pieces. The most considerable is still exhibited at the door of the church of Ensisheim, suspended by an iron chain, as a proof of the fact which we have mentioned, and to preserve it in the public recollection.' Again, from Paul Lang, as cited in the third volume (p. 1264.) of the *Scriptores Rerum German. Hist.*, we learn, that a furious storm arose on the 7th of November 1492; and that, while the thunder roared, and the heavens appeared to be all on fire, a stone, of an enormous size, fell with a hideous noise, near Ensisheim. 'Its form was that of the Greek delta, with a triangular point. They still show it at Ensisheim as a wonderful phenomenon.'

Both these chroniclers lived at the period which they assign to the descent of this extraordinary mass; and, although their very names are hastening to oblivion, it behoves us to remark, that *Trithemus* yielded to few of his contemporaries in labour and learning; and that *Lang*, though a German monk, travelled in search of historical monuments, and had the candour and the boldness to arraign the license of the Catholic clergy, and to applaud the independence of Luther and Melanchthon.

M. Barthold, we are aware, has laboured to convince his readers, that this far-famed fragment is merely argilloferruginous, of secondary formation, detached from an adjacent mountain, and conveyed by some torrent, or land-flood, to the spot on which it was found. In this hypothesis, we might partially acquiesce, did not the *naïveté* of contemporary and concurring records militate against it, and had not Vauquelin's more precise analysis detected the same constituent parts as in the other specimens denominated atmospheric, namely, silica, magnesia, iron, nickel, sulphur, and a small quantity of lime. 'This stone, then,' to use the language of this distinguished chemist, 'in

'in every respect, resembles others which have fallen from the atmosphere.' *

Vauquelin's own paper, which properly finds a place in the Journals, appears to us to be sufficiently decisive of the general question. Had he entered a little more into the details of the different cases, he would probably have convinced M. de Luc himself. Our limits will only allow us to supply his deficiency of circumstances in one instance, but that we reckon an important one, namely, the shower of stones which fell near Agen. The notoriety of the phenomenon in France, might absolve Vauquelin from a formal recital of the particulars. In this country, however, where the facts have obtained less publicity, it may be proper to state them somewhat more explicitly. Of the numerous accounts of this phenomenon, some of the most interesting are addressed to M. Darcet, the celebrated chemist. The following account is extracted from a letter to that gentleman, written by a respectable inhabitant of St Sevère.

'Yesterday, our town was agitated by a very unusual alarm. About a quarter past nine o'clock, there suddenly appeared in the air a fireball, dragging a long train, which diffused a brilliant light over the horizon. This fireball soon disappeared, and seemed to fall at a hundred paces from us. Soon after, we heard an explosion much louder than that of cannon, or of thunder. Every body dreaded being buried under the ruins of his house, which seemed to give way from the concussion. The same phenomenon was seen, and the report heard in the neighbouring towns, as Mont-de-Marsan, Tartas, and Dax. The weather, in other respects, was very calm, without a breath of wind, or a cloud; and the moon shone in all her brightness.'

M. Darcet's brother, a clergyman in that part of the country, sent him a small stone, which was picked up on the morning after the explosion, and the history of which he was scrupulously anxious to investigate. Being satisfied with respect to all the particulars, he at length despatched it to Paris, accompanied with some curious remarks.

'When the stones fell,' says he, 'they had not their present degree of hardness. Some of them fell on straw, bits of which stuck to the stones, and incorporated with them. I have seen one in this predicament. It is at present at La Bastide; but I cannot induce the possessor to part with it. * * * Those which fell on the houses, produced a noise, not like that of stones, but rather of a substance which had not yet acquired compactness.'

For the entertainment of our readers, we shall also cite the *procès-verbal*, with as little injury as possible to the original phraseology.

'In the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and the thirtieth

tieth day of the month of August, we, the Sieur Jean Duby, mayor, and Louis Maſſillon, procurator of the commune of the municipality of La Grange-de-Juillac, and Jean Darmite, reſident in the pariſh of La Grangè-de-Juillac, certify in truth and verity, that on Saturday the 24th of July laſt; between nine and ten o'clock, there paſſed a great fire; and after it we heard in the air a very loud and extraordinary noiſe; and about two minutes after, there fell ſtones from heaven; but fortunately there fell only a very few, and they fell about ten paces from one another, in ſome places, and in others nearer, and, finally, in ſome other places farther, and falling, moſt of them, of the weight of about half a quarter of a pound each; ſome others of about half a pound, like that found in our pariſh of La Grange; and on the borders of the pariſh of Creon, they were found of a pound weight; and, in falling, they ſeemed not to be inflamed, but very hard and black without, and within of the colour of ſteel: and, thank God, they occaſioned no harm to the people, nor to the trees, but only to ſome trees which were broken on the houſes; and moſt of them fell gently, and others fell quickly with a hiſſing noiſe; and ſome were found which had entered into the earth, but very few. In witneſs whereof, we have written and ſigned theſe preſents. DUBY, Mayor; DARMITE.'

According to M. Baudin, as he and M. Carris of Barbotan were walking in the court of the castle of Mormes, about half past nine o'clock, when the air was perfectly calm, and the sky cloudless, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by a pale, clear light, which obscured that of the full moon. On looking up, they observed, almost in the zenith, a fire-ball of an apparently larger diameter than that of the moon, with a train five or six times longer than its body, and gradually tapering to a blood red point, though the rest of the meteor was of a pale white. The direction of this luminous body, which moved with great velocity, was from south to north. In about two seconds, it split into portions of considerable size, which fell, in different directions, like the fragments of a bomb. These became extinguished in the air; and some of them assumed, as they fell, that blood-red colour which had been observed at the point of the tail. Two or three minutes after, M. Baudin and his friend heard a dreadful explosion, like the simultaneous discharge of several pieces of ordnance, which shook the windows in their frames, and precipitated kitchen utensils from their shelves. From the court, the observers proceeded to the garden, when the noise still continued, and seemed to be directed over their heads. Some time after it had ceased, they heard a hollow sound, rolling in echoes, for fifty miles along the chain of the Pyrenees, and prolonged for four minutes, when it gradually died away in distance. At the same time, the atmosphere smelt strongly of sulphur. From the interval which occurred between the bursting of the meteor and the

the report, M. Baudin conjectured, that this fireball must have been at least eight miles from the earth's surface, and that it fell about four miles from Mormes. 'The latter part of my conjecture,' says he, 'was soon confirmed by an account which we received of a great many stones having fallen from the air at Juillac, and in the neighbourhood of Barbotan.* One of these places lies at nearly four miles to the north of Mormes, and the other about five to the north-north-west.'

Among various other circumstances related by M. Goyon d'Arzas, in his letters to Professor St Amand, he observes, that when the fireball gave way, a great number of stones, of a deep slate-grey colour, mostly of a flat oval shape, very hard, close-grained, and heavy in proportion to their size, fell in the parish of Juillac, and some of the neighbouring districts. In general, they weighed from half a pound to two or three pounds. One, exceeding twenty pounds, was carried, as a curiosity, to the town of Mont-de-Marsan. Though, for the most part, smooth on the surface, they were occasionally marked by longitudinal fissures; and their transversely striated fracture exhibited indications of metallic veinlets, chiefly of a ferruginous complexion. While yet ignited, and scattered in the air, they formed that magnificent fire-work, that shower of flame, which illumined the horizon over a large tract of country. In another letter, the same gentleman assures his correspondent, that the details which he transmitted to him were attested by reputable citizens, who received them from eye-witnesses, and most of whom had collected the stones on a bare moor, of an extremely thin soil of white sand, on which no stones of any description had been observed in the memory of man. This meteor was seen at Bayonne, Auch, Pau, Tarbes, and even at Bordeaux and Toulouse. At the last mentioned place, it excited little attention, on account of its great distance, and its appearing only a little brighter than a shooting-star.

When all the circumstances of this case are duly considered; when we are presented with the concurring testimony of the learned and the unlearned of the district in which the phenomenon occurred; when we find the Professor of Natural History in the central school of Agen retracting his incredulity; and when we are assured that Vauquelin obtained from the transmitted specimens the same substances that are contained in other atmospherical stones, and nearly in the same proportions, it would seem highly unreasonable to withhold our assent, merely because we have not ourselves had ocular demonstration of the alleged particulars.

M. de Luc will not deny, that, in all ages, luminous meteors have, from time to time, been observed in the atmosphere, and that their disappearance has been sometimes accompanied with

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explosion. That it has, moreover, been followed by the fall of one or more heavy bodies to the earth's surface, is a position so repugnant to our ordinary conceptions of the tenor of physical events, that we are certainly justified in not believing it on slight or scanty evidence. Yet, with all due deference to some philosophers of name, we are not prepared to assert, that it implies an impossibility. For who has explored the higher regions of the atmosphere? or who knows what may take place beyond its precincts? If chemistry can demonstrate, that the combination of a concentrated acid and an alkali forthwith produces a solid, and that oxygen gas may assume fixation, is it too bold to presume, that some similar combination, or some analogous process, effected in the grand laboratory of the atmosphere, may lye within the range of possible occurrences? Again, if astronomy teach us, that a force six times greater than that which discharges a bullet of twenty-four pounds weight, is adequate to the projection of a solid body beyond the sphere of the moon's attraction, are we peremptorily to decide, that no such projectile force can, in any instance, be exerted on the surface of our satellite? At all events, the same Being, who called into existence those countless and sublime masses of matter which revolve in space, may, to serve purposes unknown to us, create bodies infinitely smaller, and destined to impinge on some planetary orb. The reasoning of an angel would not convince us, that a part is greater than the whole, or that the value of two and two is equivalent to six; but a very ordinary logician may prove to our satisfaction, that the contact of particles of matter in portions of space, which lye beyond our globe, is not a chimerical supposition. Every thing around us proclaims that matter is subject to incessant change. New forms and new modifications are ever springing into being; and can we doubt that the same particles, as they may happen to be affected or influenced by various circumstances, may exist in the state of gas, of aqueous vapour, or of a concrete mass? Further, the existence of a phenomenon, if otherwise well attested, cannot be disproved by our inability to explain it. How multiplied, in fact, are the subjects even of our daily observation, which we cannot satisfactorily expound? We cannot say, why a small seed should gradually unfold into a large tree; why flame should produce heat; why the hand should act in immediate subserviency to the will; or why a contusion of the brain should induce stupor, alienation of mind, or death. It is one thing to prove a fact, and it is another to account for it.

If these premises, which are susceptible of copious illustration, be well founded, it follows, of course, that we are not entitled to reject the existence of meteoric stones, provided it be established

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by valid teſtimony. Into portions of that teſtimony we have, on this, and former occaſions, candidly inquired; and the reſult has been, that, ſo far from diſcrediting the deſcent of ſuch bodies, we are inclined to ſuppoſe that it happens more frequently than is commonly imagined. For it deſerves to be noted, that many foreign collections of minerals contain ſpecimens of reputed celeſtial origin, and exhibiting the genuine atmoſpherical phyſiognomy; that many relations of particular inſtances may have ſunk into oblivion, from the contempt with which they were treated by the learned; and that, on a fair computation of chances, the phenomenon muſt ſometimes have occurred in deſert tracts of the earth, and more frequently in the pathleſs expanſe of the ocean.

ART. V. *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or, an Inquiry into the Circumſtances which give Riſe to Influence and Authority, in the different Members of Society.* By John Millar, Esq. Professor of Law in the University of Glasgow. The Fourth Edition, corrected. To which is prefixed, *an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author*, by John Craig, Esq. Edinburgh, Blackwood. Longman & Co. London. 1806. 8vo. pp. 430.

IN reviewing the last and most complete edition of Mr Millar's Historical View of the English Government, where we took occasion to say a few things as to the character of his genius and general speculations, we expressed our regret that his posthumous works should be offered to the public without any biographical account, or prefatory memoir of the author: and it was chiefly with a view to supply this deficiency, that we then ventured to hold out to the readers of those volumes, a hasty and imperfect sketch of that eminent and indefatigable man. It is now our duty, we think, to announce, that, along with an uniform edition of the only other publication which Mr Millar ever acknowledged, the deficiency of which we complained has been supplied, by a copious life of the author, compiled by his nephew Mr Craig; who enjoyed the benefit of his intimate society for the last thirty years of his life; and seems to be well qualified, by his talents and attainments, to give a correct picture of the studies and dispositions of his distinguished relative.

Upon looking back to what we formerly wrote upon that subject, we do not see any reason to alter or retract the impression we then endeavoured to communicate of this intelligent writer. Mr Craig's character of him is, as might have been expected, more elaborate, and more flattering than ours; but it coincides in all the

leading traits; and we feel but little inclined to enter into any discussion with him, as to those upon which we might be inclined to differ. The facts and incidents which make up the narrative are not, in general, of a nature to be very interesting to the public; though some of the details into which he enters appear to us to afford a curious and striking illustration of that activity and intrepidity of understanding, which certainly formed the characteristic excellence of Mr Millar's intellectual character.

Mr Millar was born in 1735, the son of a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and went to College at Glasgow in 1746, where he distinguished himself, not so much for the closeness of his application, as for the extent of his information, and his ingenuity and vivacity in conversation. He attended the lectures of Dr Adam Smith in this seminary, after his regular course of study was concluded; and laid the foundation of that mutual friendship and esteem, by which those two distinguished persons were afterwards connected through life. He was originally intended for the profession of his father; but having very early conceived a distaste to some of the doctrines and tenets of the Scotish church, he was afterwards permitted to turn his attention from the pulpit to the bar. Nothing could be more fortunate for a young man with such a destination, than the invitation which he received at this time to enter into the family of Lord Kames, and superintend the education of his son: he remained two years in this situation, during which he acquired the friendship of the celebrated David Hume, and many other distinguished persons who lived in the society of his patron.

It seldom happens that we can trace the genealogy of a literary progeny so correctly as the two circumstances, which have now been mentioned, enable us to do that of Mr Millar's future studies. It is perfectly evident to all who are acquainted with their writings, that his speculations are all formed upon the model of those of Lord Kames and Dr Smith, and that his merit consists almost entirely in the accuracy with which he surveyed, and the sagacity with which he pursued the path which they had the merit of discovering. It was one great object of both those original authors, to trace back the history of society to its most simple and universal elements,—to resolve almost all that has been ascribed to positive institution into the spontaneous and irresistible development of certain obvious principles,—and to show with how little contrivance or political wisdom the most complicated and apparently artificial schemes of policy might have been erected. This is very nearly the precise definition of what Mr Millar aimed at accomplishing in his lectures and his publications; and when we find that he attended the lectures of Dr Smith, and lived in the family of Lord

Lord Kames, we cannot hesitate to ascribe the bent of his genius, and the peculiar tenor of his speculations to the impressions he must have received from those early occurrences. We cannot help regretting, therefore, that Mr Craig should have passed over this most decisive part of his uncle's life with so short and superficial a notice. A detailed account of his intercourse with Lord Kames in particular, and the nature of his studies while he resided under his roof, would probably afford a very interesting picture of the transfusion of tastes and opinions, as well as of the modifications they received from their adoption into another system.

Mr Millar was called to the Bar at Edinburgh in 1760; and, during the very short time he continued in practice, gave every indication of future eminence in his profession; but having married at this early age, he was tempted, in the course of the following year, to apply for the Chair of Law in the University of Glasgow, to which, by the interest of Lord Kames and Dr Smith, he was immediately appointed. As it was chiefly in this situation that Mr Millar exercised those peculiar talents, and acquired that extraordinary reputation by which he was so honourably distinguished among all who had the benefit of his personal acquaintance, Mr Craig has very properly entered into some detail as to his habits and qualifications as a lecturer. He observes, in the first place,

'Mr Millar never wrote his lectures; but was accustomed to speak from notes, containing his arrangement, his chief topics, and some of his principal facts and illustrations. For the transitions from one part of his subject to another, the occasional allusions, the smaller embellishments, and the whole of the expression, he trusted to that extemporaneous eloquence, which seldom fails a speaker deeply interested in his subject. In some branches of science, where the utmost precision of language is requisite to avoid obscurity or error, such a mode of lecturing may be attended with much difficulty, and several disadvantages: But in Morals, in Jurisprudence, in Law, and in Politics, if the Professor make himself completely master of the different topics he is to illustrate, if he possess ideas clear and defined, with tolerable facility in expressing them, the little inelegancies into which he may occasionally be betrayed, the slight hesitation which he may not always escape, will be much more than compensated by the fulness of his illustrations, the energy of his manner, and that interest which is excited, both in the hearer and speaker, by extemporaneous eloquence.' p. xiv. xv.

He afterwards enlarges very properly upon the natural animation of his manner, and the delicacy of that *tact* by which he was enabled to perceive when he was fully understood by his auditors. Yet we do not think there is any where, in this performance, a complete view of that peculiar manner of lecturing to which Mr

Millar was indebted for so large a share of his reputation. We offer the following as a very remote approximation.

There are only three styles of public lecturing, it appears to us, that are calculated to answer the end of instruction. The first is, the plain and grave style, in which the necessary information is delivered in short, simple, and weighty sentences. The utterance is slow, distinct, and impressive; and the attention is engaged by the conciseness and importance of the matter, and the skill and simplicity with which it is arranged and communicated. This is of all others the most difficult. It is suited but to few subjects, and produces, by its failure, the most intolerable of all compositions,—those dull, solemn, somnolent discourses, in which vulgar prejudices and vulgar truisms are delivered under the name of plain sense, and in which the hearer, despairing of originality, is destined to long in vain for the relief of rant and absurdity. The second style is that of a higher and more ambitious eloquence, in which there is something of enthusiasm and passion, and in which it is the aim of the lecturer to excite the zeal and admiration of his hearers, as well as to inform their understandings. The pulpit, with us, is the chief scene of such eloquence; though it is well suited to many of the discussions of moral philosophy and politics, and though the French and Italians have introduced it in lectures upon natural history. Its chief disadvantage is, that it tempts the speaker to think too much of himself, and accustoms the hearers to attend more to the beauty and contrivance of the diction, than to the value or the evidence of the doctrine. The last style of lecturing, which was that exemplified by Mr Millar, is where vivacity and familiarity take place of solemnity or eloquence, and, being constantly employed in subserviency to argument, help to lighten the task of attention, and to facilitate the comprehension and recollection of the doctrines they illustrate. There are few things so repulsive to the gayety and presumption of youth, as the air of seriousness and authority with which their academical instructions are usually delivered. They are disgusted with the appearance of labour which is thus made to invest the studies proposed to them, and either sink into stupid acquiescence, or are provoked into hidden contempt, by that official omniscience which stalks over difficulties and obstacles with undisturbed serenity and dignity. It is to little purpose, indeed, to make harangues to young men from a velvet gown and an elbow chair. Their teacher must *talk* to them, after a certain age, if he wishes to do them any good. He must put them on a level with himself, and associate them in some measure in his inquiries. He must talk to them, too, in a good degree as they talk to each other. He must work with them, as well as for them; and, instead of appalling them

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with the ſplendour of his attainments, he muſt encourage them, by ſhewing how eaſily they may be made, and with what facility the notions which they throw out in common converſation, may be improved into ſolid arguments, and purſued to valuable concluſions. Mr Millar is the only public lecturer we have known, who ſeems to have been fully aware of thoſe facts; and, by attending to them, he certainly delivered a ſeries of moſt inſtructive lectures in a more attractive and engaging manner than any other teacher we have heard of; commanding the attention of all deſcriptions of hearers, at the ſame time that he convinced their underſtandings; and not only putting them in poſſeſſion of knowledge, but making it familiar and ſerviceable to them.

His manner was familiar and animated, approaching more nearly to gayety than enthuſiaſm; and the facts which he had to ſtate, or the elementary poſitions he had to lay down, were given in the ſimple, clear, and unembarraſſed diction in which a well bred man would tell a ſtory, or deliver an opinion in ſociety. All objections that occurred were ſtated in a forcible, clear, and lively manner; and the anſwers, which were often thrown into a kind of dramatic form, were delivered with all the ſimplicity, vivacity, and eaſy phraſeology of good converſation. His illuſtrations were always familiar, and often amuſing; and while nothing could be more forcible or conclusive than the reasonings which he employed, the tone and style in which they were delivered gave them an easy and attractive air, and imparted, to a profound and learned discussion, the charms of an animated and interesting conversation. No individual, indeed, ever did more to break down the old and unfortunate distinction between the wisdom of the academician and the wisdom of the man of the world: and as most of the topics which fell under his discussion, were of a kind that did not lose their interest beyond the walls of a college, so the views which he took of them, and the language in which they were conveyed, were completely adapted to the actual condition of society; and prepared those to whom they had been made familiar, to maintain and express them with precision, without running the least risk of an imputation of pedantry or ignorance.

It will be admitted to have required no ordinary share of intrepidity, and confidence in the substantial merit of his instructions, to have enabled a professor thus to lay aside the shield of academical stateliness, and not only to expose his thoughts in the undress of extemporaneous expression, but to exhibit them, without any of the advantages of imposing or authoritative pretences, on the fair level of equal discussion, and with no other recommendations, but those of superior expediency or reason. Mr Millar,

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however, carried this still farther; the practice recorded in the following passage is *unique*, we believe, in the usage of modern seminaries.

'Not satisfied with explaining his opinions in the most perspicuous manner in his Lecture, Mr Millar encouraged such of the students as had not fully comprehended his doctrines, or conceived that there was some error in his reasonings, to state to him their difficulties and objections. With this view, at the conclusion of the Lecture, a little circle of his most attentive pupils was formed around him, when the doctrines which had been delivered were canvassed with the most perfect freedom. Before a professor can admit of such a practice, he must be completely master of his subject, and have acquired some confidence in his own quickness at refuting objections, and detecting sophistry. A few instances of defeat might be injurious to his reputation, and to the discipline of the class. But, should he possess a clear comprehension of all the bearings of his system, joined to quickness of understanding, and tolerable ease of expression, he will derive the most important advantages from the unrestrained communications of his pupils. He will learn where he has failed to convey his ideas with accuracy, where he has been too concise, or where imperfect analogies have led him into slight mistakes; and he will easily find a future opportunity to introduce new illustrations, to explain what has been misapprehended, or correct what was really an error. To the students, such a practice insures accurate knowledge; it teaches the important lesson of considering opinions before adopting them; and gives an additional incitement to strict and vigilant attention. Accordingly, to be able to state difficulties with propriety, was justly looked upon, by the more ingenious and attentive students, as no slight proof of proficiency; and to be an active and intelligent member of the fireside committee, never failed to give a young man some consideration among his companions.' p. xviii. xix.

We doubt much if any teacher of youth has exposed himself to equal hazards, since the days of Socrates and Plato; and imagine, that this instance of intrepidity, in a professor venturing down into the arena among his pupils, and grappling with them in the open field of conversational discussion, will meet with few admirers, and fewer followers among those who are in possession of this vantage-ground in the republic of letters. Akin to these public discussions, was the temper in which he accustomed himself to converse with his domestic pupils: of this part of his demeanour, Mr Craig has given the following just and interesting account.

'Perhaps nothing contributed so much to the improvement of his pupils, as the art with which he contrived to make them lay aside all timidity in his presence, and speak their sentiments without constraint. While he was thus enabled to judge of their abilities and attainments, he acquired, in addition to the respect due to his talents, that confidence and friendship which ensure the attention of young men, and render

render the office of a teacher not undelightful. This easy and liberal communication of sentiments extended equally to every subject; to the doctrines taught in his own classes; to criticism; to contested points of history; and to the political struggles of the day. Whatever Mr Millar's own opinions were on these subjects, he never wished to impose them on his pupils. In those discussions, which his conversation often introduced, and which, as a most useful exercise to their minds, he was always ready to encourage, he was pleased with ingenious argument, even when he did not adopt the conclusion; and he exposed sophistry, even when exerted in defence of his favourite opinions. In consequence of his own command of temper, he could at once repress any improper warmth that might appear; and, when the debate seemed to lead to unpleasing wrangling, he was always ready, with some whimsical allusion, to restore good humour, or, by the introduction of some collateral topic, to change the subject of discourse. Wherever he discovered uncommon literary talents, his conversation called them into exertion, his warm applause produced that degree of self-confidence which is almost necessary to excellence; and his good-humoured raillery, or serious remonstrances, reclaimed from indolence and deterred from dissipation.

'In his domestic intercourse, he encouraged, at times, the detail of the juvenile pursuits and amusements of the young men, both from indulgence to their inclinations, and from a desire of tracing, in such unreserved communications, the temper and dispositions of his pupils; but he instantly repressed all trivial details, and all insignificant or gossiping anecdotes of individuals. Even in doing so, he avoided, as much as possible, every appearance of restraint or severity; and the ease and affability of his manners contributed more, perhaps, than even his talents, to produce that affectionate attachment, with which almost all his pupils were inspired. This attachment he had great pleasure in cultivating, as the most gratifying reward for his labours, and the most effectual controul on young men, more apt to be influenced in their behaviour by their affections, than by stern, and what often appears to them, capricious, authority. While under Mr Millar's care, all his pupils were treated alike; or rather the differences which might be remarked in his attentions, were the consequence of superior talents or application, never of superior rank. When they left his house, his connexion with most of them necessarily ceased. He was always delighted, indeed, to hear of their success or eminence; but his regular occupations rendered it impossible for him to continue an epistolary correspondence; and his proud independence of mind made him rather decline, than cultivate, the friendship of those who succeeded to honours, or rose to power.' p. lxvi—lxviii.

We do not think it necessary to follow Mr Craig through the abstract which he gives of the various courses of lectures which Mr Millar delivered as Professor of Law. It will be enough merely to mention, that in the first class of civil law, one half of

of the course was occupied with what he termed Lectures on Jurisprudence, in which he endeavoured to lay the foundation of private rights and duties in the great moral principles of utility and sympathy; and that, besides another course of lectures on the Pandects of Justinian, he found leisure to prepare and deliver separate courses of Scotch and English law. The most interesting of his lectures, however, were those which he termed Lectures on Government, in which he delivered a theoretical history of the progress of society, through the various stages of savage, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial life; with a view of the institutions and changes which would naturally be suggested in their political and domestic habits by their successive transformation; illustrating his remarks by an historical review of all the ancient governments, and more particularly by that of Great Britain. The publications which he has given to the world may give some idea of the conception and execution of this course of lectures: the origin and distinction of ranks, comprising most of what he delivered on the theoretical history of society; and the historical view of the English government, being a fair specimen of that most interesting and elaborate illustration of his peculiar doctrines.

Mr Millar was for upwards of forty years an active and distinguished member of the Literary Society of Glasgow, consisting of the professors of the University, and some of the more distinguished clergymen in the city and neighbourhood:—he displayed great ingenuity, eloquence, and good temper, in the debates which formed a part of its weekly business; and maintained, for several years, an amicable contest with Dr Reid in defence of the metaphysical principles of Mr Hume. He first published the Origin and Distinction of Ranks in 1771; and, in 1787, the Historical View of the English Government. Notwithstanding his intimate acquaintance with many distinguished characters both political and literary, and the zeal with which he entered at all times into the discussion of public affairs, he paid no more than two short visits to the metropolis, in 1774 and 1792. During his months of summer leisure, he amused himself with embellishing a small estate he possessed in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and was carried off by an unexpected attack of pleurisy in May 1801.

Mr Craig has drawn his character at large, and in very lively and engaging colours. We cannot afford room for any considerable part of it. His uncommon vivacity, good humour, and ingenuity, made his conversation delightful to persons but little addicted to literary pursuits; while the extent and variety of his information, the closeness and accuracy of his reasoning, and the readiness and originality of his illustrations enabled him to make a distinguished figure in more select and cultivated societies.

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'On the subject of politics,' Mr Craig states with great candour, 'he argued always with zeal; and, towards the end of his life, with a considerable degree of keenness. He, who had refused the offer of a lucrative place, which might have introduced him to higher honours, because he feared that his acceptance might be construed into an engagement to support an administration whose measures he condemned *, had little allowance to make for those who sacrificed their principles to their interest. Ever steady and consistent himself, he was apt to suspect the purity of the motives from which all violent or sudden changes in political opinion arose; without perhaps making a due degree of allowance for that alarm, which, however hurtful in its consequences, was the natural result of the blind fanaticism of several popular societies. On a subject, too, which he had studied with the utmost care, he naturally might be rather impatient of ignorant and presumptuous contradiction; nor could his mind brook the imputations, which, at a season of political intolerance, were so liberally passed on all the opposers of Ministerial power. Arguing, frequently, under considerable irritation of mind, perhaps unavoidable in his particular circumstances, it is not impossible that expressions may have escaped him which might afford room for mistake, or misrepresentation.' p. xcviii. xcix.

In addition to this very candid statement of a friend, who may be suspected of partiality, we have great pleasure in quoting the testimony of Professor Jardine, who is known to have entertained very opposite opinions in politics from those of his celebrated associate. In a memoir read at the Literary Society soon after Mr Millar's death, he expresses himself in this liberal and handsome way, with a view to the political sentiments of Mr Millar. 'However much we may have differed from him on these subjects; respecting his zeal and good intentions, there can be, as I conceive, but one opinion. No little ideas of private interest, no narrow views of advantage or emolument, sunk him to the level of party politicians; but, fair, resolute, and decided, he was, from first to last, the enlightened and manly defender of what he conceived to be the rights and liberties of mankind.'

In his whole conduct, indeed, he indicated a high sense of honour, and a decided contempt and abhorrence for all sordid and mercenary proceedings: his disposition was extremely sanguine, his temper constitutionally cheerful, and his nature generous and friendly, without any thing that approached to caprice or affectation in any part of his behaviour. He left no manuscripts which his executors conceived sufficiently correct to be laid before the public, except those which have been already printed as the third and fourth volumes of the Historical View; though

* 'I am not at liberty to give the particulars of this transaction, but I pledge myself to its truth.'

though Mr Craig has tantalized us, by mentioning that there several valuable chapters of an unfinished treatise, 'On the present and actual state of the British Government;' a subject infinitely more important, and, however wonderful it may appear, infinitely less understood by the body of the nation, than the institutions of Alfred, or the innovations of the Conqueror.

ART. VI. *Asiatic Researches: or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia.* Volume the Seventh. London, 1804.

In our First Number, we gave an account of the papers which compose the sixth volume of these Transactions. Two additional volumes have since reached this country; and we lament the circumstances which have so long prevented us from examining their contents; knowing, as we do, the interest which the ingenious labours of our countrymen excite here, and still more perhaps on the continent of Europe. In this interval, a translation of the two first volumes of the Asiatic Researches has appeared at Paris, enriched with copious annotations by the celebrated orientalist M. Langlès, conservateur des manuscrits orientaux à la Bibliothèque Imperiale. Although the review of mere translations from English publications does not fall within the scope of our undertaking, yet the successful elucidations and erudition of the annotator might perhaps provoke and justify a deviation from our plan. We should, in that case, find much to applaud, and something to deplore. Of the notes, indeed, a great part would appear superfluous in this country, where a considerable portion of the information they contain has been long naturalized and disseminated. Two circumstances, perhaps unavoidable, have contributed to add to their bulk, without augmenting their value. First, many European travellers, and a variety of Mohamedan writers, had attempted to delineate the opinions and manners of the natives of India; but ignorant of the language, which could alone furnish a secure guide to their researches, their disquisitions have seldom presented more than an accumulation of errors. Not sufficiently aware of that circumstance, M. Langlès has frequently been led astray by the multiplicity of his information; a fault from which less general learning would in some measure have secured him. Nothing can be more certain than the remark of Sir William Jones, that if we desire to form correct notions relative to the Hindus, we must begin

begin by forgetting all that has been published respecting them, antecedent to the appearance of Mr Wilkins's translation of the Bhágavat Gita. The second cause, to which may be assigned many erroneous facts and opinions adopted in the work of the learned annotator, is his reliance on the authority of the Roman missionary Fra Paolino de San Bartholomeo. This singular person (whose ignorance of the Sanscrit language, of which he pretended to publish a dictionary, admits of the most unequivocal proof) has thought fit to contradict Sir William Jones, Mr Wilkins, Mr Halhed, and M. Anquetil du Perron, on points of the highest importance, and in terms which even a certainty of being right could not excuse, much less justify. In this discrepancy of authorities, is it wonderful that learned men, personally unacquainted with the facts, should sometimes mistake confident assertion for genuine truth, and arrogant presumption for conscious merit; that the modest and unassuming information of a Jones or a Wilkins, should sometimes give place to the misrepresentations of Fra Paolino?

Notwithstanding the superior advantages which the English orientalists derive from our establishments in the centre of Asia, it may be doubted, whether the zeal and abilities of our neighbours, devoted to the cultivation of eastern learning, will not compensate that disadvantage; and whether we may not in time have more to learn than to communicate. Since the publication of the work above alluded to, M. Langlès has given the world a second edition of his Dictionary of the language spoken by the Mantchew Tartars, to which he has prefixed a dissertation, where their history is traced from the earliest times, till the period when their arms subjugated the empire of China. The same writer is now employed in preparing a complete translation of the Arabian geographers; a work calculated to inspire and to gratify the highest degree of public attention, by presenting the most authentic monuments of the state of the world in the middle ages, when those writers flourished. The justly celebrated academician M. de Lacy has published a dissertation on the ancient history of Arabia, which concludes the long and memorable labours of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Replete with ingenious criticism, and marked by solid and varied erudition, this memoir will be found highly deserving the attention of all whom such disquisitions can interest. His Chrestomathia Arabica, now in the press, excites expectations proportioned to the high reputation of the writer. A translation of Strabo has appeared at Paris, published at the expence of the government, with copious notes by M. Dutheil. To this work, M. Gosselin, who is considered as a successor worthy of the famous D'Anville, has prefixed a dissertation on the itinerary

itinerary ſtadium of the antients. In this, we underſtand, he has *proved*, that the moſt antient meaſure diſtinguiſhed by that appellation, was derived from aſtronomical obſervations, and demonſtrates a correct knowledge of the circumference of the earth at the period of its adoption; that it had fallen into diſuſe before the Greeks turned their attention to ſcience; that it originated in Aſia, ſince all the diſtances preſerved in that ſtadium are thoſe of Aſiatic poſitions; and that in all probability it was due to the Babylonian aſtronomers, whoſe antient obſervations are atteſted by the hiſtorians of Alexander. M. Chezy, a young orientaliſt of fair promiſe, who to a claſſical taſte unites a critical acquaintance with the poets of Arabia and Perſia, has attempted to naturalize their productions in France, by a tranſlation of the poetical romance of Mejnun and Leila, compoſed by the celebrated Jami. But this ſimple ſtory, which has exerciſed the talents of ſo many eaſtern writers, and which muſt owe all its merit to deſcription, and the beauty of detail, is little calculated to pleaſe the Pariſian palate. The moonſtruck madneſs of the hapleſs Mejnun, and the meek reſignation of his loveſick miſtreſs, perpetually reproduced in different poſitions, are altogether incapable of ſupporting the attention of this lively people. In works of imagination, their excluſive predilection for the admirable writers of their own country, renders them blind to every other merit. With them, to imitate Corneille, Racine, or Jean Baptiſte Rouſſeau, is to imitate the antients. It is probable, indeed, that theſe fine writers had the antients in view to a certain degree; but the greater part of their ſucceſſors limit their ambition to imitating them, without concerning themſelves about their models. Hence, probably, originates an excluſive taſte for indigenous productions; and, ſince Shakeſpeare and Schiller, Milton and Klopſtock, are faſtidiouſly rejected by them from the number of great poets, the eaſtern bards, with faults more ſtriking, and beauties more exotic, ſtand little chance of ſucceſs. The romance of Jami would probably be more reliſhed in this country, where we can admire the beauties of our own writers, without limiting poetical excellence to compoſitions modelled on their ſtyle, and faſhioned to their manner.

Before we reſume an examination of the progreſs made by our countrymen in eaſtern learning, we thought, that to ſuch of our readers as theſe purſuits intereſt, a rapid ſketch of the contemperaneous labours of the French orientaliſts, might not prove unacceptable. Of theſe, in all probability, a more correct account will be exhibited in our future pages. In the mean time, we return from this digreſſion to the work which ſuggeſted it.

Prefixed

Prefixed to the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, we find a list of 'Desiderata,' proposed to the industry of the learned. The perusal of it excited a melancholy reflection on the short-lived authority of the most celebrated names. We there find the orthography proposed and laboriously discussed by Sir William Jones, in his introductory dissertation, entirely laid aside. Its advantages, indeed, can be appreciated only by persons conversant with the oriental languages. But to whom is the charge of superintending the impression of the Society's publications entrusted? Why is an uniform mode of orthography not persevered in, when that system has been considered with attention, approved by all competent judges, and invented by the eminent founder of the Society? Why, in this list of *desiderata*, do we find the sacerdotal cast termed Bruhmuns, in defiance of analogy, of pronunciation and common sense? It were superfluous to furnish other examples, since every page of this volume would supply them: we will content ourselves with remarking, that this negligence will give occasion to infinite confusion and mistake; the names of places and persons differently spelt, will be supposed to indicate different objects; and, in proportion as the Society betrays carelessness and indifference, the value of their labours will diminish, and the public esteem suffer a proportionate abatement. *

'*On the Course of the Ganges, through Bengal. By* Major Colebrooke.'

In this paper, the Surveyor-General presents a striking picture of the inconceivably sudden topographical changes caused by the rivers of Bengal, in altering their beds. 'It is chiefly during the periodical floods, or while the waters are draining off, that the greatest mischief is done; and if it be considered that, at the

* We beg leave to mention, that, in future reviews of Oriental publications, we will scrupulously adhere to the orthography of Sir William Jones, in writing proper names; and even in our extracts, take the liberty of adapting them to that model, if ignorance or caprice should have induced our authors to spell them differently. Though the works animadverted upon in our pages be altogether unconnected with each other, yet our labours should possess the merit of uniformity and consistency. Hence, Timurleng in one sheet, should not figure as Tamerlane in the next; nor Murshedabad, the capital of Bengal, be sometimes written Muscadavat, because authors are ignorant of its real appellation. The numerous mistakes of persons and places, occasioned by the want or neglect of an uniform orthography, are so important, as to secure the approbation of all competent judges to the resolution we announce.

the distance of two hundred miles from the sea, there is a difference of more than twenty-five feet in the perpendicular height of the waters, at this season, while, at the outlets of the rivers, (excepting the effect of the tides), they preserve nearly the same level at all seasons, some idea may be formed of the increased velocity with which the water will run off, and of the havock which it will make on the banks.' Hence, villages are often deserted, and the inhabitants transferred to a situation more remote from the encroachments of the rivers. On the banks of the Ganges, the people, accustomed to such removals, build their huts with such light materials only, as they can, upon emergency, carry off with ease; and there, brick or mud walls are seldom to be met with. But, in proportion to the mass and velocity of the stream, the process of encroachments suffers a remarkable variation. 'The encroachments on the banks of the Ganges, which produce inflections in the course of that river, are ultimately stopped by the growth of islands; which, connecting themselves with the mainland, have a tendency to restore a degree of straightness to the channel. The small rivers are liable to the same encroachments on their banks; but as there is not sufficient space between them, for islands of any bulk to grow up, the effect is usually very different; for the stream continuing its depredations on the steep side, and depositing earth and sand on the opposite shore, produces, in the end, such a degree of winding, as, in some instances, would appear almost incredible.' The survey of Major Rennel, in the year 1764, furnishes a date from which to calculate the progressive alterations. Accordingly, it is found that the Ganges has deviated from its course no less than two miles and a half, in one place, since that period; whilst the mouths of some rivers are barred up, and others opened; many villages which figure in his map are no longer to be found in the situations assigned them; and islands of considerable magnitude, now inhabited and cultivated, have started into existence, where the river rolled its deepest waters, when observed by that distinguished geographer.

'*On Singhálá, or Ceylon, and the Doctrines of Buddha, from the Books of the Singhálá. By* Captain Mahony.

THE writer of this article pretends to no acquaintance with the sacred language of Ceylon. The fruits of his inquiries are given without pretension to erudition, and evidently without suspecting the important consequences deducible from the information he has furnished. But that information leads to results so singularly interesting, though unforeseen by the author, that his dissertation proves infinitely the most curious in the volume before

us,

us, and will demand from us rather an ample commentary than a succinct statement.

The religion of Buddha seems, at one period, to have been prevalent over great part of Hindûstan; but though now nearly extinct in that country, his doctrines may still vie, in point of extensive domination, with those of Mohamed. The rich and populous plains of Siam, Pegu, and Ava; the whole Chinese empire and its tributary kingdoms; the theocratic states of Budtan and Tibet; all the Tartar tribes, excepting the few who have embraced Islamism; the inhabitants of Ceylon, and most of the eastern isles, follow the tenets, and celebrate the rites prescribed by the system of faith distinguished by that appellation. These tenets, indeed, have never been satisfactorily explained. Some information may be collected on the subject, from a memoir of M. de Guignes, extracted from Chinese documents: M. de la Loubera furnishes some popular legends in his instructive account of Siam: the celebrated Pallas presents a variety of facts in his account of the Monghols: but these combined sources afford very imperfect information, and the *desiderata* are ill supplied by the reveries of Georgi, seduced, by some fancied analogies with the Christian religion, to imagine that this antient superstition was only a modern perversion of its sacred truths. Our own travellers, Symes and Turner, occupied with more important researches during the brief period of their respective excursions, have neglected, or despised, inquiries into religious opinions. Hence, we are still ignorant whether the doctrines of Buddha, universally admitted to be a native of India, bear any, and what, affinity with the religion of Brahma. By some they are considered as totally different, and of higher antiquity; whilst the Brahmans themselves class Buddha among their Avatára, of whom they consider him as the last.

Many circumstances, indeed, had induced us to imagine, that the Buddhists were a sect whose opinions were not materially different from those of other Hindus. Pallas had exhibited the cosmography of the Monghols, abounding in Sânscrit terms, and, in many particulars, similar to that given by Dr Buchanan of the Burmans, which we have shewn to be borrowed from the Bhuvaṇa cosa, a geographical treatise found in greater or less detail in all the Puraná. Colonel Symes makes mention of a dramatic entertainment, of which he was a spectator, in Pegu, founded on the history of Ráma the 7th Avatára; and Turner describes a monument at Tasisudon, on which the Hindu goddess Cáli was represented; and speaks of the celebration of the festival of Durgá, at the same place. These coincidences excited our suspicions that the two systems would be found, upon further examination, to be more nearly connected than was imagined. The paper

paper before us, composed by an officer who has no hypotheſis to support, and is probably little conversant with Hindu mythology, completely confirms the juſtice of our conjectures, and proves that, notwithſtanding their rejection of the Vedá, the Buddhists are genuine Vaïsnava, or adorers of Visnu.

After mentioning the periodical deſtructions and renovations of the world, which forms a diſtinguiſhing feature in both ſyſtems, Captain Mahony adds, 'For the government of the world at thoſe different periods, there were twenty-two Buddhas, a proportionate number of whom belonged to each period.' This number of *twenty-two* is too remarkable to be overlooked; and we find in the Bhagavat Purana, that the deſcents of Viſnu upon earth were alſo twenty-two, though the ten called Avatára were the moſt remarkable. But as, in a diſcovery calculated to excite public curioſity, our authority may be called in queſtion, we take leave to ſubjoin an abridged tranſlation of the third chapter of the Bhágavat, of which two copies are depoſited in the Imperial library of Paris.

'1. The firſt corporeal appearance of the Deity was ſlumbering on the waters, when from the lotos of his navel ſprung up Brahma, in whoſe members were the germs of future worlds; Brahma was the image of God, endowed with good qualities, and commenced a fervid adoration. 2. He next appeared as the Boar which raiſed up the earth ſunk in the waters. 3. In the form of Náreda, he preſcribed what ought to be done and omitted. 4. He performed a long penance in the form of Nara Narayenaw. 5. As Capila he invented the ſankhya (numeral) philoſophy. 6. As Dattatreya he became ſon of Atri and Anuſuyá, and communicated ſcience to Pŕáhláa, and his other diſciples in Aláki. 7. He aſſumed the forms of the Deva, and of Indra their chief. 8. He was then born of Merudevi, to ſhew the paths of virtue. 9. As Prithu he milked the vacciform earth, and procured ſalutary plants for the contemplative Riſi. 10. As a fiſh in the river Oxus he ſaved the Menu Vaïvaſwata. 11. As a tortoiſe he ſupported the huge mountain Mandara, with which gods and titans churned the milky ocean. 12. As Dwanantari, he roſe bearing the ambroſia from the ocean. 13. As a lovely nymph, he faſcinated the amorous titans. 14. As a man lion, he deſtroyed them. 15. As a dwarf, he deluded the potent Beli. 16. As Paraſuráma, he extirpated twenty-one times the military caſt. 17. As Vyaſa, he divided the Veda for the inſtruction of mankind. 18. As Rámachandra, he conquered Lanca. 19. & 20. He appeared as Ráma and Criſna of the race of Vriſti. 21. In the beginning of the Cali Yuga, *he will* appear, for the confuſion of the enemies of the gods, in the perſon of Buddha, in the land of Kikáta. 22. In the evening twilight of the Cali, when ſovereigns will be little preferable to robbers, he will appear in the form of Kalki. Theſe twenty-two are the principal of the innumerable deſcents of the Supreme Being.'

Few perſons, we believe, after comparing the information furniſhed by Captain Mahony, with the preceding quotation, will diſſent from our

our conclusion, that each descent of the Deity, named Avatára by the Brahmans, is termed a Buddha by the Buddhists; and that the twenty-two Buddhá of the Singhálá, are the twenty-two incarnations above specified. Our author proceeds to observe, that for the government of the present universe, four Buddha have already appeared, 'the last of whom, named Gautama Buddha, is the one whose religion now prevails in Ceylon; the fifth, Maïtri Buddha, is still to come.' But all this is entirely conformable to the opinions of the Brahmans; for, of the ten Avatára, four have already appeared in this manwantara, of whom the last is Buddha, whom they admit as the founder of the religion of Ceylon; whilst he who will precede the termination of the world is still to appear.

' Buddha, before his appearance as man, was a god, and the supreme of all the gods. At the solicitations of many of the gods, he descended on earth, and was frequently born as a man; in which character he exercised every possible virtue, by extraordinary instances of self-denial and piety.'

For the proper name Buddha, in this passage, substitute Vishnu, and it forms the creed of the Brahmans universally.

' He was at length born of Mahámáyá Devi, after a pregnancy of ten months, and had for father Sudodhana Rájáh, in the country called Damba Deeva, Madda Dese, and the city of Kembulvatpooree. He lived happily with his queen Yasodera and 40,000 concubines, for thirty-one years. The six next he passed in the midst of wildernesses, qualifying himself to be a Buddha. At the close of this period, his calling became manifest to the world; and he exercised his functions as Buddha for forty-five years. He died in Cusimari Puri, at the court of Malleteh Rajah, Tuesday, the 15th of May; from which period the Buddha Sarsa, or æra of Buddha, is dated, which now (A. C. 1797) amounts to 2339 years.'

Some illustration of time and place is here requisite. For the latter, we must remark, that Damba Deeva, is a corruption of the Sanscrit word ' Jamhudwipa,' and Madda désé of ' Madya desa,' or the middle region, which comprised the country between the mountains of Imaus and the river Narmadá, vulg. Nerhudda, and in which Kicata was in fact included; since the annotator of the Bhagavat informs us that Gaya, a well known city at this day, was situated in it. If the time mentioned by Captain Mahony could be depended on, it would furnish an important æra for chronology; but 542 years before Christ seems to us not the period of Buddha's birth, but that of the establishment of his doctrines, either in Ceylon, or in the country whence they emigrated thither. In other respects, the account he furnishes of the parentage of Buddha is entirely conformable to that given in the Purana. We translate from the Agni Puraná what relates to that sectary, in the 17th chapter. Agni speaks—' I will now mention the incarna-

tion of Buddha. Formerly the gods were vanquished by the Titans, and fled to the Supreme Being, exclaiming, "Save us, save us." Assuming a deceitful form, the divinity was born son of Suddhodana. He deluded the Titans, and perverted them from the doctrine of the Veda.' The fact of Buddha's descent from Suddhodana, is further confirmed by the Magha inscription, presented by Lord Teignmouth to the Asiatic Society, and in which he is named Sácya, the word Buddha being manifestly a title, signifying sage. Now Suddhodana was a prince of the solar race, and king of Ayodhya, or Owde; but it is a remarkable circumstance, that, in all the Pauranica genealogies, Sácya is inserted as the father of Suddhodana, and not as his son. But, in whatever relation they mutually stood, their junction sufficiently marks their identity, and excludes all doubt of the Sácya, included in the pedigree of the solar race, being the founder of the doctrines which now preval over so extensive a portion of the earth. In the Magha inscription, it is added, that he instructed Anguli in his tenets. In the Puranica genealogies, Angala is said to be son of Suddhodana;—a further corroboration of their identity.

Our author proceeds to detail the particulars of the Singhálá faith, furnishing, in every page, a fresh confirmation of the uniformity of the doctrines of Buddha, with those of the Brahmans, in the most essential particulars. The change or corruption of the Sanscrit words, but slightly disguises the identity of the system. Inferior to Buddha (the Visnu of the Brahmans) is the Rahampatti mahá Brahmá, called Brahma Swayambkwa in the Puraná. Yamor judges the souls of departed mortals; the four quarters of the world are guarded by divinities; the Gods and Titans wage constant wars; and Sacra and Viprachiti are the leaders of the hostile bands,—precisely as described in the Hindu mythology.

The most striking dissonance we have been able to discover in the two systems, is the celibacy enjoined to the priests of Buddha, and the permission or the practice of eating animal food. 'Beget and multiply,' the genial law of unsophisticated nature, is a positive precept of the Hindu code. It is true that the Bráhmana youth pass to the married, by a probatory state called Brahmachási, during which, chastity must be strictly observed. But so far as we can collect from the writers on that subject, the Budhist priesthood continue always in that state. With regard to the slaughter of animals, it remains to be known whether it be practised in contradiction to precept, or whether the law allows it.

An extract from a Singhálá work, exhibits the legendary history of the isle; and with some remarks, which the perusal suggests,

gests, we must now take our leave of Captain Mahony's interesting communication. Ceylon was originally called Lancá, the name which it bears in the Puráná. The first great war, of which the memory is preserved by tradition, was that of Rávana. The defeat and death of this king of Lancá, by Ráma, the sovereign of Ayodhya, and the eighth avatára, are sung by various Hindu poets, and constitute the theme of the Rámáyana. Now, according to the Singhálá tradition, this happened 1845 years anterior to the death of Buddha; a convincing proof that, according to the Buddhists themselves, the founder of their doctrines appeared long after the avatára of the Hindus. We have already stated our doubts respecting the æra assigned by Captain Mahony for the appearance of Buddha, viz. 542 years before Christ; but, if addmitted, the result would give 2387 years anterior to the same period for the æra of Rama, King of Ayodhya, or Owde, which is not very widely different from that assigned by Sir W. Jones. We believe that the 1845 years are designed to indicate the interval between the war of Rávana, and the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. Indeed, the result of our chronological researches, would induce us to place Buddha considerably earlier, and Ráma somewhat later than the Singhálá traditions.

Accidental circumstances compel us, contrary to our general rule, to break off at this place the Review of this interesting Volume, which will be completed in our next Number.

Art. VII. *Tales in Verse; Critical, Satirical, and Humorous.* By Thomas Holcroft. In two Volumes. London. 1806.

When a writer has arrived at a certain age in his literary life, and shewn himself in repeated publications, we believe it is, in general, vain to look for much improvement in his style and powers of composition. Impressed as we were with this opinion, the remembrance of Hugh Trevor made us sit down with some eagerness to a work bearing the name of Mr Holcroft. But, however little sanguine in our expectations of improvement, we were still less prepared for the lamentable falling off that has been presented to us. Mr Holcroft, we think, might have aspired to a little originality; or, if he was determined to persevere in imitation, he might at least have imitated those authors, who are remarkable for purity of style, correctness of ideas, and chastity of design; for writers who have acquired notoriety only by peculiarity of expression, or whimsical and extravagant conceptions, should never

be regarded as models for composition. The difficulty of assuming extravagance and oddity foreign to his own character, must always be much greater to an author of any talent than that of forming and polishing his own natural genius according to the best classic models; and since no merit of original conception can be allowed to him, the slightest falling off from his prototype, must sink him down with double the weight that would be attached to any errors arising from the indulgence of his own natural bent. In a former Number, we ventured to condemn Mr Holcroft's attempt to relate his travels in the inimitable language of Sterne; and here we find him wearily flogging and puffing through the difficult paces, in which Mr Colman and Peter Pindar have curvetted and gamboled so pleasantly. Indeed, Mr Holcroft's cumbrous pleasantry forcibly reminds us of the donkey's attempt to sport like the lapdog,—so offensive are his frolics, and so very ponderous his levity.

The tales are not only all too long, but they are prolonged in a most artificial and tiresome manner. The incidents are mostly very few and concise; but these are so thickly intersected by egotism, reflections, and addresses of various sorts, that the reader is perpetually lost in a wilderness of episodes, that entirely hide the main road he set out upon. Then, when, after toiling through pages of inharmonious and unmeaning jingle, he at last picks out the few lines in which the tale is comprized; he finds sometimes a bald witticism or blunt jest; but more commonly the narration of some very usual occurrence, for the insipidity of which the author means to make up, by drawing from it sundry reflections and truisms, 'critical, satirical, and humorous.'

The book begins (like many others) with an attack upon reviews. We do not know whether authors have lately been gifted with a true spirit of prophecy, or whether it is only in hopes of forestalling and impoverishing us, that it has become so frequent a practice to anticipate our censures. Most productions of the day, that pretend to any degree of humour, level their first shaft at us, either in the shape of contempt, defiance, or satire; but all agree in considering our dispraise as inevitable. This is indeed a modest and just estimation of their own deserts, that is very commendable and extraordinary in the '*genus irritabile vatum*.' But we must regret that this self-knowledge is so much misapplied; as it might be infinitely more profitably employed, if, instead of pointing out its own faults to the world, it would quietly betake itself to correcting them. Authors may be assured, that the amendment of their own imperfections is the very best way of disabling their reviewers; while, on the other hand, if they suffer faults to disfigure their works, the public are certain to find them

out

out without their assistance; and their confession of them will ever be a most unnecessary exertion of candour.

The first tale is entitled, 'Authors and Critics, or the Reviewer and the Goose.' Here Mr Holcroft, in the very outset and introduction to the tale, keenly lashes us in the following sly sarcasm, and elegant lines.

'As for Reviewers, merciless as Turks,
They pick out all the faults from others' works,
Nay, more than all, that they may sell their own,
And of these faults make great display, and boast:
But, Author or Critic, he who has most,
Has never yet been fairly ask'd, or known.'

Then, again, more sportively.

'Offals the Critic calls divine;
'Tis these on which he loves to dine.
Garbage to him is toast and tea;
And filth true Sal Volatile.
His blood runs trickling through his veins,
When fetid fumes imbue his brains;
Then with delight he spends his hours;
The nauseous most he most devours.
Like fee, faw, fum,
Behold him come!
I smell a fault is his device;
And every blunder is a feast of price.'

Thus he goes skirmishing on through the introduction for six pages, till at length the tale itself opens a terrific broadside of humour, and the wicked wag asserts that we are actuated by mercenary views, and easily to be propitiated by a bribe. This is wittily and delicately exemplified by a writer making a present to the critic of a roast goose stuffed with guineas. We only regret that the author has neglected to inform us, why this peculiar mode of conveyance was resorted to; and what is meant to be personified by the foolish and noisy bird that was presented to the reviewer to be cut up. Indeed, we are much at a loss to account for the Author's representing as subjected to our barbarity, only such animals as are proverbial for stupidity and silliness;—as in the tale quoted, and in the following lines.

'Critics are shining lights that can't be hid,
Butchers are useful, 'Calves' are born to bleed.
This is the solemn sacrificing Priest,
And that the 'sheepish' victim of the feast.'

Is this a strong instance of the modesty, of which we above suspected modern authors?

The guineas, however, have the desired effect of blunting the reviewer's knife; and, after describing his surprize at the gift, the whole wit of which description is ingeniously compressed into a

tremendous oath, and versifying the subsequent praises which the goose obtained, Mr Holcroft begins a postscript with the following, perhaps too candid, declamation.

'Had I but common sense, the fire should purge
This tale;' &c.

However, after all his satire, Mr Holcroft, at the end of the tale, promises us a sugar plum, in case we are good boys; and tells us how well he would treat a critic to his own taste.

'A sound and liberal critic, frank and chaste,
Who makes no slip of sense, of words no waste;
Who gives no mawkish praise, no wanton thrust,
But, if severe, is well inform'd, and just;
Speaks from a love of excellence, and knows
No motive but which from that passion flows;
Nor favours courts; nor worships golden calf; *
Nor tickles folly's ear, to make her laugh;
Nor uses means unworthy his high art;
Gifted with head well stor'd, and honest heart—
That critic I'll entreat vengeance to wreak
On me, whene'er I'm tedious, false, or weak:
That critic, oh, may he but deign to condescend!
Shall be my judge, my guide, my everlasting friend.'

With our best wishes to Mr Holcroft, that, if he does meet such a critic, he may be able to bear his comments patiently, we close our remarks upon this critical tale: we guess that to be the proper epithet to be affixed to it, from the title-page,—for we are really puzzled how to appropriate the characters mentioned there.

We have not room to mention more than the titles of many tales; and must leave them to be estimated by the general character we have already suggested. They are, 'Know thyself.' The 'Origin of the Alphabet; or, Genius and Common Sense.' The 'Decline of Wit; or, the Poet's Regret.' 'Politeness; or, the Cat o' Nine Tails.'

This tale, as well as the fourth and seventh, was first given to the world in a publication, entitled the 'Wit's Magazine;' a work we never before heard of; and, from the specimens before us, we must confess it is one of the few pieces of ignorance that we really cannot lament. Of this magazine, it seems, Mr Holcroft was editor; and sat enthroned, like another Midas, supreme judge of poetry, and dispenser of medals and prizes to literary merit. However, the proffered honours excited so little emulation in Grub-Street, that 'it was difficult to find any poems which were sent, that could plausibly be worthy of such reward, except

* 'This should have been "Goose," but for the rhyme.'

except by much attention;' and accordingly, 'the task of altering devolved upon the editor.' The tale before us was versified, and sent to the Magazine, by Mr John Martin, a butcher at Mitcham in Surrey, who, we believe, having the year before exhibited a prize ox, very naturally conceived the next step to renown to be a prize poem. 'The moral of the tale was good; and as it was of a pleasant kind, Mr Holcroft willingly re-wrote the whole, except two lines, which, if he remembers rightly, were the following—

'Attended by his servant Jerry,
Was trav'ling tow'rd the town of Bury.'

However, Mr Holcroft being at that time unavaricious of poetical fame, and having full power over the honours of Parnassus, to bestow as many as he pleased upon himself; or else, from admiration of Mr Martin's two lines (which are at least as easy and well written as any in the poem), generously yielded all the glory to him—

'*Si quid est gloria, tollat!*'—

Mr Martin, conscious of poetical inferiority, would not be outdone in generosity; and nobly confessed, in a letter to the editor, that the poem for which he received the medal, was no longer his, except the two lines quoted above; 'and then,' Mr Holcroft ingenuously adds, 'to confess the truth, I considered it as mine.' Why Mr Holcroft, after a lapse of three-and-twenty years, (for the Magazine was published in 1783), has begun hunting in the village, the shop, and the stall, for every fragment of literary goods, to which he could revive any antiquated claim; why he has become so rapacious of poetical distinction, as to tear these society honours from the brow of the butcher; he has given us no means of guessing. It is cruel, indeed, to transplant this miserable sprig of bay from the congenial soil of the slaughterhouse at Mitcham, where, no doubt, it flourished luxuriantly, the wonder and envy of all other shopkeepers; and weekly furnished a garland to decorate the president and poet of the Free and Easy Club at that place; a distinction the medal might very likely obtain for its wearer. Mr Holcroft should be ashamed to mention the savage dispositions of Reviewers again. They only thin and prune the wreath that an author has woven for himself; but never forcibly attempt to wrest it from him altogether; and, however unfavourably disposed we may be to Mr Holcroft, he may be assured that we have no such uncivilized wish, as to desire to appropriate any of his poems to ourselves. What a fall will poor Mr Martin experience, should any of his brother clubbists meet with Mr Holcroft's claim to this humorous tale! The only shadow of an excuse for Mr Holcroft's barbarity is, that as

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we believe this is the first time of his appearing in a substantial poetical shape, he naturally wished to prepossess the public in his favour, and dazzle the malignant eyes of criticism by a constellation of all the acquired honours that he could display around him. But, surely, the two medals that he had already adjudged to himself, for the composition of the fourth and seventh tales, would have satisfied any thing but the most extravagant ambition and love of splendour. His offer to resign the poem, should Mr Martin be desirous to maintain his claim, can only insult the feelings of that worthy poetaster, when he shall recollect that Mr Holcroft's avowal is published; that he has come forward with all the stately dignity of Virgil, and exclaimed aloud,

> '*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*
> *Sic vos non volis,*' &c.

The eyes of the world are opened; and all that Mr Holcroft may say and swear hereafter, can never rid him of the load of having written this tale, any more than it can suffer under the light incumbrance of Mr Martin's two lines.

The next tale is the 'Owl and the Howl, or the article A, and the letter H;'—difficult to read, and very difficult to understand. The author confesses there are passages in this tale, 'which will not endure the severity of criticism.' In the same spirit, a note to the second tale owns grammar to require 'lies;' where Mr Holcroft has substituted, for the sake of rhyme, the vulgarism 'lays.' Here we must again remark, that an author's noticing his own faults, is no excuse for them. If he perceives them, why does not he alter them, instead of meanly deprecating the censure he is conscious of deserving, and the omission of which would be blameable in us? The law can allow no favour to a culprit, merely for pleading guilty.

The next are, 'the Beggars' Hats, or the Way to get rich.'—'Advice, or the Inconvenience of Renown.'—'The Progress of Greatness.'—'The King and the Shepherd;' taken from La Fontaine's fable of 'Le Berger et Le Roi,' and closely imitated in the narrative; but, like all the others, crowded with sage observations, old and new, which spring out of every part of the fable, and had been either carelessly omitted or stupidly overlooked by the original narrator. We leave our readers to judge, whether a tale related in forty-seven stanzas, which La Fontaine told in about as many lines, must necessarily be much improved.

Then comes the Arab and his Three Sons; an Eastern tale, we are told in the preface; in which an old Arab, rather given to prosing (from his conduct and conversation, a suppresser of vice, we presume, in his own country) first lectures his three sons upon their leaving him to seek their fortunes, and then, upon their return

twenty

twenty years afterwards, lectures them again upon their separate exploits. The first, a soldier, tells a common-place story of battles and rebellions. The second, a cadi, spoils a very ludicrous groundwork of a tale, by bad verses, and pointless expression. The third most arrogantly professes himself a poet, and, as the author says,

> 'By colour, shade, and secret sympathy,
> Agate or ruby, he could bring in play,
> And make them stutter charming repartee,
> To all that allegoric flow'r could say.'

He ought to have had a severe rebuke, indeed, for writing such a vulgar line as

> 'In thee what contrāries unite!'

In the next tale, entitled, 'Taste,' Mr Holcroft seizes the flail of satire, and belabours to the right and left, with no moderation, several living characters, that flourish among the topics of the present day. We should have thought that the precipitate downfal of Miss Mudie would have disarmed the most zealous advocate for grown actors, of all acrimony against her individually. The public conduct, in regard to her, at least deserves no censure; and it would have been more prudent to have left her to the oblivion into which she was hurled, than by reviving any mention of her, to give her approvers an opportunity of again promulgating their opinions with a chance of being heard.

We suppose, from the preface, that most of the remarks on Mr Betty were written some twenty months ago, when the admiration of him was yet frantic; when whist and scandal were banished from assemblies by puss in the corner, and recitations of Shakespeare; when the parliament was deserted for the playhouse; and peers and statesmen retired to their country-seats to recreate themselves at marbles with this condescending prodigy. Mr Holcroft should recollect, that the fever is only just tranquillized; and any violent application may disturb the brain, yet weak from disease, and again embody all the fantastic ideas lightheadedness can create. It is not the office of the satirist to hold up to contempt what has been forgotten, and is no longer offensive. The wicked and powerful may dread the immortality to which they are condemned by a well-written and deserved satire; but that immortality is a favour, when conferred upon insignificance or folly. However, we suppose Mr Holcroft's knowledge of his own poetical faults and deficiencies, liberated him from any apprehension of squandering renown upon the undeserving; nor can we differ from so well founded an opinion.

The chief battery of satire is opened in the introduction, and maintains its fire through the whole tale against Mr Hope, the great

great modern Scriblerus of architecture and upholstery. 'To enter fully upon this subject would,' as Mr Holcroft says, 'lead into a long disquisition on the principles of taste, with its relations to utility, of which a short preface cannot admit,' nor, we must add, the limits of a review. But we conceive, that the union in one house of all the distempered fancies of every savage nation, with the classic beauties of civilized genius, can only present a chaos of barbarism; to furnish the vulgar and illiterate with means of incumbering the scientific professor, and misemploying those efforts of ability, which might otherwise cultivate and promote the designs of true taste. The tale might have been more entertaining and deservedly severe, had it delineated the unpleasant embarrassment which ensues to any quietly disposed man, who expects to find comfort, or even possibility of living in a room and furniture 'bedeviled' by taste. As a country squire was already upon the canvas, a very ludicrous picture might have been sketched; of his surprize at being seated on a lyre instead of a chair; or his disconcertment at finding no ink, till he is directed to dip his pen into the tail of a 'gormagon;' or his start of horror, when he wishes to warm himself, at perceiving a winged griffin sentinel at the fire-place, and ready to fix his brazen claws into any part of his body that may be appropinquated. This rich strain has only been slightly and faintly touched upon in the following lines.

> 'The lady would have drawn a chair,
> But he, with quick polite excuse,
> Exclaim'd—" Dear Ma'am, they will not move;
> This is screw'd down, that's in a groove:
> They're made for shew, and not for use."

The notes quote, in support of the satyre, several extracts from Mr Hope's letter to Francis Annesley M.P., which undoubtedly breathe a strong odour of conceit and pedantry. Mr Holcroft, however, should have perused his own work at least once more, before he so openly accused Mr Hope of the disgusting 'iteration of I, I, I.' If egotism is ever allowable, it certainly must be in an epistolary pamphlet, written professedly to state the author's own opinions and designs. Mr Hope, however, is only accused of being a *Cerberus* in egotism; while Mr Holcroft exceeds him by one; and four times begins his tale by introducing himself to the reader, and kindly letting him into several traits and anecdotes of himself, besides sundry opinions, reflections, and meditations, all directly imported by the author *in propriâ personâ*. Indeed, we know not what private affairs we might gain the knowledge of, if we terrible reviewers did not continually break in upon the author's agreeable contemplation of himself.

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We seem to haunt this poor poet, in as terrific shapes as ever tormented the most guilty conscience. A visionary reviewer sits as heavy upon his breast as the incubus which Mr Colman says was always placed there,

'Making unseemly faces at Sir Thomas.'

His remarks upon this indelectable attendant furnish not only the introductions to the tales, but sometimes the tale itself, nay, and the postscript besides. Any fault or defect is perpetually made up for by a note of abuse upon this grinning familiar; and, in the eighth tale, he is so afraid of the sarcasms of his visionary censor upon the omission of a rhyme, that he gives him six in a note as a peace-offering.

The last tale, entitled 'Innovation,' bestows some just praise upon those tyrants over the passions, Mrs Jordan and Mrs Siddons, and again mercilessly assaults the weak and imbecile Master Betty.

Upon the whole, as we do not recollect Mr Holcroft before in a poetical shape, and do recollect him with pleasure in some others, we must advise him, ere he be too far involved in the concerns of the house, to withdraw his name from the firm of 'Parnasse and Co.,' as he wittily writes. His poetry abounds with uncouth rhymes. 'God and blood. Go and brow. Flown and gone. Silent and vi'lent;'—and with unmetrical and inharmonious lines, such as

'A tyrant, I forget his name,
'Twas not Phalaris, tho' much like him.'

'But, author or critic, he who has most.'

'To vindicate the taste o' the age.'

'like as a tweak
O' th' nose will quell a clamorous bully.'

The frequent license of omitting the article, can, we should think, only arise from a mistaken, though general idea, that easy poetry, means poetry easy to be written. For it gives a most cramp and stiff appearance to the passages in which it is used. As in

'Fear of approbation trickles
Down beggar's cheek, when self-love tickles,
As fast, and with as warm delight,
As down the cheek of Earl or Knight.
We soon shall see, on door and wall,
Our wonder, or contempt, to call:
Or sign for shop that sells shalloon;
Like Roscius, or air-puff'd balloon;
Hops into note, like Kangaroo.'

Nor

Nor can we subscribe to the bald device of inventing proper names for the sake of the rhyme, of which Mr Holcroft is so prolific. Thus, in the first tale, which is levelled at reviews, when 'floggings' occurred to the author, he chuckled over it as an excellent word, and just fit for the purpose; and therefore a reviewer, of the name of 'Scoggins,' was immediately manufactured to sanction its being pointedly placed at the end of a line. And in the last tale, when the country family are taken to see the tragedy of Douglas, they opportunely meet a cousin *Dorval* in the street, who obligingly accompanies them to the theatre, for the purpose of accommodating them with a rhyme to *Norval*.

In the names of living persons who are mentioned, Mr Holcroft is peculiarly unlucky. Peter Pindar and others, whom Mr Holcroft has copied, have often, by joining a ludicrous compound rhyme, made a common name pass for a good joke. Both Betty and Hope are too easily answered by a like sound, to admit of any such display of ingenuity; while, on the other hand, Annesley and Malthus are too untractable for Mr Holcroft to fit them with any assimilated jingle. These are all faults that may be avoided by care, or amended by experience. But we principally ground our unfavourable opinion of Mr Holcroft's case, upon the general dullness, and want of fancy and point, that deadens every tale. When an author, by borrowing every thing, confesses want of originality; when he spoils too, all he borrows; when, by every trick he can devise, he seeks to arrest remark, and blunt the censure upon those faults, his avowed knowledge of which argues his inability to correct them; we must consider it as a hopeless symptom of debility in the walk he has attempted. However, we think, when Mr Holcroft puts off the fantastic garb of imitated irregularity, and condescends to legitimate metre, his productions are at least more to be endured. We quote the following stanzas, from the fourth tale, 'The Decline of Wit,' as a very favourable specimen, by which to estimate Mr Holcroft as a bard.

'Wit once was known a blithsome boy,
A rosy youth right full of glee;
The cot or palace was his own,
Where none so welcome was as he.
Behind his back a budget fraught
With many a trick and many a tale
He lightly bore, with jocund heart,
And sung adown the flowery dale.
The "pleasaunce" of his pearly cheeks,
His glances shot on every side;
His skips and bounds, and frolic leaps,
Bespoke a heart that care defied.

'Mong

'Mong high-born dames, and ladies fair,
 And lords and earls, and barons bold,
More welcome he than April suns,
 His geer more precious far than gold.
Sometimes he called himself a bard,
 And then of strifeful combats sung;
Sometimes a minstrel, and his harp
 With some old legend loudly rung.
And then, anon, a Troubadour,
 To love he tun'd his voice so sweet,
Till souls have melted at his song,
 And lords have died at ladies' feet.
If he in playful mood were seen,
 Infants would in his bosom creep;
Or if some tragic tale he told,
 The roughest warrior there would weep.'

We must now take our leave of Mr Holcroft, assuring him that we wish it had been in our power, consistently with truth, to disappoint his expectations of censure; for the tales all breathe that liberality of sentiment and enlarged philanthropy, that has ever appeared in the works of this author. We regret, however, that enthusiasm has hurried him into the unjustifiable lines upon Mr Malthus, in the last tale, in which he joins his name with that of the detestable tyrant of France, and seems to assert, that the theory of this learned professor would justify all the crimes and rapacity of this scourge of modern Europe. Research after truth should never be discouraged, and least of all by ribaldry unfounded upon argument. The thorough knowledge of existing evils is the best beginning to the consideration of the means of destroying or lessening them. He who discovers them deserves more praise, the more unpleasant the subject is that he has the hardihood to investigate; and his merits should be estimated according to the truth, and not the popularity of the maxims, that he is bold enough to promulgate.

Art. VIII. *An Essay on the Principles of Commercial Exchanges, and more particularly of the Exchange between Great Britain and Ireland, &c.* By John Leslie Foster, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. pp. 224. London, 1804. Hatchard.

The general principles of exchange appear to us to have been already very satisfactorily elucidated. Besides the incidental illustrations which the subject has received from various writers, it has been fully explained by Dr Smith, whose reasonings have been very successfully confirmed, and still further illustrated by Lord

Lord King; so that, in our apprehension, nothing further remained to be done by succeeding writers than to point out, from a wider survey of facts, the invariable coincidence which exists on this subject between the sound conclusions of principle, and the results of experience.

We are by no means disposed to qualify this opinion, from a perusal of the performance before us. It contains, indeed, the common theory of exchange, which the author has occasionally confirmed by a few interesting facts, but which he has more frequently incumbered with superfluous illustration. A considerable portion of his work is occupied with extraneous discussions, in which, although he sometimes displays ingenuity and acuteness, we cannot, with any regard to justice, award to him the higher praise of accurate or original thinking. There is not, we believe, a greater obstacle to the progress of true science, than the blind partiality which the mind naturally feels for its own rash conclusions; and it is truly melancholy to observe, how implicitly even men of judgment and talents believe in the truth and importance of their own erroneous theories, and with how much misguided zeal they plead the cause of the most obvious errors, while their faculties seem to be absolutely bound up by the charm of a favourite paradox. Like many of those unsuccessful candidates for the fame of original discovery, Mr Foster has bewildered himself with the most chimerical and unfounded notions; and so far is he from even doubting of the truth of those positions, which are the groundwork of his speculations, or from suspecting that they require to be supported by any sort of proofs, that when he recurs to them, it is not so much for the purpose of trying their solidity, or of pruning their extravagances, as of branching them out into more extensive errors. The fallacies, however, which are interspersed throughout the whole of his performance, are not to be detected by a superficial perusal; his reasonings are so dark and perplexed, and his language so extremely obscure, that we have sometimes found it impossible to understand his statements; and, after various fruitless attempts, we have been at length forced to abandon them in despair. Even where we have been more fortunate, we were surprised, after toiling through a most elaborate process of reasoning, by the discovery of very obvious positions, of which we dare venture to affirm that we should very quickly have recognized the truth, had it not been clouded by Mr Foster's demonstrations. In surveying the progress of scientific discovery, it is most interesting and instructive to consider, on what simple combinations, truths, the most important and the most remote from the range of ordinary conceptions, frequently [illegible]. It seems, indeed, to be one of the peculiar attributes of genius,

genius; to render the most easy and natural means subservient to the accomplishment of its grandest designs. On this ground, as much as on any other, we should be inclined to rest the fame of Dr Smith. His statements are unfolded with such admirable clearness; the various steps of his argument are so skilfully ar-[illegible], and so happily combined, that, instead of toiling through [illegible]inth of mysterious and unintelligible reasonings for doubt-[illegible]ults, we are surprised and delighted, both by the discovery [illegible] most important conclusions, and by the extreme simplicity of the process by which they have been brought to light. Mr Foster does not seem to be endowed with the happy faculty of communicating clearness to discussions in any degree intricate or obscure; on the contrary, his talents are rather employed either in darkening very obvious positions, or in loading them with useless explanation. His genius seems, indeed, to vibrate between these two opposite extremes, unless where it is drawn aside by the irresistible attraction of a paradox. Although such appears to us to be the general character of Mr Foster's work, we are by no means disposed to deny that he occasionally displays talents, which, if they were more cautiously exerted, might be successfuly employed in the cause of science.

The object which Mr Foster has in view in the commencement of his work, is to point out the distinction which exists between a *balance of trade*, and what he terms a *balance of debt*. By the *balance of trade*, he would be understood to mean nothing more than an excess of exports above imports; by the *balance of debt*, we suppose he must mean, (for his definition is not very clear or accurate), the debt which is due from one country to another, on the whole of their mutual transactions, and which can be discharged in no other way than by a pecuniary remittance. It is impossible, in his opinion, to draw any certain conclusion from the balance of trade, respecting the amount of this debt, because the balance of money to be paid or received, does by no means correspond with the excess, either of imports or exports; and although the balance of trade may continue permanently favourable or unfavourable to any nation, yet no country can long continue in the receipt of a greater pecuniary balance than what is sufficient to answer its demands for plate and circulating coin.

Mr Foster, after having, we think very needlessly, laboured to demonstrate the truth of this last position, proceeds to illustrate his opinion respecting the balance of trade, by a reference to the accounts of British exports and imports. It appears from the Customhouse books, which, though not perfectly correct, yet furnish an approximation to the truth, that the excess of British ex-

ports above imports, calculated at their official value, amounted, during the last century, to 348 millions Sterling. As it is impossible to believe that this balance could have been paid in the precious metals, Mr Foster very naturally supposes that it must have been employed in the discharge of our foreign expenditure; and that, had it not been for that expenditure, such an excess of exports could not have existed. This opinion, Mr Foster confirms, by a reference to facts. For the eight years of peace which preceded the last war, the balance of trade in favour of Great Britain, calculated at its official value, amounted to 13,685,746l. During the eight years of war which succeeded, it amounted to 46,905,169l. The exports were also principally increased to those countries where the expenditure took place. From all these facts, Mr Foster concludes, that, 'if the exports to all the world could be added to the amount of specie exported, they would be found equal to the amount of imports and of foreign expenditure.'

Lord King has accounted in a different way for the permanent excess of British exports.

He supposes that the trade to the East Indies, which cannot be advantageously carried on, except by the exportation of silver, puts us under the necessity of maintaining a favourable balance with the Continent of Europe; by which, alone, the quantity of silver necessary for this purpose can be procured. According to his hypothesis, there is a constant influx of the precious metals into Britain, occasioned by a favourable balance of trade; and it is principally in the reexportation of this superfluous specie, that the great gain of the Indian commerce consists. In one quarter of the world, therefore, our exports must always exceed our imports, and in another, our imports must exceed our exports; but, on the aggregate amount of our commercial transactions, our exports and imports must exactly balance each other.

In framing his hypothesis, it is evident that Lord King has overlooked the necessary connexion which exists between an excess of exports and a great foreign expenditure; and it is on this ground that we think Mr Foster successfully controverts his opinion. The mode in which every opulent nation defrays a heavy foreign expenditure, is very perspicuously pointed out by Dr Smith. The exportation of the plate, or of the circulating coin, would obviously be a very ineffectual expedient for this purpose. Even the bullion which usually circulates between different countries, and which is employed in facilitating foreign exchange, would be very inadequate to the management of such unwieldy transactions. No nation, therefore, can support a heavy foreign expenditure, except by the exportation of commodities; and, for this purpose, the finer and more improved manufactures will, for many

many obvious reasons, be selected in preference to the rude produce of the soil: But if, as Lord King states, our imports, on the aggregate amount of our commercial transactions, equal our exports, where is the fund from which our foreign expences must be defrayed? It is evident, besides, that a great foreign expenditure is constantly accompanied by a sudden and an unusual excess of exports. We may farther observe, that the theory of Lord King does not satisfactorily account for the fact. It does not appear to us, that the Indian commerce would afford an adequate outlet for such an influx of specie as must be occasioned by the very great disproportion which, it is acknowledged on all hands, exists between British exports and imports. The excess of exports, rated at their official value, amounted, it appears, in eight years, to 46,905,169l., a sum evidently too great to be employed in the importation of commodities from India. The trade to the East Indies may no doubt require a constant supply of the precious metals; but if it has, on that account, an effect in producing a favourable balance of trade, its influence seems to be but inconsiderable, when compared with the operation of those more powerful causes with which it is conjoined. Although, however, we are inclined to agree with Mr Foster's reasonings on the necessary connexion between a great foreign expenditure and an excess of exports, we do not think that he has pointed out the application of these discussions to the subject of exchange. The object of Lord King in introducing into his work the subject of the balance of trade, was to prove, that Britain maintained a favourable balance with the whole continent of Europe; and, arguing from that fact, to render the proof of a depreciated currency stronger, and more complete. Mr Foster, we think, has satisfactorily proved, that the excess of British exports has been in a great measure owing to the great foreign expenditure which she has been obliged to maintain. But he has not attempted to explain in what way that expenditure influences the exchange; so that the detailed exposition of this subject which he introduces into his work, does not seem in any way subservient to the main object of his inquiry. The influence of a large foreign expenditure on the internal prosperity, and on the general commerce of a country, to which he has also turned his attention, does not appear to us to be in any way connected with his subject.

With the remarks, which we cannot help thinking the best part of his performance, Mr Foster, has connected a very strange and chimerical paradox. He observes, that when a nation has been compelled to discharge any part of its debts by a pecuniary remittance, the scarcity of the precious metals, which will be universally felt, will give birth to an increase of

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produce and manufactures, and that a scarcity of circulating medium operates in this manner as a spur to commercial industry. Mr Foster, however, is far from thinking, that 'the greater the scarcity of circulating medium, the more effectual is the stimulus applied to industry, to produce those commodities by which alone that circulating medium can be obtained. Almost every stimulus,' he observes, 'when applied in excess, produces an effect opposite to that which follows from its being applied in moderation.' This reasoning appears to us to be perfectly vague and inconclusive, and we should certainly have expected from Mr Foster a more accurate exposition of the principle on which his hypothesis rests. He seems very desirous, indeed, to impress Mr Thornton into his service; and accordingly informs his readers, that although Mr Thornton has successfully pointed out the bad effects of a great or sudden reduction in the circulating medium of any country; yet that it never was his intention to deny that 'a reduction of the quantity of circulating medium enhanced its value, and, by the demand that was occasioned for it, *gave existence* to those productions of industry which alone could obtain it.'

That a reduction in the quantity of circulating medium enhances its value, is a proposition which, with certain restrictions, we are not disposed to deny; but we confess that we cannot so well comprehend in what manner it can *give existence* to productions of industry, which otherwise could not have existed. The surplus produce of land and labour is undoubtedly the only source from which a great foreign expenditure can be defrayed; and it is only by increasing the value of this surplus produce, that a greater fund of exportable commodities can be provided, and that a nation can thus be enabled to support an increased burden of foreign expences. The way in which money assists in the increase of national wealth, is by facilitating exchanges, and there does not seem to be any quality that renders it so fit for this purpose, as permanency of value; because when its own value remains constant and unchangeable, it will evidently on that account measure more accurately and more readily the value of all other commodities. In this respect, therefore, it will be a much more convenient instrument of exchange. But every variation in the value of the currency, more particularly an increase of value arising from a reduction in its quantity, must be attended with distress and inconveniency to merchants, and must tend also to embarrass the operations of manufacturing industry; because, until the change be fully accomplished, there must be a real deficiency of circulating medium to effect the ordinary payments; and it is entirely on the pressure and distress occasioned by this deficiency, that the increased

creased value of the circulating medium is founded. It is perfectly immaterial, whether the business of circulation be performed by a greater or smaller number of bank notes; because the aggregate value of the circulating medium of a country, combined with the velocity of its circulation, and the various expedients practised for economizing its use, is not arbitrary or accidental, but is in all cases determined by the business which it is destined to perform. In whatever way the sum necessary for carrying on the circulation of any country may be expressed, its real value must preserve a steady relation to the value and frequency of the payments to be effected by it. But after it has adapted itself to the extent of its appointed employment, and after it has been found to give all possible facility to commercial exchanges, we cannot comprehend how it can be beneficial to any nation—how it can increase the surplus produce of its land and labour, to distress and embarrass those who are employed in the cultivation of its land, and in the superintendance and direction of its labour, by depriving them of any portion of that circulating medium, which is found necessary to effect their customary payments. In our opinion, Mr Foster might as well expect to increase the produce of a nation, by disordering the machinery of the manufacturer, or breaking to pieces the implements of agricultural industry; and we cannot help expressing our surprise, that a person of his acuteness should have bewildered himself with such a hopeless chimera.

Mr Foster appears to have thought that an inquiry into the effects of the foreign expenditure of Britain, would enable him more satisfactorily to explain the operation of Ireland's foreign remittances on her internal commerce and resources, although we do not perceive that, in the preceding discussions, he has disclosed any facts which tend peculiarly to illustrate the general effects of foreign expenditure. His hypothesis respecting the commercial relations of Ireland, as they are affected by her debts due to Britain, and by the remittance of the loan from that country, are even more chimerical and extravagant than his theory respecting the scarcity of circulating medium, of which we have already endeavoured to point out the fallacy. The foreign remittances of Ireland are partly employed, according to Mr Foster, in paying to the absentee proprietors of land the rents of their estates; and partly in providing for the interest of her debt payable in London. As bullion cannot be remitted for this purpose, an excess of exports must be produced adequate to the discharge of this expenditure. It is the opinion of Mr Foster, that for this excess of exports, no return of value is made to Ireland; but that both her revenue and her capital are consumed in providing a

 fund

fund sufficient to defray her foreign expenses. In opposition to those who imagine that the absence of the landed proprietor is beneficial to Ireland, because the necessity of remitting his rents necessarily causes an excess of exports, Mr Foster remarks, that 'the supporters of so strange a paradox might have observed a distinction between the exports which are exchanged for imports, and those which are to discharge the foreign expenditure of the country;—a distinction no less important than that the former are paid for, but the latter not. It is the part of England to enjoy (he observes), and of Ireland to labour. The only value that Ireland receives in return, is the permission to keep at home her circulating medium.' Combined, however, with her foreign expenditure, the expedient of raising Irish loans in England produces, according to our author, most melancholy consequences to the commerce and industry of Ireland. By providing her with a fund for the discharge of her debt, it renders unnecessary an exportation of her own produce; and by multiplying the quantity of circulating medium beyond the demands of her commerce, it necessarily prevents the existence of all that increased produce, which the scarcity of circulating medium would otherwise have occasioned. But not only does the loan prevent an excess of exports, as it more than balances Ireland's foreign expenditure; it even causes an excess of imports:—a circumstance which draws from Mr Foster the most melancholy complaints.

In framing this hypothesis, Mr Foster evidently confounds foreign remittances with foreign expenditure; and very erroneously imagines, that the remittances of Ireland for paying the interest of her debt due in London, and her remittances of rent to her absentee landlords, operate equally as a tax on Irish industry; because, according to his theory, neither of them bring back any commercial equivalent. This error appears the more extraordinary, as Mr Foster has himself stated, that the rents of the absentee landlords are paid by means of an excess of exports over imports. But by what means would the landed proprietor get possession of Irish commodities, or, what is the same thing, of the value of Irish commodities to the amount of his rents, except by purchasing them with an adequate equivalent? That equivalent has not indeed been imported from Britain; because it has been already paid in Ireland in the produce of the landlord's estate. But it is surely not less valuable on that account, or less likely to give encouragement to Irish industry. The great commerce of every civilized society, according to Dr Smith, is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country. The country supplies the town with the means of subsistence, and the materials of manufacture. The town repays this supply, by

sending

sending back a part of the manufactured produce to the inhabitants of the country. The remote residence of the landlord is merely an accidental circumstance, and cannot alter the nature of this commerce. It will only render it necessary to export that portion of manufactured produce which is destined to replace his rent, and which he would otherwise have consumed at home. In some respects, indeed, it will rather assist than retard the advancement of a nation to opulence; inasmuch as that part of the rude produce of the soil, which the landed proprietor would have required for his own subsistence, and for that of his servants and retainers, will be employed in the support of industrious manufacturers. Funds must no doubt be sent from Ireland, both to provide for the interest of the debt due in London, and to pay the rents of absentees; and this accidental coincidence seems to have led Mr Foster to confound foreign remittances with foreign expenditure. The commodities exported by Ireland for the payment of her debt due in London, do not indeed produce any commercial equivalent in return; but this is not owing to the circumstance of their being sent out of the country. Although the creditors of Ireland resided in Dublin, a fund for the payment of her debt must be set apart from the annual produce of her land and labour: her debt therefore will equally operate as a check to her prosperity, whether it is paid in Dublin, or remitted to London. In the same manner, the rent of the landlord must be paid wherever he resides; but we never before heard it maintained, that no equivalent was paid for the manufactured produce for which that rent is ultimately exchanged.

The destructive consequences which, according to Mr Foster, arise from the circumstance of the Irish loan being raised in Britain, and transmitted from thence to Ireland, appear to us to be altogether imaginary. We do not mean to deny, that the loans which every government requires for the support of extraordinary expenses, and that the taxes which it is necessary to impose, in order to defray the interest of these loans, must check the natural progress of national opulence. If, however, it is necessary to provide for the exigencies of the state by a loan, and if those for whose service the loan is required, are unable, without great distress and inconvenience, to make the requisite advances, it is surely the most natural policy to levy the principal, in the first instance at least, from the overflowing resources of the richest part of the empire, and to depend, for the payment of the interest, on such taxes as it may be thought expedient to impose for that purpose. We cannot believe that the operation of transmitting property from one part of the empire to another, can be attended with such disastrous consequences. By providing a fund for dis-

charging the foreign debt of Ireland, Mr Foſter imagines that the exportation of thoſe manufactures which were ſent abroad for that purpoſe, will be rendered totally unneceſſary, and that conſequently they will not be produced. But if, as our author ſeems to ſtate, the commercial relations of Ireland were deranged by her debt to Britain, for which ſhe had conſtantly to remit, the loan, by anſwering this purpoſe, would, we ſhould imagine, render her trade with Britain leſs artificial than it was before. At any rate, it is obvious, that although it may not be neceſſary to export the manufactures of Ireland for the payment of her debt, Britain is ſtill open to the importation of her commodities; and we are at a loſs to conceive, what greater or more effectual encouragement can be given to the induſtry of any nation, than a free market for its produce. But allowing it to be true, as Mr Foſter ſtates, that in conſequence of the loans for the ſervice of Ireland being raiſed in Britain, a fund is thereby provided for the diſcharge of her debt; and that there is, on that account, no further demand for thoſe manufactures which were exported for that purpoſe; does it neceſſarily follow, that the labour and the capital, which had been employed in preparing thoſe manufactures, will be extinguiſhed, and for ever loſt to Ireland? Is it impoſſible to change the employment of capital, or to alter the direction of labour? Although one branch of commerce decays, may not the induſtry and capital which it once ſet in motion be as beneficially exerted in more flouriſhing manufactures? The notions of Mr Foſter on this ſubject really appear to us to be chimerical in the extreme; and not leſs ſo are his apprehenſions that the unnatural ſupply of circulating medium occaſioned by the loan, will more than ſatisfy the demand which the debt of Ireland would otherwiſe have occaſioned, and will thus entirely counteract the beneficial effects which a ſcarcity of circulating medium never fails to produce on the induſtry of a country.

But it is chiefly from the diſcontinuance of this ſyſtem that Mr Foſter expects a conſummation of all its evils. 'Ireland will then' (he obſerves) 'have an immenſe balance of debt remaining to be paid, while the loans are withdrawn which have hitherto ſupplied the deſtructive mode of making the payment. Ireland will then feel,' what at preſent ſeems to him no ſubject of alarm, 'that her induſtry has been increaſed in the ſame ratio as the demands againſt her have increaſed; and that in conſidering the balance of debt, ſhe contemplates but one half of her difficulties.' If Mr Foſter means to ſtate, that the reſources of Ireland are inadequate to the payment of her debts, this propoſition, together with all the necessary proofs, might, we think, have been reduced to a very narrow compass. But he ſeems to confound the

nature

nature and effects of national debt, with the circumstances with which, in the case of Ireland, it is accidentally conjoined. Assuming this as his foundation, he has contrived, by the help of paradoxes and doubtful facts, to patch together his flimsy and fallacious hypothesis.

Our author next proceeds to inquire, in what manner the commerce of Ireland has been affected by the Bank restriction; but we are concerned to observe, that his views on this subject are almost entirely founded on those errors which we have already endeavoured to expose. He first considers the effects which the suspension of cash payments has produced in Britain, although we do not perceive that the case of Britain presents any peculiar advantages for the discussion of this question. The great foreign expenditure of this country during the last war, operated, according to Mr Foster, as a spur to her industry, by forcing a balance of exports in her favour. It is evident, however, that whatever portion of that foreign expenditure was discharged by pecuniary remittances, a proportional diminution must have taken place in the excess of exports. The increased issue of paper which followed the bank restriction, by almost superseding the necessity of a metallic currency, allowed great part of the specie to be exported, diminishing, in consequence, that excess of exports which our great foreign expenditure would have otherwise occasioned, and preventing, according to our author, the existence of British produce to that amount. If the diminution of specie could have been permanent, Mr Foster thinks that the measure would have been less objectionable; but if specie must be recovered, the effect of the Bank restriction has been, 'to adjourn to one future exertion the production of those exports, which, had it not been for the restriction, would gradually have been called into existence by that portion of British labour which the restriction has prevented from existing.'

That the great expenditure of Britain gives encouragement to particular manufactures, is a fact which we by no means doubt; because particular manufactures may flourish in the general decline of national industry and wealth. But we are totally at a loss to comprehend how it can increase the general commerce of a nation, to send abroad part of the produce of its land and labour, without receiving any equivalent in return. And Mr Foster has indeed expressed the same opinion respecting an excess of exports occasioned by a great foreign expenditure. * If, however, a nation is burdened with foreign debt, and if specie can be spared from its internal circulation, it appears to us, that its exportation, so far from injuring the commerce of the country, may be even attended

* See page 17.

attended with peculiar advantages, whether in payment of debt already contracted, or in exchange for commodities. The smaller the quantity of specie which any nation employs in managing its pecuniary transactions, the greater will be its stock of active and productive capital. In so far, therefore, as the bank restriction has superseded the use of specie in commercial transactions, its tendency has been to add to the annual produce of the land and labour of Britain, by increasing its stock of active capital. Even although it may be necessary, at a future period, to import the specie formerly exported, still the temporary increase of capital which an exportation of specie produces, will set in motion an additional quantity of industry, the produce of which will more than enable the nation to repurchase the bullion which was formerly sent abroad. The use of money, we have already remarked, is to facilitate exchange; and it will most effectually assist the progress of national wealth, while it is allowed quietly to perform this office. It never will be either exported or imported, except to suit more exactly the purposes of commercial exchange; and we may be well assured, that it never can be prejudicial to the interets of the mercantile world, to allow it without molestation to follow the effective demand. We do not mean to defend the bank restriction, or to maintain that it has not produced very serious inconveniences; because it appears to us, that the object of a circulating medium cannot, for many obvious reasons, be either safely or completely attained, except by means of a mixed currency. But the consequences which Mr Foster ascribes to that measure, namely, the discouragement of industry and of produce, are, in our opinion, altogether imaginary. Indeed, his whole theory on this subject, seems to be a revival, under a different form, of the absurdities of that system which connected such important effects with the importation or exportation of the specie. In applying it to the state of Ireland, Mr Foster has only repeated errors, which we have already noticed; so that it does not seem necessary to enter particularly into this part of his work.

The second chapter commences with a statement of the common theory of exchange; with which Mr Foster has connected, *ut mos est*, a paradox, which is very far from being intelligible to us. He observes, that where gold forms part of the circulating medium of a country, and where that country owes at the same time a large foreign debt, the gold must receive an artificial value exactly proportionate to the amount of the debt, and sufficient to retain it within the country. It is by means of this artificial value, which is seen in the cheapness of commodities which ensues, and in the quantity of them that is forced into existence, more than by

by the increased value of the circulating medium which remains, that the evils arising from foreign debt are redressed. As the real exchange against Ireland can never rise much above one *per cent.*, (the price of transmitting the precious metals to Britain), it can never produce, according to our author, an excess of exports sufficient for the discharge of her foreign debt.

What species of artificial value that must be, which is only perceptible when gold is compared with commodities, but which vanishes when it is compared with the circulating medium of a different country, or by what means Mr Foster can so accurately ascertain the variations in the value of gold when compared with commodities, we are at a loss to determine. According to his own principles, however, the value of gold should never rise much higher where it is scarce, than the expence of importing it from those countries where it is more abundant; and if it did rise to a higher price, we have already shewn, that so far from favouring an increase of produce, every variation in the value of the circulating medium, has a tendency, by producing unspeakable inconvenience and injury to merchants and manufacturers, to frustrate, rather than assist, their efforts to increase the annual produce of the land and labour of a country. But if gold acquires an artificial value in consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade, it must undoubtedly arise from the great demand for it for the purpose of exportation. Those with whom the demand originates intend to employ it in paying their foreign debt, and it is on this account that they are willing to give a higher price for it; but it is surely eminently absurd to maintain, that this necessity of exporting it is the source of its artificial value, and at the same time that it is by means of its artificial value that it is retained at home. The heaviest foreign debts, it is well known, never affect very materially that stock of specie by which the internal commerce of a country is carried on; because it would be completely impracticable to provide a fund in this way for their payment. In order to raise the value of a commodity, it is not only necessary that there should be a demand; there must be, what is called, an *effectual* demand; and it is impossible that there can ever be an effectual demand for any considerable part of the specie which carries on the internal payments of a country, because the inconveniences attending its exportation would be so great, that no addition of price could counterbalance it.

But it is not necessary that a heavy foreign expenditure should be supported by the exportation of the specie employed in its internal commerce, because it is much more advantageous to purchase bullion, or to send abroad commodities for that purpose; and a country which abounds with the finer manufactures, will

never want a fund of exportable commodities for discharging its foreign debt, not only without any loss or inconvenience, but even with a profit. *

It is on this ground chiefly that we are inclined to think that the objection of Mr Thornton to the common theory of exchange, though extremely ingenious, is not well-founded. He observes, † that an unfavourable exchange 'will be limited to that trifling sum which it costs to transport bullion from one place to another, so long as there is bullion to be transported.' But when the bullion, which a country can spare out of the stock reserved for internal circulation, is totally insufficient to liquidate the demands of its foreign debt, then Mr Thornton seems to imagine that an unfavourable exchange may pass the limit to which in other circumstances it could be confined. It is obvious, however, that if a nation owes foreign debt to a very large amount, it must be discharged, either by means of specie or of commodities. As its own stock of specie must be generally insufficient for this purpose, it must endeavour to get possession of a portion of that bullion which is employed in effecting exchanges between different countries, and which Dr Smith has very properly denominated the money of the great mercantile republic. This purpose must be accomplished by an exportation of its manufactured products; and the bullion so procured will be sent to the country to which the debt is owing, where it will be very soon reexported in exchange for commodities, as it will be obviously superfluous for the purposes of its internal commerce. The money of the great mercantile republic must be always to be had for commodities, because it can be procured in no other way; and if it could not be always provided in sufficient abundance, to answer the demands of commerce by those who have wherewithal to purchase it, it would be insufficient for the business it is required to perform; its value therefore would rise, until the increase rendered it perfectly adequate to the fulfilment of all its necessary functions. Even although bullion, therefore, were absolutely necessary in all cases for the discharge of foreign debt, as it can be always purchased for its value, it seems impossible that the real exchange should ever rise beyond the expense of transporting gold from those countries were it is abundant to those countries where it is scarce. But as bullion must be purchased by commodities, and as it must be immediately reexported from the country to which it is sent in payment of a debt, and must bring back commodities in return, it is obviously much more convenient, and more profitable, to send commodities directly from the debtor to the creditor country, than to adopt such a cumbrous and circuitous

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* See Wealth of Nations, Vol. II. p. 161. † P. 123.

tous mode of payment; and a commercial and manufacturing nation can never have any difficulty in providing a ſtock of commodities ſuited to the wants of any country.

Although it is impoſſible, according to our author's theory, preciſely to determine the time in which foreign debt will produce exports to a ſufficient amount for its diſcharge, yet he imagines that certain limits, both with reſpect to time and amount, may be fixed, beyond which a real exchange cannot riſe. In Ireland, he thinks that it has exceeded thoſe limits, and that therefore it muſt be ſought for in other caſes. We do not underſtand on what principle Mr Foſter can aſſign any particular time for the continuance of an unfavourable exchange. The ſtate of the exchange muſt entirely depend on the nature of the commerce carried on between different countries, and we can ſee no reaſon why the real exchange may not continue permanently unfavourable to any particular country. Mr Foſter's arguments have been hitherto founded on the ſuppoſition that the burden of foreign remittances lay on Ireland: he now proceeds to ſhow, however, from an account of the reciprocal debts and credits of the two countries, that the loan from Britain more than counterbalances the remittances of Ireland for her abſentees. It does not appear to us, however, that any great reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the ſtatements on which his concluſions are founded. We have very little faith in the facts which are furniſhed by political arithmetic, except where they are very ſtrongly atteſted.

The third chapter of Mr Foſter's work, is principally occupied in pointing out in what manner a variation in the value of the currency of a nation affects the exchange. On this ſubject, he is remarkably tedious and unintereſting, more particularly as the ſubject had been already explained with ſo much neatneſs and elegance by Lord King. He remarks a miſtake, however, into which Mr Thornton has fallen, reſpecting the policy of impoſing a ſeignorage on the coin for the purpoſe of preventing its exportation.

It is obvious indeed, we think, that Mr Thornton has very ſtrangely miſunderſtood the whole of Dr Smith's reaſonings relative to the coin; and as the ſubject is in a high degree important, we ſhall endeavour to exhibit a ſhort and connected view of Dr Smith's opinions, which appear to us ſo clear and undeniable in themſelves, and to be ſo perſpicuouſly explained by their illuſtrious author, that we are aſtoniſhed they ſhould ever have been miſapprehended.

It is evident, that where the expenſe of coinage is defrayed by the government, the value of gold in coin can never greatly exceed its value in bullion. An occaſional riſe, therefore, in the market

market price of gold, or an unfavourable balance of trade, may render it profitable either to melt down the coin, or to export it. In order to obviate these inconveniences, Dr Smith proposes that a small duty should be imposed on the coinage, which, by rendering gold more valuable in coin than in bullion, would prevent its being melted down, and would also discourage exportation.

There are also other defects incident to a metallic currency, which a seignorage would remedy. In every country, the coin, by being rubbed and worn, gradually degenerates from its original standard, and contains a smaller quantity of metal than when it was at first issued from the mint. In that case, it is evident, that if it required a certain number of pieces, perfect in their standard weight, to purchase a pound of gold, the same number will not be sufficient for this purpose when they have lost part of their weight. In Britain, a pound weight of gold is coined into forty-four guineas and a half, which, when perfect in their standard weight, are seldom worth much more than a pound weight of bullion; because he who possesses a pound weight of uncoined gold or silver in Britain, can, by going to the mint, and waiting a few weeks, procure an equal quantity of those metals in coin. The gold coin of Britain, before its reformation in 1774, had lost two per cent. of its standard weight. But if forty-four guineas and a half, containing their full standard weight, could purchase very little more than a pound weight of uncoined gold, forty-four guineas and a half, wanting part of their weight, could not purchase a pound weight, and something must be added to supply the deficiency. Accordingly, the market price of gold in Britain, before the reformation of the gold coin in 1774, instead of being the same with the mint price, 46l. 14s. 6d., was 47l. 14s., and sometimes 48l. 'When the greater part of the coin, however,' Dr Smith observes, 'was in this degenerate condition, 44½ guineas fresh from the mint, would purchase no more goods in the market than any other ordinary guineas; because, when they came into the coffers of the merchant, being confounded with other money, they could not afterwards be distinguished without more trouble then the difference was worth.' Like other guineas, they were worth only 46l. 14s. 6d. If melted down, however, they produced a pound weight of gold, which could be sold for 47l. 14s. or 48l. It is evident, however, that the profit of the melters must be diminished exactly by the amount of the seignorage imposed. If five per cent. were charged for the coinage, and the coin were degenerated two per cent. below its standard weight, there would evidently be a loss of three per cent. even in melting down the heaviest pieces. As coin is, besides, required for the purposes of commerce, there does

does not appear to be any found reason why the full value should not be charged for it as well as for any other commodity. That value is partly made up of the materials, and partly of the workmanship; to charge nothing for the expence of the workmanship, is as absurd as to give away part of the materials; it degrades the coin below what it is really worth. It is besides very certain, that if the business had continued in the hands of private persons, they could not have undertaken the trouble of weighing, assaying, and coining the metals, without making a corresponding charge. Nor would it have been necessary; because those who wanted coin must have paid for the trouble and expence of manufacturing it into the form best adapted to their purposes, in the same manner as they pay for the manufacturing of gold and silver plate.

All this appears to us so clear and evident, that we are surprised that Mr Thornton should attempt to controvert it. He seems however to maintain, that because plate is not bought, in general, with a view to be sold again, the price paid by the original purchaser may not unfairly be considered at all times as the current price of the article; but money being sold, or exchanged for commodities again and again, what we mean by its current price is, that price at which it passes, not in the original bargain between the seller and the purchaser, but in the general course of subsequent circulation.* Allowing this statement to be correct, so far as relates to the use of these words, we do not perceive that it warrants the inference which Mr Thornton means to found on it, namely, that the expence of workmanship cannot be considered as forming a part of the value of coin, as well as of plate. Plate is no doubt bought, like every other commodity, for its current price; that price is made up partly of the materials and partly of the workmanship; and as they vary in their value, the current price of plate must vary also. Although the first purchaser does not mean to part with it, this circumstance does by no means imply, that plate always retains the price at which it was originally purchased. When we speak of the current price of plate or of money, we commonly mean the price at which each of those commodities can be purchased at the time in which we are speaking. But although plate may remain for years in the hands of the person who purchases it, this by no means exempts it from subsequent variations of value; nor does the constant circulation of money render its value more variable than that of any other commodity. There can be no doubt, that, if government chose to defray the expence of manufacturing gold and silver plate, this circumstance would

* p. 207. 208.

would reduce the price of these commodities. At present, those who require these luxuries must pay for the workmanship as well as for the materials. In the same manner, they would be obliged to pay for the manufacture of the coin, if it were not afforded them for nothing; and whatever variations of value might afterwards take place, the original expence of workmanship would always form a component part of the price.

But Mr Thornton also observes, that our coin is liable to be sent abroad, and that foreigners will not allow any thing for the workmanship. Undoubtedly not; and this is precisely the reason why a seignorage discourages exportation; because the exporter loses the whole value of the workmanship. According to Mr Thornton, however, the price of our coin abroad determines its price at home; because, in the case of a high price abroad, the directors of the bank diminish their issues of paper, and by that means raise its value, and, along with it, the value of the current coin of the kingdom. It has no doubt been supposed possible, where a metallic currency has been almost entirely supplanted by a paper circulation, artificially to raise the price of coin for a time, by diminishing the issues of paper. But it ought to be recollected, that a paper currency possesses value only as it represents a certain quantity of the precious metals; and that, though it may be possible to raise its value above that of the original standard, and, along with it, that of the small portion of coin, without which a paper currency cannot subsist, yet this rise must be temporary; because the permanent value of coin depends on the value of bullion, not in any particular country, but in the general market of Europe. The influence, therefore, of a limited or excessive issue of paper on the value of the coin, seems to be extremely confined. But although it were true that coin occasionally derived an additional value from a diminution of the quantity of paper in circulation, it does not follow that this cause would at all exclude the operation of other causes in raising its value. A seignorage, though combined with other causes, would still produce its effect. We have been induced to make these observations, because we conceive that the imposition of a seignorage is indispensable in every sound system of coinage, and because Mr Thornton, in disapproving of this expedient for the preservation of the coin, has, in our opinion, totally misconceived its principle.

As coin may receive an accession of value from the imposition of a seignorage, Mr Foster proceeds to shew, that its value may be depreciated, either from losing part of its weight, or from adulteration. He next examines the nature of a paper currency, and points out in what manner it may be affected by discredit or excess. It is obvious that discredit must diminish its value, and stop

ſtop its circulation; and it is equally clear, that, where the paper circulation of a country is increaſed, without any correſponding increaſe in the demands of its commerce, no part of what is added can find employment, until, by its depreciation, the quantity of currency is rendered ſubſtantially the ſame as before.

Mr Foſter follows the opinion of Mr Hume, in maintaining, that a considerable time must elapse before an addition to the currency of a country produces its full effect; and that the interval between its increase, and before its depreciation is completed, must be favourable to industry, because the additional quantity of currency will enable those, into whose possession it comes, to employ a greater number of manufacturers than before. Mr Foster also adds, that the degree of depreciation will not bear an exact proportion to the addition made to the circulating medium, because part of it will be employed in keeping in motion that increase of industry which it will have produced. It is evident, however, that an increase of industry cannot be supported, except a corresponding increase of the materials on which industry is exerted, be previously provided. But, by Mr Hume's hypothesis, there is no increase except in the quantity of gold or silver. If those, therefore, who are in possession of this increased quantity of the precious metals, employ a greater number of manufacturers, they must draw them from other employments; and if they provide an additional quantity of materials, they must be taken from the stock by which other manufactures are maintained. This cannot be effected, however, without producing an increased demand for labour and for commodities, which will exactly keep pace with the quantity of new specie sent into circulation, and will continue until, by depreciation, the aggregate value of the currency is rendered the same as before. If an additional quantity of coin could be once sent into circulation, without being depreciated, there is no reason why it should not permanently maintain its value.

On these grounds, therefore, an undue increase of currency appears to us to produce immediate depreciation, without any benefit whatever. There does not seem to be any property so essentially necessary to a circulating medium, as permanency of value; this property, it never can possess, unless its increase gradually follow the growing demands of commerce. The opinion, therefore, of Mr Foster, that 'there is a happy mean between a very small and a very immoderate increase, which, while it encourages industry, does not give rise to depreciation,' seems to be wholly without foundation. As to the inconveniences arising from the use of a circulating medium, not immediately convertible into specie, on which our author treats at great length, we have already very fully explained our opinion

in our examination of Lord King's work; we shall not at present, therefore, detain our readers by a discussion of that subject. Mr Foster has, however, successfully controverted a notion which we have sometimes heard urged in defence of an increased issue of paper, namely, that a paper currency cannot be depreciated while it is constantly demanded, and while it is never issued but on unexceptionable security. If this were true, it is evident that the value of specie could never be diminished from increase of quantity, because it will be constantly demanded: as it is the medium of commercial intercourse, merchants will be always anxious to exchange their commodities for it at its full value. But it by no means follows, that that value does not vary according as the established proportion between the supply and the demand is altered, even while the security remains unexceptionable. Excess, however, when applied to specie, is merely a relative term: it is not so when it is applied to a currency, which derives its value entirely from specie, and is only so far perfect as it accurately represents that quantity of specie for which it is meant to pass. If the quantity of paper circulating in any country exceeds the quantity of specie which the demands of that country would have required, had there been no paper money, and had its commerce been the same, it must in that case fall below the original standard of its value; because, while the value of the specie and the commerce of the country remains the same, a certain quantity of currency is required to transact its payments, and no more can be employed. If a greater quantity of specie is sent into circulation, whatever is superfluous will be exported. Paper currency, however, cannot be exported; whatever is issued, therefore, beyond the demands of commerce, must necessarily lead to a general depreciation. The paper, in that case, will not be worth the quantity of gold which it is intended to represent. It is evidently impossible that an excess of issue can take place, without producing this effect.

Mr Foster proceeds, in the fourth chapter of his work, to shew, by a reference to facts, that the currency of Britain, and more particularly that of Ireland, is depreciated through excess of issue; and he enumerates the following symptoms of depreciation, which the currency of Ireland has continued permanently to exhibit: 1. An open discount on paper when exchanged for coin; 2. An exchange unfavourable when remittances are made in bank notes; but favourable when paid in specie: 3. A constant excess of the market price above the mint price of bullion: 4. An entire disappearance of the smaller coin, which, from the degradation of the higher currency, it has become profitable to melt down.

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Of these four circumstances, the first and second appear to us to be completely conclusive, as to the fact of the actual depreciation of the *paper* currency of Ireland. The third unquestionably seems to indicate a similar depreciation in the coin; and Mr Foster accordingly classes them together, as concurrent evidence of the depreciation of the whole currency. To us, however, we will confess that this part of the subject appears to be attended with a difficulty which Mr Foster has neither felt nor removed. If the paper be depreciated below the coin, it seems evident that these two instruments of circulation have lost their connexion and dependance on each other; and it is not very conceivable how the state of the one should afterwards operate at all as a means of depreciating or enhancing the other. When the paper, in consequence of its excessive multiplication, has become comparatively cheap and worthless, and when a larger quantity of it is required in exchange for gold, as well as for other commodities, it is plain that its value is no longer measured by that of gold; and, of course, that gold cannot be sunk in value, any more than any other commodity, by its multiplication. Upon this subject, indeed, we have always been inclined to go somewhat further than most of those who have speculated on this subject, and to maintain, not only as in the present case, that where the paper currency has been separated from the coin, by being depreciated below it, the value of the coin cannot be affected by any increase or further depreciation of the paper; but also that, so long as the paper and coin continue at par, there is no multiplication of the former, by which the value of the whole currency can be affected.

This latter proposition we ground upon the simple consideration, that there is no imaginable motive to induce a man to part with a guinea for less than it is confessedly worth; and that the multiplication of bank notes affords no argument at all to the holders of guineas to give them away for less than they might certainly obtain for them by leaving the notes to shift for themselves. We see every day, that when the forty-fourth part of a pound of gold will sell for more than twenty-one shillings when offered as bullion, it is immediately reduced into that form, in spite of the strictest prohibitions of the law. Now, there neither is, nor can be, any law to prohibit a man from refusing to give a guinea for a smaller quantity of any commodity, than the seller allows it to be fairly worth; and it can be nothing to either of the parties in such a bargain, that there is a paper guinea in the market at the same time, which is not worth so much. It will therefore inevitably happen, we conceive, that as soon as the paper is really depreciated, it will separate from the coin; and that, as long as they continue at par, there can be no depreciation of the currency.

So long as a paper guinea is worth as much as a gold one, it will be quite as difficult to get paper as gold; and he who has paid the value of gold for it, will not be very much disposed to part with it for a smaller value. We have great doubts, therefore, of the possibility of an over-issue of paper in such circumstances. More notes may be engraved or filled up than there is any demand for; but unless they are to be issued, in the first instance, for less than their nominal value, we do not see clearly how their mere number can ever produce any depreciation. Though they may exist in greater numbers in the chests of the bank, they cannot be got out of these chests upon easier terms than gold might formerly have been got: though they are more numerous, they are not, in fact, either cheaper or more plentiful in the market; and all the bad consequences of the over-manufacture will be, the waste of paper and engraving.

Upon these principles, we have always been disposed to think, that the great and unquestionable decrease in the value of money, which has taken place in England and Ireland within the last twenty years, is to be accounted for, not by any circumstances connected with the state of the paper currency, but by an actual increase of the precious metals, or perhaps, in some degree, by the effects of our system of taxation. We are sensible, however, that this is a subject a great deal too difficult and momentous to be discussed incidentally in the course of our review of Mr Foster; and while we thought it right to throw out these general views, for the consideration of those to whom the subject is familiar, we do not hope to make many converts to our opinion, without a more elaborate exposition. In the mean time, we may be permitted to observe, that the excess of the market price over the mint price of gold in *both* countries, that is, the alleged depreciation of the coin, both where it is confounded with the paper money, and where it is entirely separated from it, serves to afford ground for doubting, whether the loss of value is in any case to be ascribed to the state of the paper; since it is not easy to conceive, that the value of the coin should be depressed in England because it is at par with paper, and, in Ireland, because it is of much higher value.

But, however all this may be, it cannot be necessary, upon our principles, to follow Mr Foster through the very long, elaborate, and circuitous deductions, by which he endeavours to estimate the *quantum* of depreciation of the English currency, by means of the state of exchange between that country and Ireland; and, even if we were to admit his principles, we conceive that we should be well entitled to complain of the manner in which he applies them. As a specimen of the style and manner of reasoning

soning by which he labours to elucidate this dark subject, our readers may take the following proposition.

'If the Bank of England notes' (he obſerves) 'are depreciated, and the real exchange in favour of Ireland, the premium paid for guineas in Dublin muſt equal the depreciation of Engliſh paper *plus* the unfavourableneſs of the nominal exchange, *minus* the real exchange in favour of Ireland. Hence, by a ſimple equation it will appear, that if we add the premium to the real exchange, and ſubtract the nominal exchange from their amount, the remainder muſt be the depreciation of Engliſh paper.'

The whole amount of this very perplexed statement seems to be nothing more than this, that when Irish currrency is exchanged for gold, the whole amount of a real exchange in favour of Ireland must be deducted from the sum necessary to compensáte the depreciation of the currency. On what principle Mr Foster grounds this conclusion, we are at a loss to conceive. A real exchange in favour of Ireland with England, can only arise from the great demand which prevails, in the latter country, for currency or for value of any kind in Ireland. But how can this alter the relative value of the different currencies in which the internal commerce of Ireland is carried on? How can it raise the value of the paper currency, and not of the gold coin? There can be no greater demand in England for Irish paper, than for Irish gold, as gold will evidently answer the purpose of those who wish to remit, as well as paper. After toiling so patiently through Mr Foster's dark and perplexed statements, it is truly mortifying to discover, that they terminate in such a palpable error. His hypothesis proceeds so far on the assumption, that the premium paid for gold measures the depreciation of the currency. Now, as this measure exists equally in Britain, and as Mr Foster's object seems to be, to find out the degree of depreciation which the currency of Britain has undergone, it would surely be a much more simple operation to apply this measure directly to the British currency, which would at once produce the information which he is so desirous to obtain, and for which he labours with such perseverance through such a complex process of reasoning.

As a further proof of the depreciation of the Irish currency, Mr Foster proceeds to state, that the issues of the Bank of Ireland are now *five times* as great as when the restriction was imposed, while the issues of the Bank of England have not been quite *doubled* in that time; from which he infers, that unless the trade of Ireland has increased in the same proportion, there must have been an excess of issue. He also states, that the controul which the Bank of England exercises over private bankers, is more com-

plete than that which is possessed by the Bank of Ireland, because 'the holders at present have little inducement to wish to change the note of a respectable private banker for a note of the Bank of Ireland.' It is evident, however, that as long as the paper of private bankers is convertible into Bank of Ireland notes, the Bank of Ireland muſt poſſeſs a complete controul over the iſſues of private paper. As long as it is the legal ſtandard by which the value of all other notes muſt be determined, it poſſeſſes a value diſtinct from every other ſpecies of paper currency. As the holders of any number of private notes can never make any higher demand than for the ſame number in Bank of Ireland currency, it is impoſſible that their value can ever be permanently higher than that of the medium into which they muſt be ultimately reſolved. Neither can private paper be depreciated below that value; becauſe, if it were multiplied beyond the demands of commerce, the exceſs would be returned for Bank of Ireland notes. Even if a private bank were to attempt to rival the Bank of Ireland, by iſſuing, within the particular precincts of its circulation, an undue quantity of currency, this might no doubt produce a depreciation both of its own notes, and thoſe of the National Bank; but the exceſs would finally return upon the private bank from which it originated; becauſe the depreciation could only be temporary and local. If it extended to the general currency of the nation, an increaſed iſſue, in order to compenſate by an addition of quantity for the diminiſhed value of the currency, would be neceſſary; but this could not be ſafely put in practice, unleſs a greater quantity of Bank of Ireland notes were previouſly provided, in order to meet the greater demands for the ultimate medium of payment, which an increaſed iſſue would neceſſarily occaſion. A run would immediately commence, in the diſtrict where the exceſs of iſſue took place, on the private banks, for Bank of Ireland notes, which would continue until they diminiſhed to their former amount the quantity of their notes in circulation. It appears to us, therefore, quite impracticable for any private bank to iſſue its notes in ſuch a quantity as would reduce their value below that of Bank of Ireland notes.

We cannot help ſuſpecting that there is alſo ſomething of exaggeration in the account which Mr Foſter gives of the diſorder produced in the ſilver currency of Ireland; at leaſt we do not ſee how a depreciation of the paper, to the extent of 10 *per cent.*, ſhould lead to the *total diſuſe* of ſilver coins, and to a ſubſtitution of baſe metal or paper in their ſtead. Mr Foſter's ſtatements, indeed, muſt be frequently received with a conſiderable degree of caution, as they ſometimes lead to concluſions that appear abſolutely incredible. In pointing out thoſe whom he co [illegible]

[illegible]

gainers by the depreciation of the Irish currency, he mentions that the dealers in exchange make the most exorbitant profits; and he actually asserts, that a profit of 341l. may be made, by remitting 1000l. thirty-six times between London and Dublin, which may be done in one year. Does Mr Foster really believe, that with little trouble, and without any risk, a profit of 341l. *per annum* can be cleared on 1000l.? Did he never hear of the competition of capitals? and that when the profits in one branch of commerce rise higher than the general level of profit in any country, they are very quickly reduced by the competition of capital attracted from other employments?

Towards the conclusion of his performance, Mr Foster endeavours to point out a remedy for the evils which arise from the depreciation of the Irish currency. On this subject, however, we are not aware that he has suggested any thing original or satisfactory. The true principles on which a system of paper currency ought to be founded, are indeed sufficiently obvious; but, after a manifest abuse has been so long submitted to, it is often extremely difficult to suggest a safe and practicable expedient for its removal. Were Parliament suddenly to ordain that cash payments should be resumed at the Bank of Ireland, a run would immediately commence for gold, which would continue, until, by a suitable reduction in the quantity of the currency, its former value was restored. This sudden revolution in the value of the currency, could not, however, be brought about without giving a violent shock to all commercial relations, and thus producing individual distress, and even ruin, to an incalculable extent. It would undoubtedly be necessary, therefore, to prepare the way for this salutary reform, by rendering the Bank of Ireland notes, in the first instance, exchangeable for those of the Bank of England; and even this measure could not be carried into execution without a considerable degree of caution.

It is in our opinion essentially necessary to the purity of every paper currency, that it should be convertible into specie at the will of the holder. But we do not think that any prudent statesman would recommend the abolition of the Bank restriction, before the necessary measures were adopted for securing the Bank against the effects of an unfavourable exchange, combined with the still more disastrous consequences of domestic alarm. An imposition of a seignorage on the coin seems to us to be the only effectual expedient for this purpose. By preventing altogether its being melted down, it would deliver the Bank from one very serious source of annoyance; and, by discouraging the exportation, or, at least, if it were exported, by facilitating its return, it would considerably lessen the demands upon the bank for specie,

and would thus leave its directors with more ample resources to meet the dangers and difficulties to which, in a season of general consternation, they must always be exposed. A plan ought also, at the same time, to be adopted for reforming the silver currency, and for permanently securing its purity.

We cannot take our leave of this performance, without observing, that we have bestowed on it a more particular examination than its general merits might seem at first view to require. But Mr Foster's errors derive, in our opinion, a degree of adventitious importance from the subjects with which they are connected; and it appears to us to be of consequence to point out the fallacy of those vain and inconclusive theories, which, under the semblance of original discoveries, tend to mislead ordinary readers with respect to the nature and objects of political economy, and to create a prejudice against a science, particularly eminent for the certainty and practical importance of the results to which it leads.

ART. IX. *Memoirs of Dr Joseph Priestley, to the year* 1795, *written by himself: With a Continuation to the time of his decease, by his Son Joseph Priestly; and Observations on his Writings, by Thomas Cooper, President Judge of the Fourth District of Pensylvania, and the Reverend William Christie.* 8vo. pp. 481. London, 1805.

DR PRIESTLEY has written more, we believe, and on a greater variety of subjects, than any other English author; and probably believed, as his friend Mr Cooper appears to do at this moment, that his several publications were destined to make an æra in the respective branches of speculation to which they bore reference. We are not exactly of that opinion: but we think Dr Priestley a person of no common magnitude in the history of English literature, and have perused this miscellaneous volume with more interest than we have usually found excited by publications of the same description. The memoirs are written with great conciseness and simplicity, and present a very singular picture of that indefatigable activity, that bigotted vanity, that precipitation, cheerfulness, and sincerity, which made up the character of this restless philosopher. The observations annexed by Mr Cooper are the work, we think, of a powerful, presumptuous, and untractable understanding. They are written in a defying, dogmatical, unaccommodating style; with much force of reasoning for the most part, but often with great rashness and arrogance;

arrogance; and occasionally with a cant of philosophism, and a tang of party politics, which communicate an air of vulgarity to the whole work, and irresistibly excite a smile at the expense of this magnanimous despiser of all sorts of prejudice and bigotry.

Dr Priestley was a religious teacher from early habit, from conscientious persuasion of duty, and from unaffected zeal and affection for the vocation. He was a philosopher only by accident, for pastime, and from the unconquerable restlessness of his understanding. His profession and business in life was that of a spiritual pastor; his other occupations were all occasional relaxations: and he has himself assured us, that he only valued the reputation which they enabled him to acquire, as it might give greater weight and authority to his peculiar views of Christianity. We do not see the least reason to question the sincerity of his faith, or of the conviction he always professed of its importance to mankind; but we are persuaded, that his religious zeal was the fruit rather of early habits and impressions, than of his later convictions, and cannot help considering it as an extraordinary spectacle, to see that ardour for devotional exercises, which was nursed in the bosom of the most rigorous Calvinism, still surviving and maintaining its influence over a mind that had abandoned all the original objects of its veneration. Dr Priestley, after he had abjured the Holy Ghost, and satisfied himself that Jesus Christ was nothing more than a man; that the scriptural writers were no more inspired than himself; and that the soul of man had no existence; retained the same devout passion for preaching, praying, and catechising, which he acquired while he believed in the Trinity and the immateriality of the sentient principle of his nature. It will appear, however, from the following short sketch of his life, that his early impressions were very profound and serious; and that his transformation was gradual, and accompanied by a spirit of controversy and proselytism, which kept his original ardour in constant and beneficial exercise.

He was the son of a Yorkshire clothier, who prayed morning and evening with his family, taught his children the Assembly's Catechism, and, having been bred a Calvinist, took at last to the tenets of Whitfield. He was taught Greek and Latin by a dissenting clergyman, and longed for an *experience* of the New Birth with such extreme earnestness, that he suffered undescribable distress of mind; and, concluding that God had forsaken him, 'read the account of the man in the iron cage in the Pilgrim's Progress, with the greatest perturbation.' He was afterwards very nearly in as bad a state, on discovering 'that he could not feel a proper repentance for the sin of Adam;' and in this hopeful frame of mind was sent to a dissenting academy at Daventry, for

for the purpose of qualifying himself for the ministry. The life which he lived there he shall describe himself.

'I shall always acknowledge, with great gratitude, the obligations I owe to this seminary. The business of religion was effectually attended to in it. We were all catechized in public till we were grown up, servants as well as others; the minister always expounded the scriptures with as much regularity as he preached; and there was hardly a day in the week, in which there was not some meeting of one or other part of the congregation. On one evening there was a meeting of the young men for conversation and prayer. This I constantly attended, praying extempore with others when called upon.

'At my aunt's there was a monthly meeting of women, who acquitted themselves in prayer as well as any of the men belonging to the congregation. Being at first a child in the family, I was permitted to attend their meetings, and, growing up insensibly, heard them after I was capable of judging. My aunt, after the death of her husband, prayed every morning and evening in her family, until I was about seventeen, when that duty devolved upon me.

'The Lord's day was kept with peculiar strictness. No victuals were dressed on that day in any family. No member of it was permitted to walk out for recreation, but the whole of the day was spent at the public meeting, or at home in reading, meditation, and prayer, in the family or the closet.' p. 13, 14.

In short, such was his attachment at this time to spiritual subjects, that 'seeing his brother Timothy reading a book of knight-errantry, he snatched it out of his hand, and threw it away with great indignation.' He remained at Daventry three years, and seems to have worked very hard at his theological and classical studies. He made it a rule to read ten folio pages of Greek every day, and generally a Greek play in the week besides; and maintained eternal disputations with his teachers upon 'all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy.' The study of Dr Hartley first converted him to the belief of the necessity of human actions;—a doctrine from which he assures us he has derived great comfort and satisfaction through the whole course of his life. He was much discouraged at this time by an impediment in his speech, which was never effectually removed; but accepted of the situation of pastor to a small dissenting congregation at Needham in Suffolk, who agreed to give him 40l. a year, though they never made up so much as 30l. Notwithstanding the slenderness of this appointment, he was disposed to be very happy and contented in his new situation; but having said something rather heterodox as to the Trinity, in a discussion on the Unity of God, such a clamour was raised against him, as made him think of changing his situation. Before doing this, however, he began his great work of reforming the vulgar system of Christianity, by

by striking out the doctrine of atonement from his creed; and published a book, to shew that 'that doctrine, even in its most qualified sense had no countenance either from scripture or reason.' The next prejudice he got rid of, was that which relates to the divine inspiration of the sacred writers. He wrote another book, to show the absurdity of this opinion; and treated the Apostle Paul with much freedom, as a very indifferent and sophistical reasoner. Dr Kippis advised him to publish this under the character of an unbeliever; but he ultimately gave it to the world as his own.

From Needham he went to Nantwich in Cheshire, where he had a congregation consisting chiefly of travelling Scotchmen; and opened a school, in which he made experiments in natural philosophy, chiefly for the entertainment of his pupils, and their parents and friends. Here he published his English Grammar; and, at the end of three years, accepted the situation of tutor in the languages at the new academy at Warrington. Here, for the first time, he seems to have had work enough in his professional vocation; and truly it was no light task for one and the same teacher to deliver lectures—on the Theory of Language—on Oratory and Criticism—on the Constitution and History of England—on Elocution—on Hebrew—on Logic—on the Civil Law—and, finally, on Anatomy. In this situation, he published his Chart of Biography, and his History of Electricity; the study of the subject, the experiments, composition, and publication, being all completed in the leisure of one busy year.

After six years good service at Warrington, he accepted of an invitation to resume the pastoral office at Leeds, to which he removed in 1767. Here he got rid of the remains of his belief in the Holy Ghost and the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and every day saw more reason to be satisfied with the new views that were opened to him in Christianity. His leisure immediately fermented into a swarm of miscellaneous publications; and besides the treatise on Perspective, and the Principles and Conduct of the Dissenters, we reckon upwards of twenty volumes on theology and politics, composed and published within the space of four years. It was at this time that he was first led to make observations and experiments on air, from the accidental circumstance of residing in the neighbourhood of a brewery, where the phenomenon of fixed air was of course familiar to observation. He was then almost entirely ignorant of chemistry; but prosecuted his discoveries with so much industry and ingenuity, that, in 1772, he published a pamphlet on the subject, which excited very general attention in the scientific part of the community. About this time, he received the degree of LL. D. from our university

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of Edinburgh, by the mediation of Dr Percival; and was received a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, on the recommendation of Dr Franklin, Dr Watson, and Dr Price. Here also he published his 'History of Discoveries relating to Light and Colours;' and had some prospect of being appointed to accompany Captain Cook in his voyage of discovery.

After passing six years very happily and busily at Leeds, he was tempted to resign his situation, and take up his residence in the family of the late Marquis of Lansdown, then Earl of Shelburne, where he was to attend his Lordship as a sort of literary companion, with an appointment of 250l. per annum, and 150l. for life in case of their previous separation. In this situation he continued seven years, in the course of which he visited France, Holland, and part of Germany, in company with his patron; and was assured, by the literati of Paris, that he was the only person of sense they had ever seen who professed to believe in Christianity. During his residence with Lord Shelburne, he was chiefly occupied with the prosecution of his experiments upon air and other physical inquiries; but, besides four large volumes upon these subjects, he favoured the world, in this interval, with a volume of Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever—a Third Part of the Institutes of Natural Religion—Observations on Education—various metaphysical tracts, in opposition to Dr Reid—a partial edition of Hartley on Man—a Harmony of the Gospels—and two volumes of Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit, containing a warm defence of Materialism, and of the doctrine of Necessity.

During the laſt two years of his reſidence with Lord Shelburne, Dr Prieſtley informs us, he obſerved evident marks of diſſatisfaction in his Lordſhip, though he could never underſtand the cauſe of it; and upon his at laſt propoſing to give him an eſtabliſhment in Ireland, the Doctor choſe to claim the annuity which had been ſtipulated in the event of their ſeparation, and which, he aſſures us, was ever after very punctually paid. He parted amicably from this patron, and was afterwards applied to by him in very preſſing terms to return into his family: his occaſional viſits, however, were declined, to his ſenſible mortification. After this ſeparation he ſpent a winter in London, where he lived in terms of particular intimacy with Dr Franklin, and afterwards removed to Birmingham, at the requeſt of his brother-in-law Mr Wilkinſon, where he again reſumed the office of an Unitarian preacher. Here he enjoyed the ſociety of Meſſrs Watt, Bolton, Keir, and Galton, and of Drs Darwin and Withering, as aſſociates in his philoſophical purſuits; and of various other perſons of leſs celebrity, as fellow-labourers with him in the taſk of Chriſtian reform. Soon after his ſettlement in this place, he publiſhed a

full

full statement and justification of his opinions, in a work, entitled, 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity;' which was followed and defended in another, entitled, 'History of early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ;'—works which excited so much opposition, that he ever after found it necessary, he assures us, 'to write a pamphlet annually in defence of his doctrines against all opponents.'

This finishes the first part of the Memoirs written by Dr Priestley himself. There is a short continuation, bringing up the narrative to the year 1795, and dated at Northumberland in America. He continued his studies and publications, both in Chemistry and Theology, with great vigour and complacency, till 1791, when, having become very generally obnoxious to the established clergy, and through them to the ministry, he was exposed to a great deal of obloquy, and ultimately to very serious danger. Some of his friends having met to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution, on the 14th July 1791, a mob of outrageous loyalists set fire to the dissenting meeting-houses, and afterwards to the dwellinghouses of all the obnoxious persons. In this tumult, Dr Priestley, after running great personal hazard, had the misfortune to lose all his library, apparatus, and specimens, and was forced to take refuge from the brutal fury of the insurgents in the metropolis. After a short time, he was invited to succeed Dr Price in the chapel at Hackney, and resumed his interminable labours with his usual zeal and alacrity. At that period, however, the imputation of political disaffection operated as a sort of proscription; and he found himself at last obliged to resign his situation as a member of the Royal Society. He wrote various appeals and discourses upon the subject of his persecutions; and published a great number of sermons upon the evidences and importance of religion. His situation, however, continuing in some measure uncomfortable, and the violent prejudices which had been excited against him having operated as obstructions to the advantageous settlement of his sons, he resolved to emigrate to America; and, in April 1794, actually took his departure for that country. On the passage, he wrote various theological and controversial works, and arrived at New-York, in the sixty-first year of his age, with unbroken spirits, and resolutions of persevering activity.

This is all that is written by Dr Prietsley himself. The continuation by his son is more diffuse and languid, though the detail of his father's last days be interesting and satisfactory. A great deal of room is occupied with an elaborate justification of his reasons for leaving England, and a contradiction of the injurious representations that were made in this country as to the nature of his reception in America. He was addressed, it seems, with

great

great respect, by the American Philosophical Society; was unanimously elected Professor of Chemistry at Philadelphia, and invited to give lectures on Philosophy and Unitarianism at New York. He chose, however, to decline all these offers; and, retiring into the country, settled in the small town of Northumberland, with the resolution of devoting himself entirely to his theological and chemical studies. He wrote, here, his Church History, and his Defence of Phlogiston, and delivered a course of lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, with great applause, at Philadelphia. After the accession of Mr Adams, however, to the office of President, he became obnoxious to the persons in power, on account of certain political opinions published by his intimate friend, Mr Cooper, in the preparation of which he was conceived to have had a share. It is admitted, that he highly disapproved of that administration; but we are assured, by his son, that he never wrote any article of a political nature, or interfered, in any degree, in the management of parties. He uniformly declined, indeed, to be naturalized as a citizen of his new country, and gave himself no concern in any of the elections in his neighbourhood. By the uniform equanimity of his temper, and his habitual seclusion from the tumult of business, he gradually overcame those prejudices; and, though he was never looked upon with a very favourable eye by what is called the Federalist party, he was generally considered as a moderate and independent man; and, after the event of Mr Jefferson's election, had no longer any thing to apprehend from the discountenance of the administration. From 1801 to 1804, he was chiefly employed in chemical experiments, and in printing his Church History, and his Notes on the Scriptures. His health had been gradually declining for two years, and in July 1804, he fell into an alarming state of weakness, but remained to the last moment in perfect possession of his faculties, and retained all that methodical activity and cheerfulness of temper which had characterized him through life. We give the account of his last days at full length, both because we think it interesting in itself, and because it presents an amiable and favourable picture of a man who has been judged rather more severely by his contemporaries, than we conceive he will be by posterity.

'On Thursday, the 2d of February, he wrote thus for the last time in his Diary. "Much worse: incapable of business: Mr Kennedy came to receive instructions about printing in case of my death." He sat up, however, a great part of the day, was cheerful, and gave Mr Cooper and myself some directions, with the same composure as though he had only been about to leave home for a short time. Though it was fatiguing to him to talk, he read a good deal in the works above mentioned.'

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'On Friday he was much better. He sat up a good part of the day reading Newcome; Dr Disney's Translation of the Psalms; and some chapters in the Greek Testament:—which was his daily practice. He corrected a proof-sheet of the Notes on Isaiah. When he went to bed he was not so well: he had an idea he should not live another day. At prayer-time he wished to have the children kneel by his bedside, saying, it gave him great pleasure to see the little things kneel; and, thinking he possibly might not see them again, he gave them his blessing.

'On Saturday, the 4th, my father got up for about an hour while his bed was made. He said he felt more comfortable in bed than up. He read a good deal, and looked over the first sheet of the third volume of the Notes, that he might see how we were likely to go on with it; and having examined the Greek and Hebrew quotations, and finding them right, he said he was satisfied we should finish the work very well. In the course of the day, he expressed his gratitude in being permitted to die quietly in his family, without pain, with every convenience and comfort he could wish for. He dwelt upon the peculiarly happy situation in which it had pleased the Divine Being to place him in life; and the great advantage he had enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendship of some of the best and wisest men in the age in which he lived, and the satisfaction he derived from having led an useful as well as a happy life.

'On Sunday he was much weaker, and only sat up in an armed chair while his bed was made. He desired me to read to him the eleventh chapter of John. I was going on to read to the end of the chapter, but he stopped me at the 45th verse. He dwelt for some time on the advantage he had derived from reading the scriptures daily, and advised me to do the same; saying, that it would prove to me, as it had done to him, a source of the purest pleasure. He desired me to reach him a pamphlet which was at his bed's head, Simpson on the Duration of future Punishment. "It will be a source of satisfaction to you to read that pamphlet," said he, giving it to me. "It contains my sentiments; and a belief in them will be a support to you in the most trying circumstances, as it has been to me. We shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness." Upon Mr —— coming into his room, he said, "You see, Sir, I am still living." Mr —— observed, he would always live. "Yes," said he, I believe I shall; and we shall all meet again in another and a better world." He said this with great animation, laying hold on Mr ——'s hand in both his.

'Before prayers he desired me to reach him three publications, about which he would give me some directions next morning. His weakness would not permit him to do it at that time.

'At prayers he had all the children brought to his bedside as before. After prayers they wished him a good night, and were leaving the room. He desired them to stay; spoke to them each separately. He exhorted them all to continue to love each other. "And you, little thing,"

thing," ſpeaking to Eliza, " remember the hymn you learned; ' Birds in their little neſts agree,' &c. I am going to ſleep as well as you: for death is only a good long ſound ſleep in the grave, and we ſhall meet again." He congratulated us on the diſpoſitions of our children; ſaid it was a ſatisfaction to ſee them likely to turn out well; and continued for ſome time to expreſs his confidence in a happy immortality, and in a future ſtate, which would afford us an ample field for the exertion of our faculties.

' On Monday morning, the 6th of February, after having lain perfectly ſtill till four o'clock in the morning, he called to me, but in a fainter tone than uſual, to give him ſome wine and tincture of bark. I aſked him how he felt. He anſwered, he had no pain, but appeared fainting away gradually. About an hour after, he aſked me for ſome chicken broth, of which he took a tea-cup full. His pulſe was quick, weak, and fluttering; his breathing, though eaſy, ſhort. About eight o'clock, he aſked me to give him ſome egg and wine. After this he lay quite ſtill till ten o'clock, when he deſired me and Mr Cooper to bring him the pamphlets we had looked out the evening before. He then dictated, as clearly and diſtinctly as he had ever done in his life, the additions and alterations he wiſhed to have made in each. Mr Cooper took down the ſubſtance of what he ſaid, which, when he had done, I read to him. He ſaid Mr Cooper had put it in his own language; he wiſhed it to be put in his. I then took a pen and ink to his bedſide. He then repeated over again, nearly word for word, what he had before ſaid; and when I had done, I read it over to him. " That is right; I have now done." About half an hour after, he deſired, in a faint voice, that we would move him from the bed on which he lay, to a cot, that he might lie with his lower limbs horizontal, and his head upright. He died in about ten minutes after we had moved him, but breathed his laſt ſo eaſy, that neither myſelf or my wife, who were both ſitting cloſe to him, perceived it at the time. He had put his hand to his face, which prevented our obſerving it." p. 217-20.

Before proceeding to ſay any thing on the merits of Dr Prieſtley's works, which are diſcuſſed in the appendix annexed to this volume, we ſhall take our leave of the Memoirs, by ſtating, in a few words, the impreſſion which the peruſal of them has excited, as to his perſonal character and diſpoſitions.

Of his *activity* we need ſay nothing, after the ſlight ſketch we have given of the multifarious productions of his pen. It is curious, however, to learn with how little labour theſe were generally compoſed, and how much leiſure was left in a life which ſeems ſcarcely ſufficient for half of what was crowded into it. The wonder may be partly explained, though certainly not entirely removed, by the following ſtatements. In the firſt place, he wrote with ſuch extreme facility, that he has himſelf ſtated, ' that he ſeldom employed ſo much time in any compoſition, as would have been

been necessary to write it out fairly in long hand.' In the next place, he was never at all impeded by any species of bad health, nor found himself less qualified for mental exertion at one time than at another; and, finally, he contrived both to diminish the labour, and to abridge the duration of his studies, by the attention he paid to vary them continually, and to observe the most inflexible regularity in the prosecution of them. The following account of his regular way of life, appears to us very interesting.

'He paid the greatest attention, through life, to the variation of his studies; his chemical and philosophical pursuits serving as a kind of relaxation from his theological studies. His miscellaneous reading, which was at all times very extensive, comprising even novels and plays, still served to increase the variety. For many years of his life, he never spent less than two or three hours a day in games of amusement, as cards and backgammon; but particularly chess—at which he and my mother played regularly three games after dinner, and as many after supper. As his children grew up, chess was laid aside for whist, or some round game at cards, which he enjoyed as much as any of the company. It is hardly necessary to state, that he never played for money, even for the most trifling sum.

'To all these modes of relieving the mind, he added bodily exercise. Independent of his laboratory furnishing him with a good deal, as he never employed an operator, and never allowed any one even to light a fire, he generally lived in situations which required his walking a good deal, as at Calne, Birmingham and Hackney. Of that exercise he was very fond. He walked well, and his regular pace was four miles an hour. In situations where the necessity of walking was not imposed upon him, he worked in his garden as at Calne, when he had not occasion to go to Bowood; at Northumberland in America, he was particularly attached to this exercise.

'But what principally enabled him to do so much, was regularity; for, it does not appear that at any period of his life, he spent more than six or eight hours per day in business that required much mental exertion. I find, in the same diary which I have quoted from above, that he laid down the following daily arrangement of time for a minister's studies:- Studying the Scriptures, one hour. Practical writers, half an hour. Philosophy and history, two hours. Classics, half an hour. Composition, one hour—in all, five hours. He adds, below, "All which may be conveniently despatched before dinner; which leaves the afternoon for visiting and company, and the evening for exceeding in any article if there be occasion. Six hours not too much, nor seven."

'It appears by his diary, that he followed this plan at that period of his life. He generally walked out in the afternoon, or spent it in company. At that time there was a society or club that assembled twice a week, at which the members debated questions, or took it in turn to deliver orations, or read essays of their own composition. When not attending these meetings, he most generally appears to have

spent the evening in company with some of the students in their chambers.' p. 184—7.

That he was able to do so much, even in the way in which it is done, with such astonishing facility, will appear still more surprising, when it is considered that he laboured under some great intellectual disadvantages. The following extraordinary account of the occasional failure of his memory, will be interesting to those who make a study of the physiology of mind.

'I have, from an early period, been subject to a most humbling failure of recollection, so that I have sometimes lost all ideas of both persons and things that I have been conversant with. I have so completely forgotten what I have myself published, that, in reading my own writings, what I find in them often appears perfectly new to me; and I have more than once made experiments the results of which had been published by me.

'I shall particularly mention one fact of this kind, as it alarmed me much at the time, as a symptom of all my mental powers totally failing me, until I was relieved by the recollection of things of a similar nature having happened to me before. When I was composing the *Dissertations*, which are prefixed to my *Harmony of the Gospels*, I had to ascertain something which had been the subject of much discussion relating to the Jewish passover (I have now forgotten what it was), and, for that purpose, had to consult and compare several writers. This I accordingly did, and digested the result in the compass of a few paragraphs, which I wrote in short hand. But having mislaid the paper, and my attention having been drawn off to other things, in the space of a fortnight I did the same thing over again; and should never have discovered that I had done it twice, if, after the second paper was transcribed for the press, I had not accidentally found the former; which I viewed with a degree of terror.' p. 106, 107.

His vanity, though not quite so ludicrous as that of Garrick or Boswell, seems to have been scarcely less restless or predominant in his nature. It did not, we believe, indicate itself in his ordinary discourse; but it may be traced very visibly in almost every thing he has written. He tells us very plainly, in these Memoirs, that he continued writing till none of his adversaries could produce any thing that was worthy of a reply; and when he mentions any treatise upon the subjects of his own speculations, it is commonly to say, that he received no satisfaction from it, or that he read it without any sort of profit. From the same feeling, he seems to have been frequently incapable of trusting the propagation of his opinions, or the establishment of his fame to the ordinary course of publication; but impatiently provoked and challenged some eminent antagonist to enter into the discussion, by a special appeal to him, or letters addressed to him individually. The harassment of these applications frequently produced unne-

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ceſſary aſperity in the management of the controverſy; or, if they were not anſwered at all, Dr Prieſtley immediately ſet this down as a confeſſion of inability, and boaſted of having put his adverſaries to ſilence. It is quite evident, indeed, to any one who reads his books, or even looks over theſe Memoirs, that he confidently expected his name to go down to poſterity, as a great reformer in religion and philoſophy; and had no doubt that a place would be aſſigned him in the Temple of Immortality, at leaſt as diſtinguiſhed as thoſe of Luther and Newton. It has often occurred to us, indeed, that there is univerſally ſomething preſumptuous in provincial genius, and that it is a very rare felicity to meet with a man of talents out of the metropolis, who does not overrate himſelf and his *coterie* prodigiouſly. In the Weſt of England in particular, there has been a ſucceſſion of authors, who ſeem to have laid claim to a ſort of omnipotence, and to have fancied that they were born to effect ſome mighty revolution in the different departments to which they applied themſelves. We need only run over the names of Darwin, Day, Beddoes, Southey, Coleridge, and Prieſtley, to make ourſelves perfectly intelligible. It is partly, no doubt, becauſe they are ships in a river, but chiefly, we believe, for want of that wholesome discipline of derision to which every thing is subjected in London, and which amply atones for the finer beauties, which it nips and shrinks, by repressing the fungous excrescences of presumption and extravagant vanity. There is something, too, in the perpetual presence of the more permanent aristocracies of wealth, office, and rank, which tends to humble the pretensions of genius, and teaches aspiring men to measure their own importance by a more extended standard. Dr Priestley, however, and his associates, were to all intents and purposes provincial philosophers: they took no cognizance of any sort of excellence or distinction but their own; and being ignorant, apparently, of the effect of adventitious circumstances in bestowing or obstructing reputation, they naturally fell headlong into those miscalculations, from which it is difficult to escape where self is the subject of computation.

Akin to this vanity, and perhaps in some degree founded upon it, is that perpetual contentedness and good humour with which Dr Priestley appears to have received all the accidents and occurrences of life. A more complete optimist indeed, we believe, never existed in practice; and it is amusing, as well as edifying, to run over the occasions of thankfulness and self-gratulation which he has recorded in this volume. In the first place, he is infinitely thankful to Providence for the superstitious horrors from which he suffered in his early youth, as he thinks they gave him a turn for serious and devout reflection; then he is grateful for

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the weakness of his health at the same period, as it probably saved him from many sinful and many foolish occupations: next, he returns thanks for the gift of stammering, which prevented him from setting an undue value on the frivolous accomplishment of eloquence: afterwards, he expresses his gratitude for having an indifferent musical ear, as it enables him to listen to indifferent music without any distress: and, in the same temper, he finds reason to be thankful for his disappointment in not going with Captain Cooke,—for his firm belief in the doctrine of Necessity,—and for finding the spoken language of France unintelligible—a quality by which, he says, it is eminently fitted to excite new ideas in the mind of the hearer!

Connected with this sanguine and cheerful temperament, was the tranquillity and simplicity with which he always received the largest and the smallest pecuniary benefactions from his friends, and the inflexible spirit with which he rejected, at the same time, all offers of patronage or support from the government. We are inclined to ascribe to the same constitutional peculiarity, a certain coldness of heart towards his most valued friends, and a degree of tolerance and indulgence towards those of whose principles and opinions he must have thought most unfavourably. He is sufficiently contemptuous in argument; but there is no spirit of persecution in any of his writings; and he speaks with affection and esteem, not only of many persons whom he denounces as confirmed infidels, but even of many who were bigotted adherents to the doctrines of the church of England. He has no great knowledge, of course, of the manners of the world, nor any high relish for the more delicate accomplishments of polished society; but he judges of the value of these things with considerable soundness and sagacity; and openly expresses an opinion with regard to them, which is almost universally prevalent, we believe, among the intelligent in the middle ranks, and has even made some converts, we suspect, among the higher order.

'Reflecting on the time,' he observes, 'that I spent with Lord Shelburne, being as a guest in the family, I can truly say that I was not at all fascinated with that mode of life. Instead of looking back upon it with regret, one of the greatest subjects of my present thankfulness is the change of that situation for the one in which I am now placed; and yet I was far from being unhappy there, much less so than those who are born to such a state, and pass all their lives in it. These are generally unhappy from the want of *necessary* employment; on which account, chiefly, there appears to be much more happiness in the middle classes of life, who are above the fear of want, and yet have a sufficient motive for a constant exertion of their faculties; and who have always some other object besides amusement.

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'I used to make no scruple of maintaining, that there is not only most virtue, and most happiness, but even most true politeness in the middle classes of life. For in proportion as men pass more of their time in the society of their equals, they get a better established habit of governing their tempers; they attend more to the feelings of others, and are more disposed to accommodate themselves to them. On the other hand, the passions of persons in higher life, having been less controuled, are more apt to be inflamed; the idea of their rank and superiority to others seldom quits them; and though they are in the habit of concealing their feelings, and disguising their passions, it is not always so well done, but that persons of ordinary discernment may perceive what they inwardly suffer. On this account, they are really entitled to compassion, it being the almost unavoidable consequence of their education and mode of life.' p. 82, 83.

As a further illustration of his temper and opinions, we extract the following little history of a Dr Frampton, who was a frequent guest at Lord Shelburne's in the country.

'No man perhaps was ever better qualified to please in a convivial hour, or had greater talents for conversation and repartee; in consequence of which, though there were several things very disgusting about him, his society was much courted, and many promises of preferment were made to him. To these, notwithstanding his knowledge of the world, and of high life, he gave too much credit; so that he spared no expence to gratify his taste and appetite, until he was universally involved in debt: and though his friends made some efforts to relieve him, he was confined a year in the county prison, at a time when his bodily infirmities required the greatest indulgences; and he obtained his release but a short time before his death, on condition of his living on a scanty allowance; the income of his livings (amounting to more than 400l. per annum) being in the hands of his creditors. Such was the end of a man who kept the table in a roar.

'Dr Frampton being a high-church man, he could not at first conceal his aversion to me, and endeavoured to do me some ill offices. But being a man of letters, and despising the clergy in his neighbourhood, he became at last much attached to me; and, in his distresses, was satisfied, I believe, that I was one of his most sincere friends. With some great defects, he had some considerable virtues, and uncommon abilities, which appeared more particularly in extempore speaking. He always preached without notes; and when, on some occasions, he composed his sermons, he could, if he chose to do it, repeat the whole *verbatim*. He frequently extemporized in verse, in a great variety of measures.' p. 75—77.

We should now proceed to make some remarks on the observations suggested by Mr Cooper, in the ample Appendix which he has annexed to this volume; but the length to which we have already extended our account of the Memoirs, will force us to confine our discussion of the many important questions which are there agitated within very narrow limits.

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In the first of these dissertations, which professes to examine and to estimate the amount of Dr Priestley's discoveries in chemistry and physics, we were surprised to find almost the whole space occupied with a long analysis of Mayow's essays on the Nitro-aerial and Fiery Spirit. The merits of that work have been pretty well understood, we believe, in this country, for the last twelve years. Along with an immense quantity of absurd reasoning, and more absurd hypothesis, it contains some extraordinary anticipations of those discoveries, the legitimate and systematic establishment of which has deservedly immortalized the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Every branch of science is full of similar occurrences; and the fame of Newton himself would be no longer secure, if the merit of discovery were to be attributed to every visionary, who, in the midst of his wild conjectures and crude speculations, had blundered upon a supposition, to which a more philosophical mind was afterwards to be conducted by profound meditation, and which he was to improve, by legitimate inference and sagacious experiment, into certain and valuable knowledge.

Of Dr Priestley's own chemical labours, Mr Cooper speaks, as might have been expected, in terms more magnificent than we can sanction. Black had laid the foundation of pneumatic chemistry, by his experiments on carbonic acid; and Cavendish had sketched the outline of the superstructure, by his publication in 1766, several years before Dr Priestley began his miscellaneous and desultory observations in the brewhouse at Leeds. That he afterwards made many curious and interesting experiments; that he has an equal claim with Scheele to the discovery of oxygen gas, and a better claim than any other person to the discovery of nitrous gas, may fairly be admitted. It may also be allowed, that he was among the earliest of those who speculated with sagacity upon the nature of respiration, and the effects of vegetation on the air of the atmosphere, without concluding, as Mr Cooper has done, that he is to be considered as the father of pneumatic chemistry, and the chief author of those discoveries which may fairly be said, in our own days, to have created a new science.

He had great merit in the contrivance of his apparatus, which was simple and neat, to a degree that has never been equalled; and the indefatigable industry with which he pursued his researches, would entitle him to still higher praise, if he had combined with it the patience and forecast by which so much labour may be saved. The truth is, however, that he was always too much occupied with making experiments, to have leisure either to plan them beforehand with philosophical precision, or to combine their results afterwards into systematic conclusions. He was

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so impatient to be doing, that he could spare no time for thinking; and erroneously imagined, that science was to be forwarded rather by accumulating facts, than by meditating on those that were ascertained. In the whole course of his researches, he seems to have been actuated rather by a restless and vague curiosity to learn the issue of certain combinations, than by any steady view of elucidating the great processes of nature, by a few decisive observations; and seems to have been entirely forgetful of Bacon's invaluable precepts, that experiments should not be many, but decisive, and that they should be preceded by certain limited hypotheses or conjectures, founded upon a careful examination of all the analogous facts that had been previously ascertained on the subject. Without these precautions, the great founder of physical philosophy has declared, that to make experiments, however numerous, or however pretty, was merely to grope in the dark, and could scarcely ever lead to valuable or certain conclusions. The greater part of Dr Priestley's experiments are exactly of this description. There is about as much philosophy in them, as in sweeping the sky for comets.

He was, through his whole life, a strenuous defender of the unintelligible system of phlogiston; and the very best of his chemical publications is his defence of that doctrine; not, however, on account of the plausibility or ingenuity with which he supports the affirmative part of the argument, but for the force and precision with which he has brought together the objections which may still be urged against the more popular theory of the French philosophers. We agree with Mr Cooper in thinking, that many of these objections are still unanswered; and as we really think it of importance to draw the attention of the public to the weak parts of a system, of which it is now customary to speak as impregnable, we shall take leave to lay before them Mr Cooper's summary of the reasons of Dr Priestley's dissentient in 1803.

'Certainly it has not yet been sufficiently explained, on the new theory, what becomes of the oxygen from the decomposed water in the solution of metals in acids; nor why inflammable air is produced when one metal in solution is precipitated by another; nor why dephlogisticated air is hardly to be procured from finery cinder, if at all; nor why this substance, so abounding in oxygen according to the new theory, will not oxygenate the muriatic acid; nor why it should answer all the purposes of water in the production of inflammable air from charcoal; nor why water in abundance should be produced when finery cinder is heated in inflammable air, and none when red precipitate is exposed to the same process; nor what becomes of the oxygen of the decomposed water when steam is sent over red hot zinc, and inflammable air is produced without any addition in weight to the zinc employed; nor why

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there ſhould be a copious production of inflammable air when hot filings of zinc are added to hot mercury in a hot retort, and expoſed to a common furnace heat, which I believe is an unreported experiment of Mr Kirwan's; nor why ſulphur and phoſphorus are formed by heating their acids in inflammable air without our being able to detect the oxygen which on the new theory ought to be ſeparated; nor why water ſhould be produced by the combuſtion of inflammable air with .47 of oxygen, and nitrous acid when .51 of oxygen is employed, for this experiment can now no more be doubted than explained; nor why, on the new doctrine, the addition of phlogiſticated air ſhould make no alteration in the quantity of acid thus obtained; nor why red hot charcoal ſlowly ſupplied with ſteam, ſhould furniſh inflammable air only, and not fixed or carbonic acid air; nor why nothing but pure fixed air ſhould be produced by heating the carbonated barytes in the ſame way; nor why fixed air ſhould be formed under circumſtances when it cannot be pretended that carbon is preſent, as when gold, ſilver, platina, copper, lead, tin and biſmuth, are heated by a lens in common air over lime water; nor why the grey and yellow calces of lead ſhould furniſh carbonic acid and azote, and no oxygen; nor why the reſiduum of red lead, when all its oxygen is driven off by heat, ſhould be either maſſicot or glaſs of lead according to the degree of heat, and not lead in its metalline ſtate; nor why plumbago with ſteam ſhould yield inflammable and not fixed air; nor why minium and precipitate, per ſe, heated in inflammable air, ſhould produce fixed air; nor why, on the evaporation of a diamond in oxygen, the fixed air produced ſhould far exceed the weight of the diamond employed, if ſome of the oxygen had not entered into the compoſition of the carbonic acid ſo formed; nor why there ſhould be a conſtant reſiduum of phlogiſticated air (or azote) after the firing of dephlogiſticated and inflammable airs, if it be not formed in the proceſs; nor why phlogiſticated air, if a ſimple ſubſtance, ſhould be ſo evidently formed in the various proceſſes enumerated by Dr Prieſtly in the 13th ſection of the pamphlet of which I have made the foregoing abſtract?'

Of his other phyſical works, we need say little. His history of Electricity, though somewhat tame and tedious, is intelligent, clear, and judicious. His history of discoveries respecting Light and Colour, is hasty and imperfect. His elementary treatises are excellent; they are plain, rational, and engaging; the author never forgets that his reader is supposed to be ignorant, or that the subject may be repulsive to a beginner. His peculiar talent, indeed, seems to have been, to make knowledge popular and easy; and though far inferior to Dr Franklin in originality and vivacity of expression, he seems to have derived from him some of that unpretending simplicity of statement, and some of that power of familiar illustration which is so captivating to those who are entering upon a new course of inquiry.

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In the second number of the Appendix, Mr Cooper professes to estimate the *metaphysical* writings of Dr Priestley, and delivers a long and very zealous defence of the doctrine of materialism, and of the necessity of human actions. A good deal of learning and a good deal of talent are shown in this production; but we believe that most of our readers will be surprised to find that Mr Cooper considers these questions as finally set at rest by the disquisitions of his learned friend.

'Indeed,' he obferves, 'thofe queftions muft now be confidered as fettled; for thofe who can refift Collins's philofophical inquiry, the fection of Dr Hartley on the mechanifm of the mind, and the review of the fubject taken by Dr Prieftley and his opponents, are not to be reafoned with. *Intereft reipublicæ ut denique fit finis litium*, is a maxim of technical law. It will apply equally to the republic of letters; and the time feems to have arrived, when the feparate exiftence of the human foul, the freedom of the will, and the eternal duration of future punifhment, like the doctrines of the Trinity, and Tranfubftantiation, may be regarded as no longer entitled to public difcuffion.' p. 335.

The advocates of Necessity, we know, have long been pretty much of this opinion, and we have no great inclination to disturb them at present with any renewal of the controversy; but we really did not know that the advocates of Materialism laid claim to the same triumph; and find some difficulty in admitting, that all who believe in the existence of mind are unfit to be reasoned with. To us, indeed, it has always appeared that it was much easier to prove the existence of mind, than the existence of matter; and with whatever contempt Mr Cooper and his friends may regard us, we must be permitted to say a word or two in defence of the vulgar opinion.

The sum of the argument against the existence of mind, in case any of our readers should be ignorant of it, is shortly as follows. The phenomena of thinking, or perception, are always found connected with a certain mass of organized matter, and have never been known to exist in a separate or detached state. It seems natural, therefore, to consider them as qualities of that substance; nor is it any objection to say, that the quality of thinking has no sort of resemblance or affinity to any of the other qualities with which we know matter to be endowed. This is equally true of all the primary qualities of matter, when compared with each other. Solidity, for instance, bears no sort of resemblance or affinity to extension, nor is there any other reason for our confidering them as qualities of the fame fubftance, but that they are always found in conjunction—that they inhabit the fame portion of fpace, and prefent themfelves together, on all occafions, to our obfervation. Now, this may be faid, with equal force,

force, of the quality of thinking. It is always found in conjunction with a certain mass of solid and extended matter—it inhabits the same portion of space, and presents itself invariably along with these other qualities, the assemblage of which makes up our idea of organized matter. Whatever substratum can support and unite the qualities of solidity and extension, may support the quality of thinking also; and it is eminently unphilosophical to suppose, that it inheres in a separate substance, to which we should give the appellation of mind. All the phenomena of thought may be resolved, by the assistance of Dr Hartley, into perception and association. Now, perception is evidently produced by certain mechanical impulses upon the nerves transmitted to the brain, and can therefore be directly proved to be merely a peculiar species of motion; and association is something very like the vibration of musical cords in juxtaposition, and is strictly within the analogy of material movement.

In answering this argument, we will fairly confess that we have no distinct idea of substance, and that we are perfectly aware that it is impossible to combine three propositions upon the subject, without involving a contradiction. All that we know of substance, are its qualities; yet qualities must belong to something—and of that something to which they belong, and by which they are united, we nether know any thing, nor can form any conception. We cannot help believing that it exists; but we have no distinct notion as to the mode of its existence.

Admitting this, therefore, in the first place, we may perhaps be permitted to observe, that it seems a little disorderly and unphilosophical, to class perception among the qualities of matter, when it is obvious, that it is by means of perception alone that we get any notion of matter or its qualities; and that it is possible, with perfect consistency, to maintain the existence of our perceptions, and to deny that of matter altogether. The other qualities of matter are perceived by us; but perception cannot be perceived: all we know about it is, that it is that by which we perceive every thing else. It sounds somewhat absurd and unintelligible, to say that perception is that quality of matter by which it becomes conscious of its own existence, and acquainted with its other qualities. It is plain that this is not a quality, but a knowledge of qualities; and that the percipient must necessarily be distinct from that which is perceived by it. We must always begin with perception; and the followers of Berkeley will tell us, that we must end there also. At all events, it certainly never entered into the head of any plain man to conceive, that the faculty of perception itself was one of the qualities with which that faculty made him acquainted;

acquainted; or that it could poſſibly belong to a ſubſtance, which his earlieſt intimations and moſt indeſtructible impreſſions taught him to regard as ſomething external and ſeparate.*

This, then, is the firſt objection to the doctrine of materialiſm, that it makes the faculty of perception a quality of the thing perceived, and converts, in a way that muſt at firſt ſight appear abſurd to all mankind, our knowledge of the qualities of matter into another quality of the ſame ſubſtance. The truth is, however, that it is a groſs and unwarrantable abuſe of language, to call perception a *quality* at all. It is an act or an event, a fact or a phenomenon, of which the percipient is conſcious; but it cannot be intelligibly conceived as a quality; and, leaſt of all, as a quality of that ſubſtance which is known to us as ſolid and extended. *1ſt*, All the qualities of matter, it has been already ſtated, are perceived by the ſenſes; but the ſenſation itſelf cannot be ſo perceived; nor is it poſſible to call it an object of ſenſe, without the groſſeſt perverſion of expreſſion. *2dly*, All the qualities of matter have a direct reference to ſpace or extenſion, and are conceived, in ſome meaſure, as attributes or qualities of the ſpace within which they exiſt. When we ſay that a particular body is ſolid, we mean merely that a certain portion of ſpace is impenetrable; when we ſay that it is coloured, we mean that the ſame portion of ſpace appears of one hue,—and ſo of the other qualities: but ſenſation or thought is never conceived to occupy ſpace, or to characterize it; nor can theſe faculties be at all conceived as definite portions of ſpace, endued with perceptible properties. In the *third* place, all the

* We are not very partial to the practice of quoting poetry in illuſtration of metaphyſics; but the following lines ſeem to expreſs ſo forcibly the univerſal and natural impreſſion of mankind on this ſubject, that we cannot help offering them to the conſideration of the reader.

'Am I but what I ſeem, mere fleſh and blood?
A branching channel, and a mazy flood?
The purple ſtream, that through my veſſels glides,
Dull and unconſcious flows like common tides.
The pipes, through which the circling juices ſtray,
Are not that thinking I, no more than they.
This frame, compacted with tranſcendent ſkill,
Of moving joints, obedient to my will,
Nurſed from the fruitful glebe like yonder tree,
Waxes and waſtes: I call it MINE, not ME.
New matter ſtill the mouldering maſs ſuſtains;
The manſion changed, the tenant ſtill remains,
And, from the fleeting ſtream repair'd by food,
Diſtinct, as is the ſwimmer from the flood.'

the primary qualities of matter are inseparable from it, and enter necessarily into its conception and definition. All matter must necessarily be conceived so extended, solid, and figured. It is obvious, however, that thought or sensation is not an inseparable attribute of matter, as by far the greater part of matter is entirely destitute of it; and it is found in connexion with those parts which we term organized, only while they are in a certain state, which we call alive. If it be said, however, that thought may resemble those accidental qualities of matter, such as heat or colour, which are not inseparable or permanent; then we reply, that none of these things can properly be termed matter, more than thought or sensation; they are themselves substances, or matter possessed of inseparable and peculiar qualities, as well as those which address themselves to the other senses. Light is a material substance, from which the quality of colour is inseparable; and heat is a material substance, which has universally the quality of exciting the sensation of warmth. If thought be allowed to be a substance in this sense, it will remain to shew that it is material, by being referable to space, and liable to attraction, repulsion, condensation or reflection, like heat or light.

But though the very basis and foundation of the argument for materialism is placed upon the assumption, that thought and perception are qualities, it is curious to observe, that Dr Priestley, and the other champions of that doctrine, do actually give up that point altogether, and maintain, that thought is nothing else than motion. Now, this, we cannot help thinking, is very impolitic and injudicious in these learned persons; for, so long as they stuck to the general assertion, that thought might be a quality of matter, although it bore no analogy to any of its other qualities,—and talked about the inherent capacity of substance, to support all sorts of qualities; although their doctrine might elude our comprehension, and revolt all our habits of reasoning, still it might be difficult to demonstrate its fallacy; and a certain perplexing argumentation might be maintained by a person well acquainted with the use of words: But when they cast away the protection of this most convenient obscurity, and, instead of saying that they do not know what thought is, have the courage to refer it to the known category of motion, they evidently subject their theory to the test of rational examination, and furnish us with a criterion by which its truth may be easily determined.

We shall not be so rash as to attempt any definition of motion; but we believe we may take it for granted, that our readers know pretty well what it is. At all events, it is not a quality of matter; it is an act, a phenomenon, or a fact; but it makes no part of the description or conception of matter, though it only exists with

with reference to that substance. Let any man ask himself, however, whether the motion of matter bears any sort of resemblance to thought or sensation; or whether it be even conceivable that these should be one and the same thing?—But, it is said, we find sensation always produced by motion; and as we can discover nothing else in conjunction with it, we are justified in ascribing it to motion. This, we beg leave to say, is not the question. It is not necessary to inquire, whether motion may *produce* sensation or not, but whether sensation *be* motion, and nothing else. It seems pretty evident that motion can produce nothing but motion or impulse, and that it is at least as inconceivable that it should ever produce sensation in matter, as that it should produce a separate substance, called mind. But this, we repeat, is not the question with the materialists. Their proposition is, not that motion produces sensation, which might be as well in the mind as in the body; but that sensation is motion; and that all the phenomena of thought and perception are intelligibly accounted for by saying, that they are certain little shakings in the pulpy part of the brain.

There are certain propositions which it is difficult to confute, because it is impossible to comprehend them; and this, the substantive article in the creed of Materialism, really seems to be of this description:—to say that thought is motion, is as unintelligible to us, as to say that it is space, or that it is proportion.

There may be little shakings in the brain, for any thing we know, and there may even be shakings of a different kind accompanying every act of thought or perception;—but, that the shakings themselves are the thought or perception, we are so far from admitting, that we find it absolutely impossible to comprehend what is meant by the assertion. The shakings are certain throbbings, vibrations, or stirrings, in a whitish half-fluid substance like custard, which we might see perhaps, or feel, if we had eyes and fingers sufficiently small or fine for the office. But what should we see or feel, upon the supposition, that we could detect, by our senses, every thing that actually took place in the brain? We should see the particles of this substance change their place a little, move a little up or down, to the right or the left, round about, or zig-zag, or in some other course or direction. This is all that we could see, if Dr Hartley's conjecture were proved by actual observation; because this is all that exists in motion, according to our conception of it, and all that we mean when we say that there is motion in any substance. Is it intelligible, then, to say, that this motion, the whole of which we see and comprehend, is thought and feeling; and that thought and feeling will exist, wherever we can excite a similar motion in

a similar substance?—In our humble apprehension, the proposition is not so much false, as utterly unmeaning and incomprehensible. That sensation may follow motion in the brain, or may even be produced by it, is conceivable at least, and may be affirmed with perfect precision and consistency; but that the motion is itself sensation, and that the proper and complete definition of thought and feeling is, that they are certain vibrations in the brain, is a doctrine, we think, that can only be wondered at, and that must be comprehended before it be answered.

No advocate for the existence of mind, ever thought it necessary to deny that there was a certain bodily apparatus necessary to thought and sensation in man, and that on many occasions the sensation was preceded or introduced by certain impulses and corresponding movements of this material machinery;—we cannot see without eyes and light, nor think without living bodies. All that they maintain, is, that these impulses and movements are not feelings or thought, but merely the occasions of feeling and thought, and that it is impossible for them to confound the material motions which precede their sensations, with the sensations themselves, which have no conceiveable affinity with matter.

The theory of Materialism, then, appears to us to be altogether unintelligible and absurd; and, without recurring to the reasoning of the Berkeleians, it seems quite enough to determine us to reject it, that it confounds the act of perception with the qualities perceived, and classes among the objects of perception, the faculty by which these objects are introduced to our knowledge, and which must be exercised before we can attain to any conception, either of matter or its qualities.

We do not pretend to have looked through the whole controversy which Dr Prieſtley's publications on the ſubject appears to have excited; but nothing certainly has ſtruck us with more aſtoniſhment, than the prepoſterous zeal with which he maintains that this doctrine, and that of neceſſity, taken together, afford the greateſt ſupport to the cauſe of religion and morality. We are a little puzzled, indeed, to diſcover what uſe, or what reaſon there can be for a God at all upon this hypotheſis of materialiſm, as well as to imagine what ſpecies of being the God of the materialiſt muſt be. If the organization of matter produces reaſon, memory, imagination, and all the other attributes of mind, and if theſe different phenomena be the neceſſary reſult of certain motions impreſſed upon matter; then there is no need for any other reaſon or energy in the univerſe; and things may be adminiſtered very comfortably by the intellect ſpontaneouſly evolved by the different combinations of matter. But if Dr Prieſtley will have a ſuperfluous Deity notwithſtanding, we may aſk what ſort of

of a Deity he can expect. He denies the existence of mind or spirit altogether; so that his Deity must be material; and his wisdom, power, and goodness must be the necessary result of a certain organization. But how can a material deity be immortal? How could he have been formed? Or why should there not be more formed, by himself, or by his creator? We will not affirm that Dr Priestley has not attempted to answer these questions; but we will take it upon us to say, that he cannot have answered them in a satisfactory manner. As to his paradoxical doctrines, with regard to the natural mortality of man, and the incomprehensible gift of immortality conferred on a material being, which visibly moulders and is dissolved, we shall only say, that it exceeds in absurdity any of the dogmas of the Catholics; and can only be exceeded by his own supposition, that our Saviour, being only a man, and yet destined to live to the day of judgment, is still alive in his original human body upon earth, and is really the Wandering Jew of vulgar superstition!

The length to which these observations have extended, prevents us from saying any thing on the rest of Mr Cooper's metaphysical speculations. They are enlivened with a great deal of coarse abuse and heavy invective against Bishop Horsley, whom we are not much disposed to defend; and a great deal of unmeanning insolence towards the Scotch metaphysicians, who do not stand in need of any defence of ours. Dr Hartley is his *Magnus Apollo*; and, after informing his readers, that Dr Reid had given a critique of his theory without understanding it, Mr Cooper is obliging enough to present them with the following precious abstract, which we really believe to be unparalleled for obscurity, vulgarity, and simple absurdity.

'That theory in substance is this. An external object (a peach for instance) makes an impression at once, on our organs of feeling, of sight, and of taste. The impression thus made on the extreme end of the appropriate nerve, is propagated by some species of motion along the course of the nerve up to the brain, and there, and there only, perceived; for if the nerve be cut, or tied, or palsied, in any part of its course, the impression is not perceived. Motions in the brain thus produced and perceived, are *sensations*: similar motions arising, or produced without the impression of an external object, are *ideas*. These impressions being, in the instance given, simultaneous, or nearly so, are associated, so that the sensation produced by the sight of a peach, will give rise to motions in the brain similar to those produced at first by the taste and the touch of it; *i. e.* it will suggest the *ideas* of taste and touch, and excite the inclination to reach and to eat the object of them. Hence, sensations, ideas, and muscular motions are associated together, and mutually suggest and give rise to each other. What species of motion it is, with which the nervous system is affected in this process, or whether

Sir

Sir Isaac Newton's æther, or its modern substitute the electric fluid, has any thing to do with it or not, is no essential part of the theory, and may be adopted or rejected without prejudice to the main system. Some kind of motion there manifestly is; I think it *demonstrable* that it is vibratory; but of whatever kind it be, its existence in the brain is unquestionable; and the association and catenation of individual motions in the brain, according to certain laws, is equally so. This is matter of fact; and it was Dr Reid's business, if he could, to shew that neither the motions, the perceptions, or the associations took place in that organ.' p. 334, 335.

From this luminous statement, we gather, that no ideas are ever associated, except those which are presented together, or at once; that a desire to reach, and to eat an object, is generated, heaven knows how, by certain motions in the brain; and finally, that the sight of a peach necessarily gives us a desire to reach, and to eat it: and as muscular motions are associated with ideas, as well as ideas with muscular motions, the act of reaching or eating must also give us the idea of a peach. We propose, on some future occasion, to enter at some length into an examination of Hartley's whole hypothesis; but in the mean time, we really cannot, with a safe conscience, recommend Mr Cooper's abstract as a perfect miniature of the original.

The third number of the Appendix contains an examination of Dr Priestley's political writings and opinions, and is introduced by a long and ingenious dissertation on the possibility of ameliorating the condition of mankind, in which Mr Cooper endeavours to controvert, or to limit, some of Mr Malthus's positions on the subject, in a manner that does credit both to his heart and his understanding. Our admiration, however, is turned into a very opposite feeling, when we find him proceeding to hold forth Dr Priestley as one of the great oracles of political wisdom, and one of the most eminent benefactors of mankind, for having laid down, in his essay on civil government, the general maxim, 'That no principle of government can be binding, if it be manifestly contrary to the good of the whole.' We do believe, that there never was a debate or a discussion upon any general question of policy, or even upon any particular measure of government, in which this maxim was not advanced and distinctly assented to by both the parties concerned: nor can any thing appear more truly ludicrous, than to hear a man extolled and magnified for discovering or bringing forward a truth, which has been constantly asserted and admitted over all Europe for the last hundred years. There is an encomium on America, which it would give us pleasure to think she deserved; a vehement attack upon the 'weak, wicked, and vindictive administration of Mr Adams;' an argument

ment against church establishments, and a warm eulogium upon Dr Priestley's uniform zeal for religious as well as political liberty.

The fourth number of the Appendix contains an uninteresting account of his miscellaneous and literary works, consisting chiefly of abstracts of lectures delivered by him at Warrington. They appear to be of little value; and, like all his other writings, they are composed in a tedious, diffuse, awkward, tame and disjointed style.

The volume closes with a few pages, professing to be a summary of his religious opinions. Our readers will not expect us to give any account of the fifty polemical volumes, in which the merits of these opinions must be studied. We have already said, that we believe him to have been sincere in the singular profession of faith which he promulgated; and therefore, we are constrained to respect his endeavours to confirm and recommend it. But it is impossible not to regret the presumption and infatuation by which he seems to have been guided; and we are afraid that the theological speculations of a man of great learning, sagacity, industry and devotion, are at this day an offence to the serious, and a jest to the profane. For the comfort of those, however, who may be of a different opinion, we have to announce, that a large analysis of all Dr Priestley's theological writings is now in the press, and, with a few sermons, will make a volume as large as the present.

ART. X. *Geometrie du Compas*, &c. The Geometry of the Compasses: By *L. Mascheroni*. Translated into French, by A. M. Charette, Officer of Engineers. 8vo.

THOUGH the *Geometria del Compasso* was published in Italian at Milan several years ago, and translated into French as far back as 1798, it has only within these few months made its way into this country. It is not the most difficult, or most profound work that has come from the pen of the late *Abâte* Mascheroni; but it must nevertheless interest geometers, both on account of the novelty of the plan, and the ingenuity of the execution.

The object of the author is to resolve, by the circle alone, those problems in plane geometry, which are usually resolved by the assistance both of the circle and the straight line. The constructions are all performed, therefore, by the compasses alone; the *rule* is never used in them; and straight lines are drawn for the sake of the demonstration only, not in order to determine any magnitude required to be found. The author thus volunta-

rily gives up one of the great resources of his art, with a view, no doubt, of trying whether his own ingenuity may not supply its place; and whether, as sometimes happens, with more slender means of executing his work, more simple expedients may not be discovered.

If of the two instruments of plane geometry, the rule and the compasses, one was to be relinquished, there could be no doubt that it must be the former; for, except the simple operations required to be performed in the first and second postulates of Euclid, there is no problem in the Elements of Geometry that is constructed by straight lines only; nor are there any means, without the help of the circle, of making one line, or one angle equal to another. Mascheroni hesitated, however, he tells us, whether he should enter on the inquiry at all; till he found, on looking into the description of some of the practical methods of dividing astronomical instruments, that whether he should add by his proposed plan to the simplicity of his constructions, he was likely at least to add very much to their accuracy. 'I happened,' says he, 'to read over again, in the French Encyclopedie, the manner in which the English artists, Graham and Bird, divided their large astronomical quadrants. That which Graham made for the Greenwich Observatory, not only has served as a model for the greater number of those that have been since constructed, but must be considered as the best that was known before the time of Ramsden. I found that the division of this celebrated instrument had been performed by the compasses alone, without the *rule;* and nothing indeed can be more interesting, than the description of the means employed by the artist in that long and ingenious operation. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the motives which prompted the exclusion of the *rule:* it is sufficient to remark, that when lines are to be drawn so fine and accurate as to bear the examination of a microscope, the compasses must be resorted to; because, however short a *rule* may be, it is difficult to be assured of its perfect straightness; and again, because the point, by which the line is traced while it is drawn along the edge of the *rule,* may not preserve an exact parallelism to it. The compasses are not subject to these two inconveniences; if their opening be steadily fixt, and the points made very fine, while one of them is placed in the centre, the other will describe an arch of a circle with the utmost possible exactness. ' I began, therefore, to think that I should accomplish a good deal, if I could divide the circumference into more than six equal parts by the compasses alone. To the artists who work in astronomical instruments, I should do a service, especially if my divisions of the circumference should be more extensive, and more conformable to the usual division of the quadrant, into

90

90 degrees. I should furnish to this class of artists the means of geometrical accuracy; I should spare them the necessity of repeated trials, and should render their work independent of the scale of equal parts (employed by Bird), which is not according to the strictness of geometry, and cannot be depended on as exact.'

These considerations induced the author to set to work to invent new constructions of the problems in geometry, from which straight lines were entirely to be excluded. In this he found himself more successful than he could possibly have supposed; and he became at last satisfied, that it is possible to resolve, by the circle alone, *every* problem that belongs to plane geometry, or that has hitherto been resolved by circles and straight lines. We are not therefore to regard what he has done, as a mere *jeu d'esprit*, or as the attempt of a man who wantonly gives up a material advantage, merely to shew his address in supplying the want of it. Besides the reasons alleged above, it is always of use to try new methods, and to form new combinations, by which truths may be discovered, and by which the powers of invention are sure to be improved.

The volume is divided into twelve books, in each of which a different subject is treated of. The first book contains some preliminary notions concerning the nature of the constructions to be employed, and their connexion with the 47th of the first of Euclid, the great source from which they are mostly derived. The second treats of the division of the circumference of a circle into equal parts, or of the inscription of regular polygons; and it is here that the new methods are employed to the greatest advantage. The constructions have a great deal of elegance: it appears that the circle, when thus applied to itself, affords results of uncommon simplicity; and that the straight line may here be dispensed with, more easily, than in any other case.

We shall give some examples, where Mascheroni appears to us to have been singularly successful, and where the simplicity of the constructions allows them to be explained without the help of diagrams.

Let it be required to divide the circumference of a given circle into four equal parts, or, which is the same, to find the chord of 90°. Assuming a point in the circumference of the circle, as one extremity of a diameter, apply from thence the radius three times along the circumference, and thus we get the other extremity of the diameter, and we also mark off the arches of 60° and 120°. With the chord of 120° as a radius, from the two extremities of the diameter just determined describe two arches intersecting one another. The distance of this intersection from the

 centre

centre of the given circle, is the chord of 90°, or of the fourth part of the circumference; and taken in the compaſſes, ſerves to divide it into four equal parts.

The truth of this is eaſily made evident. If the radius of the given circle = 1, the ſquare of the diameter = 4; and ſince the lines drawn from the extremities of the diameter to any of the points of diviſion in the circumference contain a right angle, and are, one of them the chord of 60°, and the other of 120°, the ſum of their ſquares = 4, from which, taking away the ſquare of the chord of 60°, or of the radius = 1, there remains the ſquare of the chord of 120° equal to 3. The ſquare of the line drawn from either extremity of the diameter, to the interſection of the two arches, is therefore = 3; and this line being the hypothenuſe of a right-angled triangle having the right angle at the centre of the circle, if we take away from the ſquare of it, the ſquare of the radius, the remainder 2 is the ſquare of the diſtance of the centre from the interſection of the arches. That diſtance is therefore $= \sqrt{2}$. But the chord of 90 is alſo $= \sqrt{2}$, when the radius is unity. Therefore, &c. Q. E. D.

We have been obliged to depart, in this demonſtration, from the language of Maſcheroni, and to adopt that of trigonometry, as the only one that could be intelligible when a diagram was wanting. His demonſtration here, and on many other occaſions, is more prolix than neceſſary, and might have been abridged without any injury to perſpicuity, by employing the terms and notation of trigonometry.

From the preceding ſolution, the diviſion of the circumference into *eight* equal parts is readily derived. From the interſection determined above, with a radius = 1, (that of the given circle), deſcribe an arch interſecting the given circle. This interſection will biſect the arch of 90° above determined.

We ſhall add the diviſion of the circumference into five equal parts, or the conſtruction of a regular pentagon, as a problem which we certainly would not have expected to find reſolved by compaſſes alone.

Having aſſumed one extremity of a diameter, and determined the other, as in the preceding problem, and alſo the arch of 90°, or the middle of the ſemicircle, from this laſt point ſet off on each ſide an arch of 60° (by taking the radius in the compaſſes); theſe two together are = 120°. From the extremities of the chord of 120° thus found, with the chord of 90° for the radius, deſcribe two arches interſecting one another on that ſide of the chord of 120°, where the diameter, already determined, lies. The diſtance of this interſection from either of the extremities of the diameter, is the chord of 72°, or the ſide of an equilateral pentagon

tagon inſcribed in the circle. The demonſtration cannot eaſily be given here; but it depends on this, that the ſide of the equilateral pentagon, the radius being 1, is $= \sqrt{5 - \sqrt{5}}$

It is remarkable enough, that our author arrives here nearly at the ſame conſtruction which is given by Ptolemy in his *Almageſt*, for finding the chord of the fifth part of the circumference.

In the remaining propoſitions of this book, he carries the diviſion of the circle ſtill further, extending it to 12, 24, and 120 equal parts. The laſt problem, where he teaches how to biſect any given arch, is reſolved by means very ſimple, but not at all obvious. It is particularly deſerving of attention.

The books that follow treat of different classes of problems, which are not all so well accommodated to this kind of geometry as those which we have just been describing. The solutions, however, on that very account, have given more exercise to the author's ingenuity. The third book is employed about the multiplication and division of rectilineal distances; the fourth about their addition and subtraction; and here difficulties occur even in problems that, treated in the common way, are the most easily resolved. To make one distance double of another, or to divide a distance into two equal parts, requires some contrivance in a geometer who is deprived of the assistance of straight lines. The solutions, we doubt not, have all the simplicity that the condition just mentioned will allow them to possess; but they have by no means the elegance of those in the second book.

The fifth book treats of proportional distances; the sixth, of finding the square roots of numbers; and in these the constructions are less operose than in the two preceding books. The seventh, on the intersection of straight lines and circles, contains problems of a very general kind. The solutions are often very simple and elegant.

The eighth constructs the lines used in trigonometry; the ninth treats of similar figures; the tenth of centres; for, even to find the centre of a given circle, is a problem in this geometry, which it has required no small share of ingenuity to resolve. The eleventh, is a miscellaneous collection, in which several problems of Pappus, and other geometers of note, are resolved by the method peculiar to the present work, and we think, in general, with very considerable success. On the whole, the author concludes, that every plane problem whatsoever, that is, every problem that can be resolved by the rule and compasses, may also be resolved by the compasses alone. This conclusion is certainly founded on a very ample induction; and indeed, after the first problem of the 7th, for finding the intersection of a circle with a

 straight

straight line, (two points only in that line being given), so full an induction was not necessary to authorise this conclusion.

The twelfth book treats of approximations, by which several problems of the higher orders are resolved, such as, the doubling of the cube, the rectification of the circle, &c. Among these, we are sorry not to observe the trisection of an arch.

In the whole of this work, we find great clearness and precision; and the demonstrations are commendable, for referring very exactly to Euclid, so as to put the perusal of them in the power of any one acquainted with the elements. One thing, we imagine, would have added much to the value of these propositions, —if they had been given after the manner of the geometrical analysis of the ancients. The analytical form would, we think, have suited them well, and very much increased the interest the young geometer would have felt in them, and the benefit he would have received. They would then have conveyed an idea of the road to be pursued in the investigation of such propositions, instead of hiding it, as is now done, under the cover of a synthetical demonstration. We think this might have been easily done; and it is not difficult to see how the geometrical analysis might have been applied to that purpose. Nothing must be understood to be given, or to be found, except what is determined by the intersection of two circles given in position. The thing sought, which is always a point, must be shewn first to be in one circumference given in position, and then in another; no circumstances but these must be admitted as giving a determination. Thus narrowed, the principles of the antient analysis would have applied to these, as to any other geometrical investigations.

With respect to the practical purposes that may be served by these constructions, and their utility to instrument-makers, we confess that we are not very sanguine in our hopes. Though the considerations already suggested concerning the superior accuracy of the compasses to the *rule* are no doubt just, yet it is of such importance in practice to describe as few arches, or to make as few intersections as possible, that the tentative methods, except in a small number of very simple cases, are always likely to be preferred. Besides, since the introduction into astronomy of circular instruments, which can be made to turn completely round on an axis, mechanical methods of dividing an arch have occurred, that, to speak practically, do very much exceed in simplicity and accuracy any of the constructions derived from pure geometry.

There are, however, other graphical operations, where great advantage might be derived from adopting Mascheroni's constructions. Such are the figures for determining the phenomena of eclipses;

eclipses; constructions of spherical triangles; projections of the sphere, whether for the purposes of astronomy or geography; and the like. In all of these, great accuracy is required; and it is therefore of consequence to dispense, as much as possible, with the drawing of straight lines. But whatever be true with respect to the practical utility of this little work, it is certain that few volumes of its size contain more novelty, and a greater number of propositions, that, if not very profound, are better entitled to the praise of ingenuity.

Some verses prefixed to the book, and addressed, *A Bonaparte Italico*, give us to understand, that the Emperor of the French studied the geometry of the compass under the direction of Mascheroni.

> ' Io pur ti vidi coll' invitta mano,
> Che parte i regni, e a Vienna intimò pace,
> Meco divider con ricurvi giri
> Il curvo giro del fedel compasso.
> E ti vidi assaltar le chiuse rocche
> D'ardui problemi col valor d'antico
> Geometra maestro, e mi sovvenne
> Quando l'Alpi varcasti Annibal novo
> Per liberar tua cara Italia, e tutto
> Rapidamente mi passò davanti
> L'anno di tue vittorie, anno che splende
> Nell' abisso de' secoli qual sole.
> Segui l'impresa, e coll' invitta mano
> Guida all' Italia tua liberi giorni. '

These verses, especially when they are considered as the production of a geometer, will be allowed to have some merit. The praise they contain, too, is not altogether extravagant. Poetical license might entitle Mascheroni to compare his pupil to Archimedes, and historical truth to place him above Hannibal; but he should have reflected how rarely the conquerors of nations have fought in the cause of freedom, before he welcomed Bonaparte as the deliverer of his country.

The last paragraph of the book contains an acknowledgment from the author, that appears not a little singular.

' C'est ici que se termine enfin la géométrie du compas: si elle est accueillie favorablement des géométres, et si elle peut étre de quelque utilité aux artistes, aux dessinateurs, et spécialement aux ingénieurs en instrumens de mathématiques à l'usage des géographes et des astronomes, je me trouverai bien récompensé du long ennui que m'a coûté sa composition. '

Now, for a geometer who has been engaged successfully in a work of invention, one, too, of considerable variety, and but moderate extent, to complain of the *long ennui* which it has cost him,

is not very compatible, either with the activity which his science requires, or the pleasure which it is supposed to afford.

That compilers, scholiasts, and critics like ourselves, between the dullness of the authors they study, and of the commentaries they write, should often be tired to death, and devoured with *ennui*, we easily comprehend, and may be supposed to know something of the matter from our own experience; but we can hardly conceive how a man of genius, in the very act of inventing or discovering what is new, whether in art or in science, whether as a poet, a painter, or a mathematician, should be afflicted with the same disorder. It will be matter of consolation, however, to those who tread in the beaten paths of literature, where there is perhaps little room for invention, and none for discovery, to be assured that they who boast of taking a higher flight, and of viewing nature from a more elevated region, are not always much happier than themselves.

Another circumstance in the complaint of the Italian geometer is hardly less uncommon, though to others it may not be so consolatory. There is, undoubtedly, no feeling which an author is so sure of conveying to the mind of his reader, in its full extent, as the *ennui* which he experiences in the composition of his work. The sympathy between them never fails to be perfect on this, whatever it may be on other occasions. The author may weep bitterly without drawing a tear from the eyes of the reader, and he may laugh heartily without inducing him to smile; but, if he *yawn*, the contagion is sure to take effect. This maxim, however, does not seem to be at all applicable in the present instance; for the good *Abàte*, notwithstanding the long *ennui* which his book has occasioned to himself, will never, we apprehend, excite a similar feeling in any one, who enters, with due preparation, on the study of his work.

Art. XI. *Travels from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi, to Lima.* By Anthony Zachariah Helms. With Notes by the Translator. 12mo. pp. 287. London. Phillips. 1806.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles III., the Court of Spain was persuaded to send a German metallurgist of the name of Helms, and a Swede called Baron Von Nordenflycht, to South America. What led the Spanish government to this measure, was the expectation that the superior skill and information of these foreigners would enable them to introduce great improvements in the arts of mining and metallurgy into its colonies.

Helms

Helms, who had been head aſſayer of the mines and mint at Cracow, was declared director of the ſmelting-houſes of Peru; and Nordenflycht, who had been the manager of a mine in the ſame part of Poland, was dignified with the title of director-general of the mines of Peru.

This ſcheme, like many other projects of the Court of Spain, produced nothing but diſgrace and diſappointment to every perſon concerned in it. The ſtrangers found themſelves inveſted with high ſounding titles, but left without any real power. They ſoon quarrelled with the Spaniards, whom they were ſent to inſtruct; and complained that all their plans and innovations were thwarted and counteracted by thoſe whoſe duty it was to lend them aſſiſtance. Helms laments bitterly, in the publication before us, that his improved Idria furnaces, and his new method of amalgamation, were rejected by the Spaniſh overſeers, whoſe ignorance, he ſays, could only be exceeded by their diſhoneſty, and whoſe intereſt it unfortunately was, not to correct, but to preſerve the abuſes which he endeavoured to reform. What became of Baron von Nordenflycht we are not informed; but Helms quitted his office in diſguſt, and embarked at Callao for Europe, after a reſidence of three years in America. On his arrival in Spain in 1793, he applied to the government for a penſion, in reward of his ſervices and diſappointments; and after much ſolicitation, he obtained one. In 1798, he publiſhed, in German, a ſhort account of his travels, from which extracts have already appeared in ſeveral Engliſh publications. But the intereſt excited at preſent by the capture of Buenos Ayres has at length induced ſome one to tranſlate the complete work into Engliſh, and to publiſh it with notes and additions, calculated to meet the public curioſity about South America.

The value of this publication lies in a very narrow compaſs. It is the lateſt account of the countries through which the author travelled. It has the form of a journal, and is written in a plain, unaſſuming ſtyle, which creates a prejudice in favour of its truth. But the information which it contains, in every reſpect, except in the diſtances of places through which the author paſſed, is wonderfully ſcanty. It is indeed incredible, that any perſon ſhould have lived ſo long in Peru, and given ſo meagre an account of his travels. But though his book affords little amuſement or inſtruction, it has every appearance of being an authentic report of what its author ſaw and believed to be true. It is nevertheleſs very careleſsly put together; and the ſtatements given in one part of it are ſometimes at variance with the ſtatements of another part. The mineralogy of the book has been altered and abridged by the tranſlator; ſo that it would be unfair to give any opinion of

of it in its present mutilated form. The remarks of the author on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of South America are not very numerous, and are chiefly remarkable on account of his character of the Indians, which is very different in some respects from that of other travellers. He has still more rarely indulged himself in reflections of a political nature; and the few with which he has favoured us are such as readily to console us for the want of more.

We shall follow our author in his journey across the wilds and mountains of South America, extracting such particulars as appear to us of the greatest moment, and occasionally interspersing our own observations.

Of Buenos Ayres, M. Helms gives no account whatever, except that it contains from 24,000 to 30,000 inhabitants; a statement which we believe to be under the truth. The *Viagero Universal*, a work published at Madrid in 1802, and very exact in many of its details with regard to the Spanish colonies, states the population of Buenos Ayres at near 40,000 souls; and that of the country, subject to its jurisdiction, at somewhat less than as many more. This statement, which we have reason to believe is correct, agrees with that of Sir Home Popham, who estimates the whole population of his conquest at 70,000 souls.

On the 29th of October 1789, M. Helms and his companions set out from Buenos Ayres for Lima, in carriages, by the ordinary post; and at the distance of seventy-three geographical miles from that capital, they entered on the *Pampas*, or uncultivated plains, which extend about 300 miles from east to west to the mountains of Chili, and 1500 miles from north to south into Patagonia. These plains are in some places parched and barren; in others, they are fertile, and covered with very high grass; but for the most part they are uninhabited, and destitute of trees. They are the abode of innumerable herds of wild oxen, horses, ostriches, and other animals, which, under the shade of the grass, find protection from the intolerable heat of the sun. They are frequented by the Spanish hunters, for the sake of the animals which inhabit them; and they are infested by tribes of savage Indians, who sometimes attack the Spanish caravans bound to Peru and Chili, and often plunder and assassinate solitary travellers, who attempt the dangers of the way alone. This neighbourhood, it must be confessed, is not very tempting to our merchants, and holds out none of those prospects of immediate advantage which have been contemplated in the conquest of Buenos Ayres. Ostrich feathers, hides and tallow, it is true, are valuable articles of exportation, but the present inhabitants of the *Pampas* will, it is feared,

feared, afford but a ſmall opening for mercantile ſpeculation. They are thus deſcribed by M. Helms.

'The wild Indians have no intercourſe with the civilized Indians or the Spaniards, and are in the higheſt degree dirty, ſavage, miſtruſtful, and treacherous; they are ſtrong and enterprizing, but eaſily diſmayed on the approach of danger. They have no weapons, but a ſling or rope, ſix ells in length, with an angular ſtone, or a piece of lead, faſtened to the end of it, with which they endeavour to give their enemy a blow from behind; and they are in general ſo expert in its uſe, and have ſuch command of their horſes, that they ſeldom miſs the object aimed at.'

After a journey of 468 miles from Buenos Ayres, the greater part of it over the *Pampas*, Helms and his companions arrived at Cordova, the firſt town upon their road to Lima. Cordova contains about 1500 Spaniards and creoles, and 4000 negroes. It is ſituated in the midſt of a cultivated and populous country; but at the diſtance of 60 miles from Cordova, on the road to Tucuman, a barren, ſaline plain begins, which continues for more than 200 miles.

The next town after Cordova was Tucuman. This is a ſmall town 450 miles from Cordova; and conſequently, more than 900 miles from Buenos Ayres. Mines of gold and ſilver begin to abound about Tucuman; but there is ſtill a diſtance of 700 miles to the rich and celebrated mines of Potoſi. The chief wealth of Cordova and Tucuman conſiſts in their mules and cattle; and their chief commerce ariſes from their ſituation between Buenos Ayres and Peru.

The country, to the north of Buenos Ayres, presents as gloomy a prospect to our commercial adventurers, as the *Pampas* and plains of Tucuman, over which Mr Helms and his associates travelled. Santa Fè, on the Paranà, the nearest town to Buenos Ayres in that direction, is at the distance of 300 miles; and Corrientes, on the same river, is at least as much further off. Both of them are inconsiderable places, without commerce, or any objects of exchange, except mules and oxen. Buenos Ayres owes, in fact, its present wealth and population, not so much to the territory which surrounds it, as to its accidental and artificial station of being the capital and seat of government, in the most extensive viceroyalty of Spanish America, and to its having become, in consequence of that circumstance, the emporium between Spain and Potosi. Deprive it of its artificial preeminence, and it must be reduced to its natural resources, which are confined to a fertile, but uncultivated soil; and to immense plains, destitute of trees, but abounding in live stock and game.

We shall here insert M. Helms's character of the Indians. Our readers

readers will observe how materially it differs from the account usually given of that race of people, especially in what relates to their intellectual capacity, and to their industry, and endurance of fatigue.

'The colour of the Indians resembles dark bronze; they have an agreeable physiognomy, and muscular limbs; they are of a middle stature, and endowed with an excellent understanding, but rather of a melancholy than lively disposition. They are the most laborious and industrious class of the community, and are therefore the persons employed through the greatest part of South America in domestic service, and in the labours of the field, as well as in the mines. To the labour of the Indians, we are indebted for all the gold and silver brought from Spanish America. They are more robust than the Europeans, or even the Negroes, neither of whom can endure the alternations of heat and cold in the mining countries, nor support the fatigues of working the mines.'

At Salta, the capital of the province of Tucuman, a place of considerable trade, with a population of 9000 inhabitants, the more elevated mountains of the Cordilleras begin. Here Mr Helms and his companions were forced to quit their carriages, and betake shemselves to mules for the rest of their journey. They were now about 1200 miles from Buenos Ayres, and had still 1800 miles to travel before they could get to Lima.

The celebrated mines of Potosi, are 1617 geographical, and 1873 English miles from Buenos Ayres. The greatest part of this journey is through a barren uncultivated country, and the last 400 miles of it are over mountains very difficult to pass, there being often no other road but the bed of a torrent. It must therefore be a very hazardous enterprize for an enemy to penetrate from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, and quite impossible, if any resistance be opposed to it. The true road to Potosi, is not through Buenos Ayres, but by Peru; not through the country to which it has been artificially annexed, but through that on which it depends for its subsistence.

Nothing can be more dismal than the country about Potosi. The valleys are entirely destitute of wood, and nothing grows on the shelves and declivities of the mountains but moss. The summits of the mountains are covered with perpetual snow. But in this desolate country, nature has placed some of the richest mines of silver known in the world. The annual produce of these mines, at present, does not exceed 550,000 or 600,000 marks of silver; but, in the opinion of Mr Helms, 'if they were wrought with but moderate skill and diligence, they would yield, every year, twenty, and even thirty, millions of dollars.' The ignorance of the Spaniards at Potosi, in the art of mining, he describes as excessive;

cessive; and represents their mode of conducting the 'operations of stamping, sifting, washing, quickening and roasting the ores as most slovenly, wasteful, and unscientific.' Their process of amalgamation is so defective, 'that they are scarce able to extract two thirds of the silver contained in the ore; and, for every mark of pure silver which they obtain, they lose one, and frequently two marks of quicksilver.'

We apprehend there is a gross error in page 50, where it is said, 'that the revenue to the king, from the mines in the kingdom of La Plata, amounts annually to four millions and a half of piastres:' For the whole produce of these mines, as given in page 48 and page 141, does not exceed that sum; and we doubt much whether there be a single mine in Potosi worked on account of the King. The royal duties from the mines of Potosi, are from 300,000 to 400,000 dollars a year, and the profits from the royal bank *de rescate*, * do not exceed 40,000 dollars a year. The mint of Potosi, it is true, brings in about 300,000 dollars a year to the crown; but, from this sum, must be deducted the expense of the establishment, as from the gross amount of the royal duties must be taken the expense of collecting them. On the whole, the clear revenue of the kingdom of La Plata, arising from its mines, and applicable to the other expenses of its government, cannot exceed an eighth part of the sum mentioned by Helms; and of this, not a penny reaches Madrid. The civil and military establishment of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, which includes Potosi, consumes the whole, if not more than the whole, of its revenue.

We suspect, also, that Mr Helms has greatly exaggerated the population of Potosi, which he estimates at 100,000 souls. If this were true, Potosi would be the most populous city in the Spanish part of South America, and would contain nearly twice as many inhabitants as Lima, the capital of Peru. Alcedo reckons its population at 25,000 souls.

Many of the cities between Potosi and Cuzco, have not yet recovered from the destruction which they suffered during the insurrection of the Indians in 1779. We regret, with the translator, that Mr Helms has not given us a circumstantial account of this insurrection. We have understood that it failed in its object, which was the emancipation of Peru, only in consequence of the excesses and pernicious views of those who took part in it. All classes were at first disposed in its favour; but when it was converted

* The bank *de rescate*, is an establishment for making loans, on certain terms, to poor miners, begun, originally, by the subscription of private adventurers, but now belonging to the crown. *

verted from an insurrection against the Spanish government, into a general war against property, the Creoles of rank and fortune joined themselves to the government, and enabled it to put down the insurgents.

The royal mine of quicksilver at Guencavelica, yields at present only 1500 quintals of quicksilver annually. Each quintal costs the king 166 dollars, and he sells it for 73 to the undertakers of the mines. He loses by this traffic, according to Mr Helms, 200,000 dollars annually. This estimate, our readers will perceive, does not agree with the preceding data; but we are unable to rectify the error. The great vein of cinnabar at Guencavelica, was eighty Spanish ells in extent, and had been sunk to the depth of 600 fathoms, before the irregular and unskilful manner of working it made the pit fall in. It is singular, that of the three greatest mines of quicksilver in the world, viz. Guencavelica, in Peru, Almaden in the Sierra Morena, and Idria in Carniola, two should be in the dominions of the King of Spain. One of the difficulties to be encountered in the emancipation of Spanish America, is to find a supply of quicksilver for its mines. Mexico is, in this respect, less fortunate than Peru. The mine of Guencavelica, if properly worked, would render Peru and Potosi independent of all other countries for their quicksilver. But there are no mines of quicksilver in Mexico; none at least which have been worked to advantage. No resource would remain to Mexico, if separated from the mother country, but to import quicksilver from China, where, fortunately, it can be obtained of a better quality, and a cheaper rate, than at Trieste.

Lima, the capital of Peru, has declined, in population, from 70,000 souls to about 50,000 souls. Mr Helms ascribes this to the decay of trade in Peru; and the decay of trade to the free commerce, which has glutted the South American markets with European goods. But the decline of trade which he laments is quite imaginary, and contradicted by the customhouse books of Callao; and the cause which he assigns for it is more likely to ruin the merchants of Cadiz than those of Lima. This is not the only instance where Mr Helms has been the dupe of idle clamours, and has repeated the most absurd tales and senseless fabrications. His own veracity becomes a little suspected, when he tells us, in page 90, that a Spanish governor charged 25 dollars to the King for 100 bricks, which cost only half a dollar when made by Mr Helms. We believe that great frauds are practised against the King of Spain by his servants in America; but we confess that such an enormous fraud as this staggers completely our faith, and begins to lessen our confidence in Mr Helms. Matters are not improved, when, in page 103 we are told, that in

in the mines of Guantajaya near Arequipa, 'a common drinking glass full of water is sometimes sold at the rate of a piastre ! !'

'From authentic registers transmitted to the governors of the different provinces, it appears that, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December 1790, they coined, in the royal mints,

	In Gold Dollars.	*In Silver Dollars.*	*Total Dollars.*
At Mexico -	628,044	17,435,644	18,063,688
At Lima - -	821,168	4,341,071	5,162,239
At Potosi - -	299,846	3,983,176	4,283,022
At Santiago -	721,754	146,132	867,886
Total	2,470,812	25,906,023	28,376,835

'If to these sums we add the gold and silver fabricated into various utensils for churches, convents and private persons, and the sums clandestinely exported by the merchants without being coined,' * we shall raise the whole produce of the mines to '50 or more millions of piastres, which are annually brought to Europe from the Spanish colonies of America.' †

On these estimates and conclusions, various observations might be offered. In the first place, the coinage of Lima, in page 141, does not agree with the account given of the same coinage in page 102; of which any one may satisfy himself by calculation, recollecting that there are 8½ dollars in the mark of silver. In the second place, Mr Helms has omitted all mention of the mints of Popayan and Santa Fé, where more than two millions of dollars are coined annually. But his allowance for the quantity of gold and silver not carried to the mints, is so extravagantly great, that his estimate on the whole exceeds, rather than falls short of the truth. We doubt much whether the mines of Spanish America produce more than eight millions Sterling annually of the precious metals. We know, that the gold and silver imported into Spain, in the years 1795 and 1796, taken together, did not much exceed nine millions Sterling, according to the report of the customhouse books. It is true, that in 1802, the importation of gold and silver into Cadiz alone, amounted to 41,217,531 dollars; but this was after a long period of war, during which the trade of Spain with her American colonies had been much interrupted. Accordingly, in 1803, the importation of gold and silver into Cadiz was reduced to 29,205,987 dollars, or about six millions Sterling.

It only remains for us to notice the appendix which the translator has annexed to Mr Helms's book, and of which, he tells us 'he may, without vanity, assert, that it contains the fullest and most

* Page 141. † Page 76.

moſt correct account of Spaniſh America which exiſts in any European language. How far the tranſlator's work juſtifies this eulogy of his performance, our readers will be able to judge from the following ſpecimens.

1. In pages 150, 151, 152, 153, he has miſtaken reals *de vellon* for reals *de plata*, in reducing to Engliſh money the ſums given by M. Bourgoing, in his tables of the exports and imports of Spaniſh America. The real *de plata* is equal to 2½ reals *de vellon.*

2. In page 171, he tells us, that 'in commerce the Spaniards gave the name of *piaſtre* to the common Spaniſh dollar, and that it paſſes, in Spain, for three ſhillings and ſeven pence.' We can aſſure him that there is no ſuch word as *piaſtre* in the Spaniſh language; and as the dollar is worth four ſhillings and ſixpence out of Spain, we are rather inclined to ſuſpect that it paſſes for more than three ſhillings and ſeven pence in Spain.

3. In page 213, he gravely informs us, that there are two roads from Monte Video to Buenos Ayres, the one by water, and the other by *land!*

4. In his zeal to vindicate the Jeſuits from the attacks of the 'ſelf-called French philoſophers,' he argues, that the motive which led that diſintereſted fraternity to found an empire in Paraguay; was the deſire to reſcue the ſavages from 'the avidity of a few unprincipled merchants, who went among them for the purpoſes of plunder;' and he adds, that 'the outrages committed towards the Indians by thoſe adventurers, have been recently proved by Mackenzie and other well informed travellers.' We humbly ſubmit to the tranſlator, that the ſcene of Mackenzie's travels was, not Paraguay, but the country about Hudſon's Bay; and that Mackenzie did not commence his travels till the Jeſuits had been ſuppreſſed for more than twenty years, and not for a hundred years at leaſt after the foundation of their empire in South America. The countrymen of Mr Mackenzie have long claimed the privilege of ſeeing further into futurity than other people; but we believe this to be the firſt inſtance where they have been produced as evidence of tranſactions that took place before they were born.

ART.

ART. XII. *A Comparative View of the New Plan of Education promulgated by Mr Joseph Lancaster, in his Tracts concerning the Instruction of the Children of the Labouring Part of the Community; and of the System of Christian Education founded by our pious Forefathers for the initiation of the Young Members of the Established Church in the Principles of the Reformed Religion.* By Mrs Trimmer. 8vo. pp. 152. 1805.

THIS is a book written by a lady who has gained considerable reputation at the corner of St Paul's Church-yard; who flames in the van of Mr Newberry's shop; and is, upon the whole, dearer to mothers and aunts than any other author who pours the milk of science into the mouths of babes and sucklings. Tired, at last, of scribbling for children, and getting ripe in ambition, she has now written a book for grown up people, and selected for her antagonist as stiff a controversialist as the whole field of dispute could well have supplied. Her opponent is Mr Lancaster, a Quaker, who has lately given to the world new and striking lights upon the subject of education, and come forward to the notice of his country by spreading order, knowledge, and innocence among the lowest of mankind.

Mr Lancaster, she says, wants method in his book; and therefore her answer to him is without any arrangement. The same excuse must suffice for the desultory observations we shall make upon this lady's publication.

The first sensation of disgust we experienced at Mrs Trimmer's book, was from the patronizing and protecting air with which she speaks of some small part of Mr Lancaster's plan. She seems to suppose, because she has dedicated her mind to the subject, that her opinion must necessarily be valuable upon it; forgetting it to be barely possible, that her application may have made her more wrong, instead of more right. If she can make out her case, that Mr Lancaster is doing mischief in so important a point as that of national education, she has a right, in common with every one else, to lay her complaint before the public; but a right to publish praises must be earned by something more difficult than the writing sixpenny books for children. They may be very good; though we never remember to have seen any one of them: but if they be no more remarkable for judgment and discretion, than parts of the work before us, there are many thriving children quite capable of repaying the obligations they owe to their amiable instructress, and of teaching, with grateful retaliation, 'the *old* idea how to shoot.'

In remarking upon the work before us, we shall exactly follow the plan of the authoress, and prefix, as she does, the titles of those

those subjects on which her observations are made; doing her the justice to presume, that her quotations are fairly taken from Mr Lancaster's book.

Mr Lancaster's Preface.—Mrs Trimmer here contends, in opposition to Mr Lancaster, that ever since the establishment of the Protestant Church, the education of the poor has been a national concern in this country; and the only argument she produces in support of this extravagant assertion, is an appeal to the act of uniformity. If there are millions of Englishmen who cannot spell their own names, or read a sign-post which bids them turn to the right or left, is it any answer to this deplorable ignorance to say, there is an act of Parliament for public instruction?—to shew the very line and chapter where the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, ordain the universality of reading and writing—when, centuries afterwards, the ploughman is no more capable of the one or the other than the beast which he drives? In point of fact, there is no Protestant country in the world where the education of the poor has been so grossly and infamously neglected as in England. Mr Lancaster has the very high merit of calling the public attention to this evil, and of calling it in the best way, by new and active remedies; and this uncandid and feeble lady, instead of using the influence she has obtained over the anility of these realms, to join that useful remonstrance which Mr Lancaster has begun, pretends to deny that the evil exists; and when you ask where are the schools, rods, pedagogues, primmers, histories of Jack the Giant-killer, and all the usual apparatus for education, the only thing she can produce is *the act of uniformity and common prayer.*

2. *The Principle on which Mr Lancaster's Institution is conducted.*—"Happily for mankind," says Mr Lancaster, "it is possible to combine precept and practice together in the education of youth: that public spirit, or general opinion, which gives such strength to vice, may be rendered serviceable to the cause of virtue; and in thus directing it, the whole secret, the beauty, and simplicity of national education consists. Suppose, for instance, it be required to train a youth to strict veracity. He has learnt to read at school: he there reads the declaration of the Divine will respecting liars; he is there informed of the pernicious effects that practice produces on society at large; and he is enjoined, for the fear of God, for the approbation of his friends, and for the good of his schoolfellows, never to tell an untruth. This is a most excellent precept; but let it be taught, and yet, if the contrary practice be treated with indifference by parents, teachers, or associates, it will either weaken or destroy all the good that can be derived from it; but if the parents or teachers tenderly nip the rising shoots of vice; if the associates of youth pour contempt on the liar; he will soon hide his head with shame, and most likely leave off the practice." p. 24. 25.

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The objection which Mrs Trimmer makes to this passage, is, that it is *exalting the fear of man above the fear of God*. This observation is as mischievous as it is unfounded. Undoubtedly the fear of God ought to be the paramount principle from the very beginning of life, if it were possible to make it so; but it is a feeling which can only be built up by degrees. The awe and respect which a child entertains for its parent and instructor, is the first scaffolding upon which the sacred edifice of religion is reared. A child *begins* to pray, to act, and to abstain, not to please God, but to please the parent, who tells him that such is the will of God. The religious principle gains ground from the power of association and the improvement of reason; but without the fear of man,—the desire of pleasing, and the dread of offending those with whom he lives, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to cherish it at all in the mind of children. If you tell (says Mr Lancaster) a child not to swear, because it is forbidden by God, and he finds every body whom he lives with addicted to that vice, the mere precept will soon be obliterated; which would acquire its just influence if aided by the effect of example. Mr Lancaster does not say that the fear of man ever *ought* to be a stronger motive than the fear of God, or that, in a thoroughly formed character, it ever *is*: he merely says, that the fear of man may be made the most powerful mean to raise up the fear of God; and nothing, in our opinion, can be more plain, more sensible, or better expressed, than his opinions upon these subjects. In corroboration of this sentiment, Mr Lancaster tells the following story.

" A benevolent friend of mine," says he, " who resides at a village near London, where he has a school of the class called *Sunday schools*, recommended several lads to me for education. He is a pious man, and these children had the advantage of *good precepts* under his instruction, in *an eminent degree*, but had reduced them to very little practice. As they came to my school from some distance, they were permitted to bring their dinners; and, in the interval between morning and afternoon school-hours, spent their time with a number of lads under similar circumstances in a play-ground adjoining the school-room. In this play-ground the boys usually enjoy an hour's recreation; tops, balls, races, or what best suits their inclination or the season of the year; but with this charge, " Let all be kept in innocence." These lads thought themselves very happy at play with their new associates; but on a sudden they were seized and overcome by numbers, were brought into school just as people in the street would seize a pickpocket, and bring him to the police office. Happening at that time to be within, I inquired, " Well, boys, what is all this bustle about?"—" Why, Sir," was the general reply, " these lads have been swearing." This was announced with as much emphasis and solemnity as a judge would use

in passing sentence upon a criminal. The culprits were, as may be supposed, in much terror. After the examination of witnesses and proof of the facts, they received admonition as to the offence; and, on promise of better behaviour, were dismissed. No more was ever heard of their swearing; yet it was observable, that they were better acquainted with *the theory of Christianity*, and could give a more rational answer to *questions from the scripture*, than several of the boys who had thus treated them, on comparison, *as constables would do a thief.* "I call this," adds Mr Lancaster, "*practical religious instruction*, and could, if needful, give many such anecdotes." p. 26. 27.

All that Mrs Trimmer has to observe against this very striking illustration of Mr Lancaster's doctrine, is, that the monitors behaved to the swearers in a very rude and unchristianlike manner. She begins with being cruel, and ends with being silly. Her first observation is calculated to raise the *posse comitatus* against Mr Lancaster, to get him stoned for impiety; and then, when he produces the most forcible example of the effect of opinion to encourage religious precept, she says, such a method of preventing swearing is too rude for the gospel. True, modest, unobtrusive religion—charitable, forgiving, indulgent Christianity, is the greatest ornament and the greatest blessing that can dwell in the mind of man. But if there is one character more base, more infamous, and more shocking than another, it is him who, for the sake of some paltry distinction in the world, is ever ready to accuse conspicuous persons of irreligion—to turn common informer for the church—and to convert the most beautiful feelings of the human heart to the destruction of the good and great, by fixing upon talents, the indelible stigma of irreligion. It matters not how trifling and how insignificant the accuser; cry out that the *church is in danger*, and your object is accomplished; lurk in the bird-cage walk of hypocrisy, to accuse your enemy of the unnatural crime of Atheism, and his ruin is quite certain; acquitted or condemned, is the same thing; it is only sufficient that he be accused, in order that his destruction be accomplished. If we could satisfy ourselves that such were the real views of Mrs Trimmer, and that she were capable of such baseness, we would have drawn blood from her at every line, and left her in a state of martyrdom more piteous than that of St Uba. Let her attribute the milk and mildness she meets with in this review of her book, to the conviction we entertain, that she knew no better—that she really did understand Mr Lancaster as she pretends to understand him—and that if she had been aware of the extent of the mischief she was doing, she would have tossed the manuscript spelling book in which she was engaged, into the fire, rather than have done it. As a proof that we are earnest in speaking of Mrs Trimmer's simplicity, we must state the objection she makes to one of Mr Lancaster's

Lancaster's punishments. 'When I meet,' says Mr Lancaster, 'with a slovenly boy, I put a label upon his breast, I walk him round the school with a tin or a paper crown upon his head.' 'Surely,' says Mrs Trimmer, (in reply to this) 'surely, it should be remembered, that *the Saviour of the world was crowned with thorns, in derision, and that this is a reason why crowning is an improper punishment for a slovenly boy*' !!!

Rewards and Punishments.—Mrs Trimmer objects to the fear of ridicule being made an instrument of education, because it may be hereafter employed to shame a boy out of his religion. She might, for the same reason, object to the cultivation of the reasoning faculty, because a boy may hereafter be reasoned out of his religion; she surely does not mean to say that she would make boys insensible to ridicule, the fear of which is one curb upon the follies and eccentricities of human nature. Such an object it would be impossible to effect, even if it were useful: Put an hundred boys together, and the fear of being laughed at, will always be a strong influencing motive with every individual among them. If a master can turn this principle to his own use, and get boys to laugh at vice, instead of the old plan of laughing at virtue, is he not doing a very new, a very difficult, and a very laudable thing?

When Mr Lancaster finds a little boy with a very dirty face, he sends for a little girl, and makes her wash off the dirt before the whole school; and she is directed to accompany her ablutions with a gentle box of the ear. To us, this punishment appears well adapted to the offence; and in this, and in most other instances of Mr Lancaster's interference in scholastic discipline, we are struck with his good sense, and delighted that arrangements apparently so trivial, really so important, should have fallen under the attention of so ingenious and so original a man. Mrs Trimmer objects to this practice, that it destroys female modesty, and inculcates in that sex, *an habit of giving boxes on the ear.*

'When a boy gets into a singing tone in reading,' says Mr Lancaster, 'the best mode of cure that I have hitherto found effectual, is by the *force* of ridicule.—Decorate the offender with matches, ballads, (dying speeches if needful); and in this garb send him round the school, with some boys before him crying matches, &c. exactly imitating the dismal tones with which such things are hawked about London streets, as will readily recur to the reader's memory. I believe many boys behave rudely to Jews more on account of the manner in which they cry "old clothes," than because they are Jews. I have always found excellent effects from treating boys, who sing or tone in their reading, in the manner described. It is sure to turn the laugh of the whole school upon the delinquent; it provokes risibility, in spite of every endeavour

to check it, in all but *the offender*. I have seldom known a boy thus punished once, for whom it was needful a second time. It is also very seldom that a boy deserves both a log and a shackle at the same time. Most boys are wise enough, *when under* one punishment, not to transgress immediately, lest it should be doubled.' p. 47—8.

This punishment is objected to on the part of Mrs Trimmer, because it inculcates a dislike to Jews, and an indifference about dying speeches! Toys, she says, given as rewards, are worldly things; children are to be taught that there are eternal rewards in store for them. It is very dangerous to give prints as rewards, because prints may hereafter be the vehicle of indecent ideas. It is, above all things, perilous to create an order of merit in the borough school, because it gives the boys an idea of the origin of nobility, '*especially in times* (we use Mrs Trimmer's own words) *which furnish instances of the extinction of a race of antient nobility, in a neighbouring nation, and the elevation of some of the lowest people to the highest stations. Boys accustomed to consider themselves the nobles of the school, may, in their future lives, form a conceit of their own merits, (unless they have very sound principles) aspire to be nobles of the land, and to take place of the hereditary nobility.*'

We think these extracts will sufficiently satisfy every reader of common sense, of the merits of this publication. For our part, when we saw these ragged and interesting little nobles, shining in their tin stars, we only thought it probable that the spirit of emulation would make them better sangers, ushers, tradesmen, and mechanics. We did, in truth, imagine we had observed, in some of their faces, a bold project for procuring better breeches for keeping out the blasts of heaven, which howled through those garments in every direction, and of aspiring, hereafter, to greater strength of seam, and more perfect continuity of cloth; but for the safety of the titled orders, we had no fear; nor did we once dream that the black rod which whipt these dirty little dukes, would one day be borne before them as the emblem of legislative dignity, and a sign of noble blood.

Order.—The order Mr Lancaster has displayed in his school, is quite astonishing. Every boy seems to be the cog of a wheel—the whole school a perfect machine. This is so far from being a burden or constraint to the boys, that Mr Lancaster has made it quite pleasant and interesting to them, by giving to it the air of military arrangement; not foreseeing, as Mrs Trimmer foresees, that in times of public dangers, this plan furnishes the disaffected with the immediate means of raising an army; for what have they to do but to send for all the children educated by Mr Lancaster, from the different corners of the kingdom into which they are dispersed,—to beg it as a particular favour of them to fall into the same order as they adopted

dopted in the spelling class twenty-five years ago; and the rest is all matter of course—

Jamque faces, et Saxa volant.

The main object, however, for which this book is written, is to prove that the church establishment is in danger, from the increase of Mr Lancaster's institutions. Mr Lancaster is, as we have before observed, a Quaker. As a Quaker, he says, I cannot teach your creeds; but I pledge myself not to teach my own. I pledge myself (and if I deceive you, desert me, and give me up) to confine myself to those points of Christianity in which all Christians agree. To which Mrs Trimmer replies, that, in the first place, he cannot do this; and, in the next place, if he did do it, it would not be enough. But why, we would ask, cannot Mr Lancaster effect his first object? The practical and the feeling parts of religion, are much more likely to attract the attention, and provoke the questions of children, than its speculative doctrines. A child is not very likely to put any questions at all to a catechizing master, and still less likely to lead him into subtle and profound disquisition. It appears to us not only practicable, but very easy, to confine the religious instruction of the poor, in the first years of life, to those general feelings and principles which are suitable to the established church, and to every sect; afterwards, the discriminating tenets of each subdivision of Christians may be fixed upon this general basis. To say that this is not enough, that a child should be made an Antisocinian, or an Antipelagian, in his tenderest years, may be very just; but what prevents you from making him so? Mr Lancaster, purposely and intentionally to allay all jealousy, leaves him in a state as well adapted for one creed as another. Begin; make your pupil a firm advocate for the peculiar doctrines of the English church; dig round about him, on every side, a trench that shall guard him from every species of heresy. In spite of all this clamour, you do nothing; you do not stir a single step; you educate alike the swineherd and his hog;—and then, when a man of real genius and enterprize rises up, and says, let me dedicate my life to this neglected object; I will do every thing but that which must necessarily devolve upon you alone;—you refuse to do your little; and compel him, by the cry of Infidel and Atheist, to leave you to your antient repose, and not to drive you, by insidious comparisons, to any system of active utility. We deny, again and again, that Mr Lancaster's instruction is any kind of impediment to the propagation of the doctrines of the church; and if Mr Lancaster was to perish with his system to-morrow, these boys would positively be taught nothing; the doctrines which Mrs Trimmer considers to be prohibited would not rush in, but there would be an absolute vacuum.

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We will, however, say this in favour of Mrs Trimmer, that if every one who has joined in her clamour, had laboured one hundredth part as much as she has done in the cause of national education, the clamour would be much more rational, and much more consistent, than it now is. By living with a few people as active as herself, she is perhaps somehow or another persuaded that there is a national education going on in this country. But our principal argument is, that Mr Lancaster's plan is at least better than the *nothing* which preceded it. The authoress herself seems to be a lady of respectable opinions, and very ordinary talents; defending what is right without judgement, and believing what is holy without charity.

ART. XIII. *The Miseries of Human Life; or, the Groans of Timothy Testy, and Samuel Sensitive; with a few Supplementary Sighs from Mrs Testy. In Twelve Dialogues.* Miller, London. 1806.

THIS terrific title, with the subjoined catalogue of pitiable exclamations, would lead a native of any country but England to expect a heart-rending tale of accumulated woe. A Frenchman would prepare to shake his head, and shrug up his shoulders at the unobserved calamities of some love-sick heroine; a German would instantly feel his heart expand with all the sensitiveness of philanthropy, and the tear would stand ready to start from his eye, at the thought of beholding all the hopeless errors and unalloyed misery of man, feelingly depicted by the nervous hand of sentimental philosophy. But to a thorough indigenous independent Briton, the word 'misery' does by no means convey an idea of such extreme discomfort. He feels the satisfaction of grumbling over his misfortunes, to be, on many occasions, so much greater than the pain of enduring them, that he will beg, borrow, steal, or even manufacture calamities, sooner than suffer under any unusual scarcity of discontent. He knows, indeed, that miseries are necessary to his happiness, and though perhaps not quite so pleasant at the moment as his other indispensable enjoyments, roast beef and beer, would, if taken away, leave just as great a craving in his appetites as would be occasioned by the privation of these national dainties.

The Englishman alone, we think, occupies himself seriously in this manufacture of unhappiness; and seems to possess, almost as exclusively, the power of afterwards laughing at his own misfortunes; which, however, during their immediate existence, gave him as much torment as ever the crushing an earwig, or beating

beating a jackass, inflicted on the sensibility of a lacrymose German. It is the English only who submit to the same tyranny, from all the incidental annoyances and petty vexations of the day, as from the serious calamities of life. In Ben Jonson's time, it was an unmeaning humour 'to be gentleman-like and melancholy.' We believe it is since those days that a cause for that melancholy has been invented. It is only by the present race that the drawing on tight boots, or the extinguishing a candle under your nose, has been found entirely to embitter life. These trifling uneasinesses, are now dwelt and commented upon, in conversation, as of the highest importance; are considered an excuse for spleen or ill nature, and, sometimes, almost a reason for doubting the beneficence of Nature altogether. These restless concomitants of life, are only valued and cultivated in our gloomy atmosphere. The lively Frenchman either passes them unnoticed, or, if he does perceive them, only moulds them into a pleasantry to amuse his next companion. The haughty Spaniard will not suffer his gravity and grandeur to be broken in upon by such paltry considerations. The quiet Scotchman patiently endures them without knowing them to be evils; or if he by chance receives annoyance, hereafter goes round about to avoid them. The violent Irishman either passionately throws them off in an instant, or persuades himself it is comfort and amusement to him to let them continue. The phlegmatic Dutchman hides them from his view by the smoke of his pipe; while the philosophizing German, who only feels for all mankind, thinks every thing a trifle that affects himself. The sombre Englishman alone contents himself with grumbling at the evils, which he takes no steps to avoid; and perhaps the proneness to suicide, that is objected to John Bull by foreigners, might more reasonably be attributed to this indulgence in unhappiness, and domestication of misery, than to the influence of fogs, or the physical effects of sea-coal fires.

These are the miseries of which the author before us treats; and it is a subject which, in some point or other, must come home to every Englishman. He enters upon this rich field, in an address, inviting the miserable, (but, we must remark, inviting nobody else) the 'children of misfortune, wheresoever found, and whatsoever enduring,—ye who, arrogating to yourselves a kind of sovereignty in suffering, maintain, that all the throbs of torture, all the pungency of sorrow, all the bitterness of desperation, are your own. Take courage to behold a pageant of calamities, which calls you to renounce your sad monopoly!' We are then presented with Samuel Sensitive and Timothy Testy. Any formality of introduction is dispensed with; for the author knew

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that he could meet with no reader, who was not before acquainted with one or other of theſe gentlemen. For though Mr Senſitive be of a family comparatively modern, (not being naturalized in this country, apparently in the days of the Dutcheſs of Bedford, who declared that 'ſhe was born before nerves were invented,') yet there can be nobody, of any age, who has not often met with a branch of the ſtock of Teſty; which we believe, indeed, flouriſhed in this iſland even before the Conqueror. Indeed, the gentleman himſelf is ſo often to be met with, equally in the worſt as in the beſt company, that it is no wonder the author, in his ſubſequent delineation of the character of Mr Senſitive, ſhould forget 'all thoſe finer diſquietudes, thoſe quivering ſuſceptibilities, that feveriſh faſtidiouſneſs, and thoſe qualmiſh recoiling diſguſts which conſtitute at once the pride and the plague of *his* goſſamer frame.' We are not ſurpriſed that Teſty's groſs form and active diſlikes were continually preſent to the author, and entirely obliterated the meek agitations of Senſitive. For this has certainly been the caſe; and, however ſtrongly the diſtinction may ſtrike us at ſetting out, in a little time we perceive Senſitive to be a complete fac-ſimile of Teſty, and can ſometimes hardly perſuade ourſelves that they are not both one and the ſame man. We entirely loſe the diſtinction between the mentally miſerable man, whoſe whole frame is jarred and thrown into a ſtate of tremulous incapability by the falling of a diſh; and him who, groſs and violent under calamity, inſtantly knocks down the ſervant who dropped it.

This diſtinction is perhaps better exemplified by the conduct of the parties under vexation, than by any poſitive difference in the nature of the accidents that diſorder each of them. Thus, Mr Senſitive declares to Teſty, 'I, indeed, by the painful privilege of my nature, am as it were ambidexter in miſery, being no leſs exquiſitely ſenſitive to thoſe groſſer annoyances, or tangible tribulations, of which you are the victim, than to thoſe ſubtler and elegant agonies which are my own peculiar inheritance.' Teſty, we think, might have made a declaration of the ſame ſort; for as we go on, we find the vexations of both to be preciſely the ſame; only the agonies, when they fix upon Teſty, neceſſarily loſe the elegance which graces his friend's tribulations. For this reaſon, we wiſh that theſe two gentlemen had hit upon ſome more lively ſhape in which to convey their miſeries to the world, than the wearisome ſameneſs of dialogue. Had they permitted Tom Teſty, who appears in the ſecond dialogue, or ſome third perſon, to form their misfortunes into a narrative, we have no doubt that his feeling deſcription of all the torments they endured—of all the tears, contortions, and violent geſture by which they expreſſed their ſenſe

sense of them, would have attracted the notice of the world much more than their own complacent vaunting of preeminence in misery. Particularly, too, as we see all the while, that their tortures, however pungent, still left them calmness enough to enter their calamities regularly in memorandum books, though, certainly, not sufficient coolness of thought to correct the language and style in which they are related. We think that even Mrs Testy, though she is guilty of some vulgar expressions, might, if consulted, have remarked and amended several colloquial barbarisms, manufactured words, and incorrect phrases, which have been suffered to remain, and which, though, perhaps in conversation, no vexation to the most nervous hearer, are a considerable misery to the grossest and most sensual reader.

These two gentlemen having agreed to meet frequently, and contend for the crown of calamity, by reciting their unhappinesses in a sort of Amabean prose; we are, in the second dialogue, introduced to young Tom Testy, who comes in for the purpose of enlivening the conversation every now and then with a whimsically-applied, or, more frequently, a punning quotation. The reader now perceives his own 'misery,' in the prospect of pursuing the rest of his journey with these unvarying and discontented comrades. Now and then, indeed, a slight relief is afforded, when Mrs Testy puts in a word; but, upon the whole, she is a very quiet, well-behaved woman, and seldom speaks but when spoken to. However, there is no hope for it; the door of the conveyance is shut; the reader is boxed up with these companions; the coachman is inexorable; and, unless he has powers of self-denial to give up the journey altogether, he must, thus accompanied, and thus only, immediately enter upon the 'Miseries of the Country.' Here he indeed wants companions of a more cheerful and patient disposition; for the miseries he meets with at his outset are really no laughing matter. Here, as in many other places, Messrs Sensitive and Testy quite lose their captiousness and causeless irritability, and only complain of misfortunes that would vex, and that very effectually, any man of the greatest reason and equanimity.

'10. (T.) While you are out with a walking-party, after heavy rains—one shoe suddenly sucked off by the boggy clay; and then, in making a long and desperate stretch, (which fails), with the hope of recovering it, leaving the other shoe in the same predicament:—the second stage of ruin is that of standing, or rather tottering, in blank despair, with both feet planted, ancle-deep, in the quagmire.—The last (I had almost said the dying) scene of the tragedy,—that of deliberately cramming first one, and then the other clogged polluted foot into its choaked-up shoe, after having 'scavengered' your hands and gloves in

shaving

flaving to drag up each, feparately, out of its deep bed, and in this ftate proceeding on your walk—is too dreadful for reprefentation. The crown of the cataftrophe is, that each of the party floundering in his, or her, own gulph, is utterly difabled from affifting, or being affifted by, the reft.'

'17. (T.) On paying a vifit to your garden in the morning for the purpofe of regaling your eye and nofe with the choice ripe fruit with which it had abounded the day before, finding that the whole produce of every tree and bufh has been carefully gathered—in the night!'

'18. (S.) The delights of hay-time! as follows:—After having cut down every foot of grafs upon your grounds, on the moft folemn affurances of the barometer that there is nothing to fear—after having dragged the whole neighbourhood for every man, woman, and child, that love or money could procure, and thruft a rake, or a pitch-fork, into the hands of every fervant in your family, from the houfekeeper to the fcullion—after having long overlooked and animated their bufy labours, and feen the exuberant produce turned and re-turned under a fmiling fun, till every blade is as dry as a bone, and as fweet as a rofe—after having exultingly counted one rifing haycock after another, and drawn to the fpot every feizable horfe and cart, all now ftanding in readinefs to carry home the vegetable treafure, as faft as it can be piled —at fuch a golden moment as this, Mr Tefty, to fee volume upon volume of black, heavy clouds fuddenly rifing and advancing, in frowning columns, from the fouth-weft; as if the fun had taken half the Zodiac—from Leo to Aquarius—at a leap:—behold the ruthlefs vapours! —they halt—they mufter directly over head;—at the fignal of a thunder-clap, they pour down their contents with a fteady perpendicular difcharge, and the affault is continued, without a moment's paufe, till every meadow is completely got under, and the whole fcene of action is a fwamp. When the enemy has performed his commiffion by a total defeat of your hopes, when he has completely fwept the field, and fcattered your whole party in a panic-flight, he fuddenly breaks up his forces, and retires in open order; leaving you to comfort and amufe yourfelf, under your lofs, by looking at his colours, in the fhape of a moft beautiful rainbow, which he difplays in his rear.'

'20. (S.) Lofing your way, on foot, at night, in a ftorm of wind and rain—and this, immediately after leaving a merry fire-fide.'

Now, we do not conceive that it is neceffary to poffefs the unreafonable irritability of thefe gentlemen, to be very much difcompofed at lofing both your fhoes in a bog; or all your fruit being ftolen; or all your hay being fpoilt; or lofing yourfelf in a ftormy night. Thefe are all circumftances productive of fuch pofitive lofs or ill effects, that we believe any one of them (to ufe a vulgar idea) might make the moft meek and pious clergyman utter an oath of confiderable magnitude. In the fame ftrain, as we go on; lying awake a whole night, which is generally fymptomatic of illnefs; fleeping in damp fheets, which is almoft certainly productive of illnefs;

illness; being sea-sick, which is illness; finding a hornet in your boot while putting it on, whose sting would probably lay you up; losing the *memoranda* of your dividends, by which you are disabled from receiving your money at the bank, and, perhaps, arrested in consequence—are all serious misfortunes that we think any gentleman would complain of, and be very ill treated, if his lamentations were laughed at. Indeed, we often think Messrs Testy and Sensitive not at all ridiculous and peevish, but very sensible and reasonable men, who, if they really have undergone all the grievances here related, may justly claim a preeminence of misery, not only over the fancifully unhappy, but over the really wretched, and truly afflicted part of mankind. This is defeating and destroying the prime design and groundwork of the book.

Tom Testy, who is introduced in the second dialogue, is a very agreeable addition to the company; and by no means merits the character given him by his schoolmaster, who, his father says, 'thought proper to tell me that my boy is half mad; though, for all I can see, the whole offence is, that he is a little wild or so in his way of reading; and by running from one book to another, and dashing from this part of the volume to that, has stuffed his head with more words than he knows well how to manage; and so by dint of a good memory, without brains quite enough to ballast it, he flirts out his crude scraps of authors upon all occasions, without stopping to think where he is, or who are his hearers.' This incautious young man is, however, very entertaining, and his school miseries among the best in the book.

'8. (Tom T.) Seeing the boy who is next above you flogged for a repetition, which you know you cannot say even half so well as he did.'

'14. (Tom T.) At dinner—the joint lasting only as low down as to the boy immediately above you:—you are too stout to eat bread, and so go starved, and broken-hearted, into school.'

His chief fault is, too frequent an exhibition of his talent; for, though he often produces remarkable and unexpected quotations, he seldom misses an opportunity of uttering the most trite or remotely connected. Thus, in the following.

'35. (S.) After having dealt carelessly with honey at breakfast, being hurried away, without a moment allowed for washing your hands; or—(since that cannot possibly be granted you)—for chopping them off.'

Ned Tes. "*Plus aloës quam mellis habet.*" Juv.

The plain translation of the single word '*mellis*,' hardly compensates for the total want of application of '*aloës*;' and the inaptness of the metaphorical signification of the passage affords no excuse. And in,

'35. (S.) In walking through a vile alley—passing under a window

dow at so 'seasonable' a moment, as to intercept the liquid refuse which a foul witch is emptying from the third or fourth story.

Ned Tes. "*Insequitur cumulo præruptus aquæ mons.*" Virg.

'Tes. I fancy the words which follow soon after are not quite so applicable.'

"——*placidum caput extulit unda.*"

There is nothing at all appropriate in this passage, except the plain application of the comprehensive word '*aquæ*;' and Old Testy, in his attempt to give it a point, must have been much puzzled, since he is forced to join to it four words, which, in Virgil, are twenty lines distant, belong to another passage, and which, after all, he only quotes because they are not applicable. But Mr Thomas Testy is perpetually obliged to cram a quotation into the situation he wants, by such means as, 'Virgil never knew that when he wrote such a line;' or, 'Horace could not have said here that,' &c.; or oftener, boldly, 'We cannot apply to this the passage, which says,' &c. Nor is this young gentleman content with watching for, and torturing every occasion to his use; but will very often engross the whole conversation, to make himself an opportunity for wit, and bring us round to a jest by degrees. Thus, a joke is very often scented a page beforehand; and often, in his observations subsequent to a groan, he prefaces a quotation of four or five words, by an introductory harangue of his own, at least long enough for a maiden-speech in the House of Commons. He copies too freely the style of Joe Miller, and other jest-book composers, who prepare us for any most improbable mistake, by introducing 'an Irishman noted for blunders;' or for a practical joke, which any one must have foreseen or discomfited, by 'a gentleman, proverbial for long fits of absence.' The plots for his jokes are sometimes almost as intricate, as the introduction to those composite jests of the worthies above mentioned, which depend upon the choice, assortment, or contrast of characters, as much as any regular drama. Such are those enacted by a man with a hump-back, and another without an eye; or by an Irishman, a barber, and a bald-headed man; or that most extraordinary witticism, the joint production of a sexton, a surgeon, a maid-servant, and a man recovered after being hanged.

'57. (T.) The handle of the tea-urn coming off in the servant's hand, as he is passing by you! and this in such a manner, that though you break its fall with your leg, you, at the same time, break your leg with its fall—to say nothing of the contents, which, in my own case, I did not find of a very healing nature!

'*Ned Tes.* Why, Sir, as to the simple fact of oversetting the "urn," that misfortune, if you will take Horace's word for it, "is destined to befal every man in some part of his life or other.

——————"*omnium*
Versatur urna, seriùs, ociùs."

Here

Here he is obliged to lay a train for his joke, and almost to explain it beforehand, in order to make it fit at all to the place. We are afraid he is used to make jokes, and keep them ready cut and dry by him; and then his eagerness easily overcoming his caution, he is reduced to beg an opportunity for them, such as, 'What do you think of such a thing, for I say that,' &c.; or, 'If you had said thus, I should have said that,' &c. Thus—

'108. (T.) The two-fold torment inflicted by a flea—viz. first, the persecution to which he subjects you through the night; secondly, the loss of your meditated revenge in the morning, by his hocus-pocus escapes—his unthought-of and incredible capers, leaps, and flings, from under your eager fingers, at the very instant when you seem in the act of....... nay, to have actually annihilated him.

> " *Mille fugit refugitque vias; at vividus* " *alter*
> " *Hæret hians; jam, jamque tenet, similisque tenenti*
> *Increpuit—morsu elusus!* " Virg.

'*Ned Tes.* I am quite at home in this misery;—" intus et in cute novi." (Pers.) This little Harlequin of the insect race, seems, like his brother the biped, to consider his pursuers, as foes, " *quos fallere et effugere est triumphus.* " (Hor.)—But have you nothing to say against a bug, father?—In London, at least, " these bugs do fear us all!" (Shak.)

In this hodge-podge of quotation, he is first obliged to introduce his inept sentence from Persius, by the inappropriate phrase of being at home in this misery; then metamorphoses the flea into a Harlequin, which, after some trouble, lets in his half line from Horace; only applicable to the new-comer Harlequin, and by no means to the flea, from whom the joke began; and at last is so cruelly bent upon giving vent to the new thought that suddenly pops into his head about bugs, that he cannot wait for a proper time, but abruptly asks his father what he has to say about them; and then, without stopping for an answer, lets fly his own bald quotation—if, indeed, that deserves the name of quotation, which only depends upon the usage of the same word, without any similitude of sense to the passage, to illustrate which it is mentioned.

We find many more instances of these faults, but are afraid of exceeding our limits; and are altogether so much obliged to any body who makes us laugh, that we wish not to be severe upon any thing that gives rise to that vulgar convulsion; even though it be involuntarily accompanied with the muttered 'pish' or 'psha' that seems to chide ourselves, and express shame for being amused at such nonsense. In this publication, however, we often find ourselves at liberty to laugh in perfect good taste.

'After having enumerated the miseries of the country, these gentlemen go on to those of every place and occupation.—Of

Games

Games and Recreations—of London—of Public Places—of Travelling—of Social Life—of Reading and Writing—of the Table—Miseries Domestic, Personal, and Miscellaneous. In addition to these, Mrs Testy furnishes a 'few supplementary sighs,' which were certainly imperiously called for. As, otherwise, the 'miseries' of the fair sex (and we believe they enjoy at least as many, and as fanciful and fantastic as those which torment the lords of the creation) would have been entirely untrenched upon. As it is, we suspect, Mrs Testy has made but a very small draught from the army of vexations and megrims in which 'angel woman' delights. This arose, necessarily, from the author's slender stock of information upon that point; for we are convinced they were furnished by no female friend. No lady, we think, would undertake a task, which, if fairly performed, must discover all the hidden springs and recesses of the female mind; all the arcana of the Bona Dea, which have hitherto been preserved as sacred as the secrets of Freemasonry. Nor would any true woman ever give up so much of the assumed dignity of the sex, as to allow that their gross vassal, man, is held in such estimation, or capable of producing such uneasiness, by his most trivial actions, in their refined minds, as is confessed in the following sighs.

'10. At a ball—being asked by two or three puppies "why you don't dance?"—and asked *no more* questions, by these, or any other gentleman on the subject:—on your return home, being pestered with examinations and cross examinations, whether you danced—with whom you danced—why you did not dance—&c. &c.; the friend with whom you went, complaining, all the time, of being worried *to death* with solicitations to dance, the whole evening.'

'14. After dinner, when the ladies retire with you from a party of very pleasant men, having to entertain, as you can, half a score of empty, or formal females; then, after a decent time has elapsed, and your patience and topics are equally exhausted, ringing for the tea, &c. which you sit making in despair, for above two hours; having, three or four times, sent word to the gentlemen that it is ready, and overheard your husband, at the last message, answer, "Very well—another bottle of wine." By the time that the tea and coffee are quite cold, they arrive, continuing, as they enter, and for an hour afterwards, their political disputes, occasionally suspended, on the part of the master of the house, by a *reasonable* complaint, to his lady, at the coldness of the coffee;—soon after, the carriages are announced, and the visitors disperse.'

'16. At a ball—when you have set your heart on dancing with a particular favourite,—at the moment when you delightedly see him advancing towards you, being briskly accosted by a conceited simpleton at your elbow, whom you cannot endure, but who obtains (because you know not in what manner to refuse) "the honour of your hand" for the evening.'

We

We here finish our analysis of the work. The author seems to entertain an idea, that written dialogue is entitled to the liberties used in real conversation. We meet, accordingly, with some incorrect grammar, and much crudeness of style, encumbered with many unwieldy parentheses. Above all, he seems to have adopted, from colloquy, the use of several words newly and extraordinarily applied, which, in company, are easily explained and enforced by some gesture or emphasis of the speaker; but, when written down, convey no immediate idea to the reader, or, at least, a very feeble one. We meet with a 'washy remark,' 'a man of iron,' 'a sepulchral party,' &c.—all perhaps good colloquialisms, but which, in writing, lose all their force, from the explanations necessarily affixed; or, in default of them, the thought which the reader must bestow to discover their humour, or even meaning. Printing in italics is a disgraceful method of marking the point of a witticism. But the chief faults of the work are, great sameness and length, which mutually and severely aggravate each other; and we could readily have dispensed with much of the conversations introductory to the groans, and, still more willingly, with the dull homilies preached at the end by Mr Sensitive senior. This is a remarkable instance either of an author's distrust in his readers, whom he would not leave to pick out his moral, or of diffidence in his own powers of rendering it plain and easy. The reader, at the end of the groans, thinks he has finished the book, and is leaving it merry and pleased, when Mr Sensitive senior steps in, and, like the butler in the drama of Lovers' Vows, detains him, insults his understanding, and deadens his spirits, by the heavy recitation of his musty moral.

On the whole, we ſtrenuouſly recommend this work to all who love to laugh; and, at the ſame time, feel no pleaſure in diſappointing an author, who aims at humour, by captious objections or dignified ſullenneſs; for (as Tom Teſty would put in)

> 'By two-headed Janus
> Nature hath fram'd ſtrange fellows in her time,
> Some that will evermore peep through their eyes,
> And laugh like parrots at a bag-piper;
> And others of ſuch vinegar aſpect,
> That they'll not ſhow their teeth by way of ſmile,
> Though Neſtor ſwear the jeſt be laughable.' *Shak.*

To the firſt claſs deſcribed here, we promiſe much merriment from the peruſal of this work; and to ſupport our opinion, we will ſelect a few of the beſt groans; or at leaſt thoſe which moſt affected our riſible faculties. A ſelection, we avow, much eaſier made, than that of the faults that have been mentioned in this review.

Of Travelling.

'4. (S.) Just as you are going off, with only one other person on your side of the coach, who, you flatter yourself, is the last,—seeing the door suddenly opened, and the guard, coachman, hostler, &c. &c. craning, shoving, and buttressing up an overgrown, puffing, greasy, human hog, of the butcher or grazier breed—the whole machine straining and groaning under its cargo, from the box to the basket.—By dint of incredible efforts and contrivances, the carcase is, at length, weighed up to the door, where it has next to struggle with various and heavy obstructions in the passage. When, at length, the entire beast is fairly flung in, and (after about a quarter of an hour consumed in the operation) plunged down and bedded, with the squelch of a falling ox, and the grunt of a rhinoceros,—you find yourself suddenly viced in, from the shoulder to the hip; upon which the monster—when, in another quarter of an hour, he has finally pumped, and panted, and snorted himself into tranquillity,—begins to make himself merry with your misery, and keeps braying away,—totally callous to the dumb frowns, or muttered execrations, (" curses not loud but deep ") of the whole coach.'

'25. (S.) At a formal dinner—the awful resting-time which occasionally intervenes between the courses:

'Ned Tes. " *Inde alios ineunt cursus, aliosque recursus,—*
Adversis spatiis! "

'10. (T.) After having left a company in which you have been galled by the raillery of some wag by profession—thinking, at your leisure, of a repartee which, if discharged at the proper moment, would have blown him to atoms.'

'29. (S.) Rashly confessing that you have a slight cold, in the hearing of certain elderly ladies " of the faculty," who instantly form themselves into a consultation upon your case, and assail you with a volley of nostrums, all of which, if you would have a moment's peace, you must solemnly promise to take off before night—though well satisfied that they would retaliate, by " taking you off " before morning!

'Ned Tes. " *Ægrescitque medendo.*" Virg.

From Mrs Testy's Sighs.

'11. At a long table, after dinner, having the eyes of the whole company drawn upon you by a loud observation, that you are strikingly like Mrs or Miss ———, particularly when you smile.'

We are sorry the author inserted such an affected and nonsensical groan as the following.

'21. (T.) Hearing the threats of invasion which have long been bawled out by the little bloated fiend on the other side of the channel, honoured with serious attention by men actually born and bred in England. There are not, indeed, above half a dozen of our countrymen of this white-livered description; " but who can think, with common patience, even of that handful?"

In

In powerful contradiction, too, to the ſenſe and truth of the following.

'11. (S.) At the play—the ſickening ſcraps of naval loyalty which are crammed down your throat faſter than you can gulp them, in ſuch after-pieces as are called "England's Glory,"—"The Britiſh Tars," &c.—with the additional nauſeau of hearing them boiſterouſly applauded.'

In the ſecond edition, the author has informed us of a new calamity, which he entitles 'My own Groan.' It contains his complaint of the work being attributed to other noblemen and gentlemen, whoſe initials only, and thoſe perhaps fictitious, he publiſhes. We ſuppoſe, from this caution, that they are gentlemen who have never yet dared the public eye in a printed ſhape; but, ſince the world has attributed to them a work which has met ſo favourable a reception, we ſuppoſe they are held in eſtimation as ſome of the prime wits and "merrieſt men" of the age. This favourable opinion thus expreſſed, ſhould not be diſregarded by them; they are called upon to enter boldly upon the fields of literature, and exhibit to the world proof of thoſe talents for which it has thus univerſally given them credit.

We now unwillingly leave this work; and, as a farewell to the author, we intreat him (without meaning to meaſure weapons with ſo formidable a rival) to caſt an eye of compaſſion and ſympathy upon a few

REVIEWERS' GROANS.

1. A complacent author's inquiries, whether his book is about to be reviewed, and what is the character to be given of it;—ſaid book having only been thought worthy to be diſmiſſed with a general cenſure for ſtupidity, ignorance, and ſelf-ſufficiency.

2. A plaintive author's reproachful queſtion how he ever injured you, ſo that you choſe to be his executioner; and the candour with which he argues upon your opinion of his work; only denying that it wants genius, wit, or taſte; while he ingenuouſly confeſſes there are ſome few grammatical inaccuracies and careleſſneſſes in the ſtyle.

3. Finding yourſelf ſeated at dinner next a gentleman whom you have before pilloried in a review of extreme ſeverity; then being ſomewhat relieved by finding that you are unknown to him; till a blundering pretender to literature, on his other ſide, calls you by your name; and aſks acroſs him, Who is to be cut up in the next Number?

4. The harſh and opprobrious review done by your brethren upon a book that you have generouſly publiſhed anonymouſly; then, upon your owning it, in hopes of ſoftening them, and perhaps procuring a reviſal of the ſecond edition of the review; their

comments upon your unkindness and folly in not telling them before; and, above all, the subsequent grins and rejoiced faces of the whole literary world, to whom your friends immediately publish your avowal.

5. The copy just set up, and more wanted—the printer's imp, or the great Beelzebub himself in waiting, and grinding his fangs with impatience—the postman delivers a treble letter, which you eagerly open, expecting a communication from a first-rate correspondent, and which proves to contain a long expostulatory and indignant refutation of your last quarter's critique on an incensed author—postage unpaid.

6. The doleful alternative of perusing a huge quarto, at the risk of dislocating your jaws, in order to review it—or of reviewing the said quarto, without so perusing it, at the risk of making blunders, and furnishing pegs on which charges of misrepresentation will not fail to be suspended.

7. ——— Last scene of all,
To close this sad eventful history,—

Long labour bestowed in endeavouring to extract subject for an article from a book too dull to be commended, and too accurate to be condemned, where ordinary subjects are treated in an ordinary style, and with ordinary ability; so that, at last, you relinquish the hope of drawing forth, from the mass of mediocrity, food either for reason or for ridicule, and shut the book, with the fruitless apostrophe,

'Too bad for a blessing, too good for a curse,
'I wish from my soul thou wert better or worse.

ART. XIV. *Les Templiers, Tragedie, précédée d'un Précis Historique sur les Templiers.* Par M. Raynouard. Paris, 1805.

THIS work, as is evident from its title, is divided into two parts, of which one is an historical abridgement, and the other is a poem. We have, therefore, to examine, first, how the author deals with truth, and, secondly, how he succeeds with fiction. The same individual may certainly excel both as a poet and as an historian; but when he is to state the facts as they really happened, and is afterwards to embellish them with the colouring of fancy, the probable success of his enterprize may be reasonably questioned. It may be feared that, in spite of the best endeavours of the writer, the history will be so fashioned as to correspond with the fable, and that the fable will be rendered less attractive than imagination might have made it, in order to preserve its likeness to the history.

The

The author before us has chosen a subject for his tragedy, which is generally known to every person of education. He has thought fit, however, to prefix a statement of that subject to his drama, which contains almost the whole historical testimony relating to it. Now, if we condescend to believe Aristotle, tragedy, like every other species of poetry, is an imitation; and its power to please must consequently depend not a little on the illusion which it produces. But he, who would create an illusion, must not make us too intimately acquainted with the objects by which he means to raise it. If you wish to surprise a man with an optical deception, you must not previously instruct him in the science of optics; nor, when you would seriously interest him in a tale of the imagination, should you so accurately teach him the facts upon which it is founded, that he can never mistake the fiction for the truth. The admirers of poetry would not thank the antiquary, who should prefix to Hamlet and Macbeth a clear and indubitable statement of the events on which those tragedies are founded. There can be little doubt but that Shakespeare's accuracy would bear no comparison with his genius; and the probability which we now allow to many of his scenes would probably vanish on the comparison. When, therefore, we opened the volume before us, and found that the tragedy was preceded by the history of the Templars, well garnished too with many citations, proofs, and documents, we could not help thinking the conduct of the author injudicious. The moralist must forgive the muse as well as he can; but certain it is, that the torch of truth sheds no light by which she likes to exhibit the works of her creation. It throws too powerful a glare on her illusory scenery; and her softest shadows and her gayest tints disappear before it.

Having premised these few remarks, we shall now proceed to state the contents of the publication before us—the abridged history of the Templars, and the tragedy which M. Raynouard has founded upon it.

I. Nine of the French knights, says our author, who had followed Godfrey of Bouillon to the conquest of the Holy Land, devoted themselves to maintain the safety of the public ways against the attacks of the infidels, who insulted the pilgrims whom their piety conducted to Jerusalem. These Frenchmen were successively reinforced by many other warriors; and this generous soldiery appeared very soon after with glory in the field of battle, and formed the religious and military order of the Templars. Such is the short account of the origin of this celebrated institution, which is given to us by M. Raynouard. He then proceeds to describe the appearance and manners of the knights, in the words

words of St Bernard. They had nothing, it seems, to themselves, not even their own will. They were generally plainly dressed; were commonly covered with dust; had their faces burnt by the sun; and the expression of their countenances was severe and fixed. On the approach of the combat, says the saint, they armed themselves with faith within, and with iron without. This double precaution was undoubtedly prudent, since it appears, that every knight was bound by an oath not to fly, even when alone, from three enemies, provided these were infidels. While the oath exhibited the courage and the zeal of the soldiers of the Temple, it must be confessed that the condition might furnish many facilities for evading it.

M. Raynouard now enters upon a justification of the Templars, and attempts to exculpate them from the crimes which have been laid to their charge. He gravely commences his defence, by assuring us, that the proverb, *to drink like a Templar*, proves no more against the Order, than the more ancient proverb, *to drink like a Pope*, proves against the Roman pontifs. The other offences of which they are accused, were of a less venial nature. From the imputation of these, our author labours to vindicate their memory. Now, although we have long been of opinion that the mode in which the Templars were tried was unjust, and that even if the accusations against them had been clearly proved, there is no apology for the horrid cruelties which were inflicted on them; yet we cannot acquiesce with our historian, when he becomes their advocate, and endeavours to place their innocence beyond suspicion. Of the degree of guilt which was imputed to them, men will judge differently according to their habits and prejudices; but we cannot venture to say positively, that they were innocent of all they were accused of. When they were first inculpated, they had much in their power. They were rich, powerful, and numerous. Their order derived its origin from the superstition of the times; and their extraordinary and extravagant zeal could not fail to be a theme of admiration with the multitude. Is it likely, then, that spotless virtue, supported by wealth and dignity, distinguished by renown in arms, and respected throughout the whole Christian world, should have been hurled at once into destruction by a base and groundless calumny? If the French Monarch, the Roman Pontiff, and the Venetian Republic, entered into a detestable league to crush a set of men, who had been the heroes of popular prejudice, and whose lives were devoted to the cause of superstition, how did it happen that almost all the Princes, and all the nations of Europe, participated in this unworthy and tyrannical persecution? The cry of indignation against

against the Templars was not limited to the kingdom of France; nor did it proceed from any particular description of men. It resounded from the shores of Asia to the borders of the Baltic. Kings, prelates, nobles, people, joined in the universal exclamation. At the distance of several centuries, are we to pronounce that all Europe was deceived, not upon a speculative question, but with respect to the characters of men eminent by their rank and reputation, and whose conduct could not be entirely hidden from public observation?

Our author has certainly brought forward many proofs, from which it is evident, that the Templars were held in high veneration up to the period of the diſſolution of their Order. But all this teſtimony only ſeems to render it more extraordinary, that unfounded accuſations ſhould have prevailed againſt them, and ſhould have occaſioned their ſudden downfal, with loſs of life, of fortune, of character, and of honour. The King of England, the rival and the enemy of Philip, had been the protector of the Templars. Our author tells us, that it is not neceſſary to examine the political reaſons which afterwards determined Edward to have them arreſted in England. But, unleſs the political reaſons be made manifeſt, it is not candid to conclude, that the Engliſh Monarch abandoned their cauſe, and conſented to their puniſhment, without being impreſſed with the belief of their guilt; and let it be remembered, that in whatever light that guilt may be conſidered by modern philoſophers, it was held in fearful abhorrence by the barbarians of the fourteenth century. The Templars were accuſed of nothing leſs than of a terrible hereſy, for which the ſpirit of the times admitted no apology. What we ſhould have eſteemed their greateſt offence ſeems to have attracted little comparative notice.

The part which was taken by the Roman Pontiff againſt the Templars, may ſeem to have proceeded ſolely from intereſted motives; and yet it was conſiſtent neither with the practice, nor with the policy of the Church of Rome, to abandon the inſtruments of its uſurpation at the will of any temporal power. Clement the Fifth had been raiſed indeed to the Papal throne, by the intrigues of Philip; but if he was leſs inſolent in his language to that Monarch than the haughty Boniface had been, he was not leſs attached to the intereſts of his order, nor leſs verſed in the arts by which it impoſed upon mankind. The Templars were by name and profeſſion the ſervants of the Church. They were ſworn to defend the myſteries of the faith. They kept alive that ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which had ſent ſo many viſionaries to find their graves in Paleſtine. Theſe Templars were ſtill the profeſſed enemies of the Infidels—of thoſe Arabians from whom the

Europeans had to learn ſo much. They were the brighteſt embers which remained of that ſacred conflagration, which the ambition of churchmen had ſpread over the faireſt regions of the globe. Is it then probable, that Clement would have deſired to deſtroy their exiſtence, in order either to flatter the King of France, or to ſhare in their ſpoils, of which he knew he was not likely to be a principal partaker? To extirpate theſe men was not to encourage a new cruſade; it was to give a terrible warning to all adventurous enthuſiaſts, who might chooſe to fight for the ſake of the faith; it was to admoniſh mankind of the folly of enterprizes which had been ſerviceable to the clergy alone, and to let the people into the ſecret, which their ſovereigns were beginning to diſcover. In order to account, then, for the conduct of the Pope, we muſt believe, that he no longer repoſed entire confidence in the Templars; and that he, at leaſt, ſuſpected them of having abandoned the principles which led to the inſtitution of their order.

If we were diſpoſed to renew the accuſations which were made againſt the Templars, we ſhould have no difficulty in collecting materials. It is, however, very far from being our intention to pronounce ſentence againſt them, even while we heſitate in admitting the proofs of their innocence to be inconteſtable. When the cruſaders poured in multitudes into the eaſt, they met in their progreſs with nations more refined than the French, the Germans, or the Engliſh; and there can be little doubt, that many of them returned home with more civilization, and with leſs faith, than they left it. Nothing tends ſooner to cure men of their own credulity, than to witneſs the blind ſuperſtition of others. While the bigotted barbarians of Europe were ſuffering under innumerable hardſhips on the burning ſands of Aſia, they had the opportunity of contemplating the influence of falſe and miſtaken notions on a people ſcarcely leſs fanatical than themſelves. They had leiſure, it may be preſumed, in the midſt of their difficulties, to reflect on the folly of their enterprize; and the frequent reverſes which they met with, had no doubt cooled the ardour of their zeal. If they had ſtopped here, the voice of reaſon would juſtify them at the preſent day. It ſeems, however, that ſome of the cruſaders brought home notions of religion, which gave ſcandal to the whole Chriſtian world. If the ſoldiers of the Temple were really never infected with this alarming hereſy, their fate is the more to be deplored; and yet the myſteries of inauguration, and the ſolemnity of oaths, appeared to indicate that they had ſecrets to conceal.

Our author exclaims againſt the injuſtice of receiving evidence from men of infamous characters, who had been expelled from the

the Order. We admit, that to receive teſtimony upon oath from a wretch, who has violated every principle of duty, and who is allowed to preſerve his life, on condition that he ſwears to the guilt of another, is a mockery of juſtice only worthy of the quiſition. We ſhall therefore allow, that when the Prior of Montfaucon accuſed the Templars, the unworthineſs of his own character ought to have been remembered, and the teſtimony, probably dictated by revenge, which he gave againſt them ought to have been rejected. But this Prior, we are afraid, was not the only Templar who denounced his order. Neither do we poſſeſs any evidence, to prove that all thoſe members, who confeſſed the guilt imputed to them, were totally unworthy of credit. Many of them were yet young when initiated, and might have afterwards lamented the crimes which they had committed. It is to be obſerved, that the evidence of Peter of Boulogne was taken ſix months before the Grandmaſter was arreſted. Can it be aſcertained that his confeſſion was involuntary? He was examined, it may be ſaid, by the Commiſſary of the Inquiſitor, and was afraid of being put to the torture. But does it appear that he was conſtrained, in the firſt inſtance, to denounce the Order? In his depoſition, he ſpeaks with abhorrence of the rite of inauguration; and the compunctions of his own conſcience might have urged him to diſcloſe what he knew, without the fear of any perſonal puniſhment. His appearance before the Inquiſition was a thing of courſe, if he had made a previous avowal to his confeſſor.

With reſpect to the manner in which the Grandmaſter and the one hundred and thirty-nine Knights were tried at Paris, we entirely agree with our author. There are, indeed, few examples in hiſtory of a more flagrant act of injuſtice. The Grandmaſter was ſummoned under a falſe pretext to return to France; and, on the 13th of October 1307, he, with all the Knights, was arreſted, and thrown into priſon. They were allowed no counſel; their poſſeſſions were ſeized; they were prejudged in an act publiſhed by the King; and they were left to chooſe between torture and confeſſion. In the midſt of their ſufferings, ſome of theſe unfortunate men avowed whatever their tormentors choſe; but ſeveral of them retracted as ſoon as they were liberated from intolerable pain. For this contumacy, as it was called by their inhuman judges, who deſerved the puniſhment which they inflicted, theſe wretched victims of rapacity and tyranny were doomed to periſh by the flames.

The hiſtory of the Templars is intereſting, becauſe it exhibits a ſtriking picture of the ſpirit and manners of the times. A generous, but extravagant zeal, gave birth and celebrity to their Order.

Order. An accusation of apostasy, perhaps suggested, and certainly encouraged by the French monarch, who coveted their rich possessions, accelerated and completed their ruin. They owed their elevation to the superstition of the people, and their destruction to the injustice of princes. They had been the heroes of prejudice; and the artifices of a tyrant made them become its victims. The charges adduced against them might have been founded in truth; but this cannot excuse the mode of their trial, or the severity of their punishment. They might have been guilty of heresy, which, after all, it is not the business of man to punish; they might have been shamefully dissolute in their manners, for which their Order deserved to have been abolished; and yet they ought not to have been put to such shocking tortures, as humanity would forbid us to inflict on the most blood-thirsty and atrocious monsters, whose crimes ever filled the world with affliction and desolation.

Of the abridgement before us, we should be inclined to speak more favourably, if it did not rather resemble a rhetorical pleading than an historical statement. It is wanting likewise in that philosophical spirit, which is so important and so advantageous to the historian. Our author writes, as if the *Sorbonne* were still in existence. We are fatigued with his elaborate endeavours to convince us, that the Templars were the faithful servants of the Church of Rome. Had they not been so, would the mode of their trial have been less contrary to justice? Is it necessary at this time of day to prove, that men are good Catholics, in order to persuade us, that they ought not to be burnt as heretics? Is there now any such spirit of intolerance to be satisfied in France? We hope not. We should, indeed, be sorry to have again to complain, that that volatile nation cannot escape from one extreme, without running into another.

M. Raynouard has exhibited *Jaques de Molay*, the Grand Master of the Templars, as a firm Papist. If the audience would not shed a tear at his tragedy on any other condition, the author certainly did right. Still, however, we think, he might have boldy taken for granted as a poet what cannot be so easily accorded to him as an historian. If the tragedy alone had been submitted to us, we should not have desired to inquire very rigorously into the matter. As critics, and as philosophers, we should have thought it a question of little importance. We are now compelled to consider the evidence given by *Jaques de Molay*, and to ask, if he were entirely innocent, how he came to be quite so particular in the confession which he afterwards retracted? Why did he make a miserable evasion? Was such a subterfuge worthy of an innocent man? Was it one, to which a great mind was likely to stoop? We do not, however, mean to conclude, from this circumstance, that

that he was really an apoſtate; but, after having read his confeſſion, we muſt ſtill be permitted to deſpiſe him, even if he were not one. In that confeſſion he inculpated all his brethren, and attempted to excuſe himſelf by a piece of ſophiſtry of which the verieſt pedant that ever iſſued from the ſchools would have been heartily aſhamed.

II. Among the many claims which the French make to pre-eminence in literature, there is none, perhaps, which they have better eſtabliſhed among the nations of the Continent, than the ſuperiority of their drama. The Engliſh alone ſeem diſpoſed to conteſt this point with them. It is only the mob in Spain, that would prefer Lopé and Calderon to Corneille and Racine. The judicious critics of Italy will not compare Goldoni with Moliere: They will acknowledge that the Italian comedy is inferior to the French. The *Meropé* of Voltaire, it can ſcarcely be denied, is a finer tragedy than the *Meropé* of Maffei; and although the works of Alfieri diſplay elevation of ſentiment, and fire of genius, yet there is much ſtiffneſs and harſhneſs in his ſtyle; there is a want of *pathos* in his manner; and he ſeldom ſucceeds in touching the heart. His language is too learned for the theatre; and perhaps, even to the critic, he ſhows himſelf too emulous of Dante. The admirers of tragedy in Italy are fewer, we believe, than in France. The reaſon is obvious. The Italians poſſeſs the charming operas of Metaſtaſio; but they have no tragedy that can be compared with *Athalie*, or with *Phedre*. Of the ſucceſs of the buſkined muſe in Germany, we are by no means ſo competent to ſpeak. From what we do know, however, we are inclined to ſuſpect, that High Dutch has not yet become her favourite language; and if the character given of it by Charles the Fifth were right, this cannot be a matter of much ſurpriſe. We believe, too, that the enlightened Germans readily confeſs, that their tragic writers have not yet attained the higheſt elegance; that they are not perfect maſters of their art; and that they are rather deficient in taſte, and are ſomewhat given to extravagance. From the few ſpecimens, which we have ſeen, we are diſpoſed to acquieſce in this opinion. It may not be fair to judge from tranſlations; and when we have read the *Robbers*, and ſome other German plays in Engliſh, we have lamented, that we thereby loſt the harmonious periods, and the ſmooth and poliſhed verſes, which, no doubt, we ſhould have admired in the original. Metaphors, that might have been brilliant, and exclamations and interjections, which might have been extremely moving in the German, become ludicrous to us when expreſſed in our own vernacular tongue, and when uttered in plain Engliſh accents.

The

The fame judgment, which can approve of the tranflated works of Schiller and Kotzebue, is not likely to be delighted with the more regular productions of the French dramatifts. The truth, indeed, is, that even Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, have comparatively few admirers in England. The common objections, which are made to their works by our critics, are not the fole reafons which influence the national tafte. It is faid, that the French verfification is monotonous; that the rhymes are fatiguing to the ear; that the fpeeches are too long and too declamatory; that the heroes of Greece and Rome are converted into French courtiers; and that there is too much gallantry and too little paffion in the principal fcenes. We believe no candid critic, whether French or Englifh, will deny the general juftice of thefe objections; and yet we fufpect there is one which remains behind, of which the influence is at leaft as powerful as any of the reft.

We are not pleafed with a regular drama. Our pit and our galleries have no great notion of fine verfification and beautiful poetry. They generally decide the fate of a new piece; and the rules of art, and the higher graces of compofition, are all loft on the honeft fhopkeepers, and induftrious tradefmen, who feek for a few hours of recreation at the theatre from their ufual occupations. Our fine gentlemen, and our women of fafhion, feldom difturb the tranquillity of the audience by the expreffion either of their applaufe, or of their difapprobation. They are generally too much occupied with themfelves, or elfe they are too liftlefs to attend to any thing which may be paffing on the ftage. Hence it appears, that our dramatic writers wifely forbear from attempting to pleafe refined fpectators. Hence the rules of art are abandoned; the fcene is full of buftle and confufion, probability is forgotten, and extravagance is applauded. The fable, the plot, the incidents, the characters, and the dialogue, are, indeed, of little importance to the *fhow-man*, in comparifon with the fcenery and the decorations; but when he would avail himfelf of them as powerful auxiliaries, he muft then remember whom it is, that he has to pleafe. To amufe the mere vulgar, his fable cannot be the worfe for being a little improbable, nor his characters for being a little extravagant. When his actors declaim, their ftyle fhould be highly florid, their language hyperbolical, and their metaphors mixed. Such fentiments as are toafted with applaufe at a tavern-dinner fhould be loudly vociferated; and a favourite truifm fhould ever be ready to hobble forward in a verfe. Tragedy, comedy, and farce, fhould be well jumbled together; Melpomene fhould never long keep poffeffion of the fcene; and a fong may now and then be advantageoufly introduced, left the fpectators fhould grow too impatient for the tune of *God fave the King*, or *the Roaft Beef of Old England.*

It

It is but justice to the critics to admit, that they are in general as little satisfied with the modern drama as we are ourselves. May it not, however, be asked, whether they have not greatly contributed to bring about the evil of which they complain? There was a time when they were in possession of the pit. But, even then, they never encouraged the regular drama. Dr Johnson led on *the dogs of war;* and their cry was for liberty and nature, for tragi-comedy and Shakespeare. They declaimed against rules, and ridiculed the French for observing them. Dr Johnson wrote against the unities, in his preface to Shakespeare; and condescended to insert the criticism of John Dennis upon Cato, in his life of Addison. We now gather the fruits of his toil. Voltaire said that Shakespeare had spoiled the taste of the English nation. We will not say this; but we think that the defenders of his irregularities have not improved it.

When we first were informed that the tragedy of the Templars had been represented with considerable success at Paris, we became anxious to obtain a copy of it. Within a few days of the time when we are now writing, this publication was put into our hands. The task of reviewing it has been greater than we reckoned for, as we did not expect to get a history into the bargain. It has, however, afforded us some consolation to think, that we may perhaps be enabled to amuse our readers, by giving them an account of a drama which has pleased at Paris. They will make their own reflections on the very different tastes for theatrical exhibitions, which prevail in the two greatest capitals of Europe.

The first scene of the tragedy of the Templars did not much prepossess us in its favour. The Lord High Chancellor of France, and the Minister of Finance, meet in the palace of the Grand Master. These grave personages, who are no very poetical characters, hold a long consultation, in masculine and feminine rhimes, on the fate of the order. The Minister of Finance *prologiseth* thus.

> 'Illustre Chancelier, le Roi que je devance,
> Veut que dans ce palais j'annonce sa presence.
> Vous savez son dessein: avant la fin du jour
> Un grand événement étonnera la cour.'

The Chancellor replies in the same strain.

> 'Ministres l'un et l'autre, il faut que notre zèle
> De Philippe outragé défende la querelle.'

Now, although these grave statesmen let each other into some very important political secrets during the course of their conversation, we must confess, that we could not get *Noodle* and *Doodle* out of our heads during the whole scene. At length the Grand Master interrupts the conference. The Lord High Chancellor announces

announces to him the diſſolution of the Order of the Templars. *Jaques de Molay*, who could neither read nor write, makes a very brilliant harangue, and adviſes the ſervants of the King not to forget that he is ſtill Grand Maſter.

> ' Ce n'eſt pas que le Roi nous puiſſe humilier ;
> Mais que ſes ſerviteurs ſe gardent d'oublier
> Qu'en ce palais encore ils parlent au grandmaitre :
> Oui, je le ſuis toujours, je ſaurai toujours l'etre. '

The Grand Maſter quits them ; and the Miniſters, more perplexed than ever, renew their conference. They are interrupted by Philip, who arrives with his ſuite, and with Marigni, the ſon of the Miniſter of Finance, who had already informed the Chancellor, that he hated the Templars, becauſe they had prevented this young man from marrying a certain damſel of the name of Adelaide. The King orders his Miniſters to declare to his Court, that he ſhould afterwards reſide in the palace of the Grand Maſter ; and confeſſes how unwilling he has been to believe, that the Order was capable of inſulting the church, and of betraying the ſtate. We ſhall briefly obſerve here, that this laſt accuſation, which is repeatedly made in the play, has never been even hinted at in the hiſtory of the Templars. Philip then appeals to the young Marigni, who had ſerved with the knights, for a confirmation of their guilt ; but this generous youth, to the great ſurpriſe of his Sovereign, and to the extreme vexation of his father, makes a very long ſpeech in favour of the Order. Philip anſwers him in a ſpeech equally long, and thus concludes the firſt act. *

The

* Upon what principle the moderns have been accuſtomed to divide their tragedies into five acts, it would be difficult to ſay. Was it from a miſunderſtood expreſſion of an ancient poet? The diviſions adopted by the Greeks were much more natural. A tragedy, like every other poem, requires a beginning, a middle, and an end. The prologue was that part of it which preceded the firſt ſong of the chorus, and in which the ſubject was announced ; the epiſode included all the dialogue between the firſt ſong of the chorus and the laſt ; the epode was the winding up, or concluſion of the piece. The chief action, and the incidents which changed the ſituation of the perſons, and which varied their fortunes, were introduced in the epiſode. Now the ſecond, third, and fourth acts of regular modern tragedies, correſpond in this reſpect with the epiſode of the Greeks. But it would be difficult to ſhow that the Greeks confined themſelves to any certain number of acts. The truth ſeems rather to be, that the chorus ſung whenever there was naturally a pauſe in the action. The Greeks made the pauſes depend upon the ſtory ; the moderns are often compelled to interrupt the ſtory in order to make the pauſes.

The subject having been announced in the first act of the tragedy before us, the incidents commence, according to rule, in the second. The young Marigni appears alone. He laments that some secret mystery renders his nuptials with Adelaide a crime. The Queen of France and Navarre had deigned to protect him. She comes to offer him the hand of Adelaide, which had been before refused him, as his father thought, through the intrigues of the Templars. Now, this lady was the daughter of the Prince of Béarn: and the Queen proposed to make Marigni happy and great, by presenting to him the object of his affections as a wife, and by appointing him governor of the kingdom of Navarre. Her surprize then is natural, when the young man informs her, with many compliments prettily turned in verse, and quite *à la Françoise*, that it is not in his power to accept her offer. The Queen lays her commands on him to reveal the secret motive which actuates his conduct. Marigni confesses, that despairing of receiving the hand of Adelaide, he had gone to the Holy Land, where he had become a Templar, and at the same time made a vow never to marry. As those who had received him into the Order were now all dead, he had some thoughts of never revealing the secret. Finding, however, the danger which menaced the Templars, his generosity triumphed over his love, and he resolved to remain faithful to their cause. The benevolent Queen encourages him in this intention; and requests that he will become the chief of their guard.

'Ils connaitront par vous, que je prends leur defence:
Faites dans leur prison descendre l'esperance.'

When the Queen leaves Marigni, he expresses his grief in a short soliloquy; and is then joined by his father, who informs him, that the King has determined on the destruction of the Templars, and has appointed him to execute the royal vengeance. There is something very French in the following couplet.

'Je viens de demander, et d'obtenir pour toi
L'honneur de diriger la vengeance du roi.'

Philip now returns, and declaims against the Templars at great length; his Lord High Chancellor, and his Minister of Finance, occasionally helping him with a few invectives, in order to give him time to breathe. In the midst of this scene the Lord Constable makes his appearance. He pleads the cause of the Templars. The King replies very shortly to him, and goes to speak to the Grand Inquisitor, who is waiting for him without. A short but sharp altercation then takes place between the Constable, the Chancellor, and the Minister. The stage is not quite the place for holding a cabinet council.

The Grand Master and the Knights reappear. He notifies to them

them the danger which threatens them, and exhorts them to prepare for death with the courage of innocent and religious men. The young Marigni arrives; and, struggling between his duty and all the fondest wishes of his heart, announces to them, that he is commanded by the King to conduct them to prison. The Grand Master answers with dignity and firmness.

' Lorsque l'ordre n'est plus, qu'importe notre vie?
Quand nous trouvons partout l'affreuse calomnie,
Si l'échaffaut est prêt, c'est à nous d'y courir;
Que tout Templier meure, et soit fier de mourir. '

Marigni is struck with these words. His conscience upbraids him. He remembers his oaths. He throws himself on his knees before the Grand Master, declares he will perish with him, and adds,

' Sur moi de vos vertus, que Philippe se venge:
Oui, je suis Templier.
G. M. Je le savais. '

The Grand Master objects to the sacrifice which the young man is willing to make of himself. At length the elder Marigni, impatient at his son's delay, enters, and orders the soldiers to conduct the Knights to prison. An interesting scene now takes place between the father and the son. The young Marigni avows that he is a Templar, to his father, the avowed enemy of the Order, and one of the principal advisers of its destruction.

The fourth act opens with a conversation between the Queen and the High Constable, who consult how they may still save the Templars from death. The King joins them, and the Queen addresses a long and eloquent speech to him in their favour. The following lines may serve as a specimen of it.

' Si je prends le parti de tant de malheureux,
' J'agis pour votre gloire encor plus que pour eux.
Vous livrez ces guerriers à ce juge implacable,
Qui force l'innocent à s'avouer coupable;
Qui se dit convaincu dès qu'il peut soupçonner,
Et commence à punir avant de condamner.
Le Ministre d'un Dieu de paix et de clemence,
Sur un saint tribunal fait asseoir la vengeance!
Devant lui l'accusé se trouble et se confond;
La torture interroge, et la douleur repond. '

The King is persuaded to listen to the justification of the Grand Master. The latter, indignant at hearing that he is accused of irreligion, defends himself against that calumny; and exclaims,

' Ah! Sire, vous pouvez souffrir ces injustices! '

Philip replies,

' Je puis vous annoncer l'aveu de vos complices. '

The Grand Master then learns that some of the Knights had confessed;

confeſſed; and is yet more afflicted, when the King orders *Loigneville* to be brought before him, and when this ancient friend of the Grand Maſter appears as one of thoſe who had borne witneſs againſt the Templars. *Loigneville* replies to the queſtions of his ſuperior, who can ſcarcely bring himſelf to believe in his guilt.

'Mon cœur eſt innocent, mais ma bouche eſt coupable.'

Overcome by the ſeverity of his ſufferings, he had avowed whatever the Inquiſitor pleaſed to dictate. This was the weakneſs of nature, and not the crime of the heart. The King, enraged, drives the Templars from his preſence. The Chancellor arrives; announces the guilt of the young Marigni, and is quickly followed by the father of that unfortunate young man. He pleads the cauſe of his ſon. Philip anſwers him with the ſternneſs of a maſter, and with the jealouſy of a tyrant.

In the fifth Act, the unity of place ſeems to be violated. The Templars were confined in priſon. It muſt, conſequently, be there that they were aſſembled, when the young Marigni addreſſes them upon his return from the trial. The hopes which he encourages them to entertain of their eſcape from the ſcaffold, are diſſipated on the appearance of the Grand Maſter, who comes back the laſt from being examined by the Inquiſitors. Theſe hopes are again revived by the High Conſtable, who announces that the King is yet willing to pardon them. Philip arrives, and offers to liberate them, on condition that they confeſs their guilt. They refuſe, and are led away to the ſcaffold. The Queen intercedes for them once more; and Philip conſents again to offer them pardon. But it is now too late. The High Conſtable returns, and announces that the Templars have periſhed in the flames.

Such is the outline of a tragedy, which has been lately repreſented with applauſe at Paris. We cannot ſay that we find in it much of that brilliant genius which marks the beſt plays of Corneille; and it has ſtill leſs of that *pathos* which charms us in Racine. Many of the ſcenes are cold and languid. There is little paſſion, and conſequently little intereſt. The ſituation of the young Marigni would frequently excite our pity, if he ſeemed to have more feeling for himſelf. The Grand Maſter is a virtuous and ſtern barbarian, in whoſe inflexible character we do not recognize the temporiſing ſpirit of *Jaques de Molay*, who confeſſed, who retracted his confeſſion, and who probably would have been equally burnt if he had not. Philip is like many other tyrants of the ſtage, who ſtrut and fret their hour, and are forgotten. But what could induce M. Raynouard to make a chancellor and a miniſter of ſtate, two principal characters in his tragedy? The former is a mere ſpeaking puppet; the latter might have been better announced to us under the name of Marigni the father.

The good taste of Corneille and Racine, induced them to dispense with the guards and usual attendants of kings. Why did our author introduce the Privy Council of Philip the Fair? Besides, a lord high chancellor, a minister of finance, and a great constable, are no more tragic characters, than a justice of the peace, or a colonel of volunteers.

Having perused these strictures on the tragedy of the Templars, some of our readers may think it strange, that if they be just, the piece could have succeeded. The admirers of our modern plays will be astonished at the taste of the Parisians. Here is a regular tragedy, in which the rules of criticism are never violently offended, and where, indeed, they are generally observed. There is no shifting of scenes; the stage is never left empty during the same act. There are no processions, no spectres; and no battles. Not a single person dies upon the stage, to entertain the spectators. There is no buffoon to make us laugh in the midst of a tale of sorrow. All the actors speak in verse. The principal persons do not affect a pompous and inflated style; while the others talk the language of the ale-house. We have remarked no monstrous metaphors, and no very hyperbolical expressions. The incidents are not improbable. Nothing impossible is admitted. The mechanist could have very little to do with the success of the play. The tragic muse keeps possession of the stage, and never descends from her *cothurni*, to shew to the galleries that she is not really so tall as she seems to be.

How then could it happen, that the tragedy of M. Raynouard succeeded? This must, indeed, be a mystery to the admirers of those tragi-comical things, which are represented with so much applause in London. We believe the truth to be this. The French consider a tragedy as a poem, which may be acted upon the stage; but they never forget that it is a poem. Now, although the tragedy of the Templars have many defects, and although the interest be not kept alive; yet it contains some fine passages, and many excellent verses. A French audience is very attentive to these things. It would appear, that a Parisian critic cannot suffer all rules to be violated, in favour of extravagant conceptions; and would rather dispense with decorations and scenery, than with fitness and probability. Fine language, it would seem, is more important, in his opinion, than all the tricks of Harlequin. He thinks there can be no beauty where there is no propriety. He prefers simplicity to confusion; nor when he is disposed to be melancholy, does he love a coarse joke, or an impertinent piece of buffoonery.

We shall conclude, by giving the following extract from one of the speeches of Philip. The allusion in the last lines was probably

bably applauded at Paris. We can applaud the lines, and ſmile at the alluſion.

‘ Quelques faits éclatants ont illuſtré mon règne :
Il faut que l'étranger me reſpecte ou me craigne.
Le François me cherit, depuis qu'en nos états,
Où délibéroient ſeuls les grands et les prelats,
Le premier, j'ai du peuple introduit le ſuffrage ;
Le peuple dans nos lois honore ſon ouvrage.
Le Pontife Romain, hardi dans ſes projets,
Ne voyoit dans le rois que des premiers ſujets :
Un prêtre de nos lois ſe prétendoit l'arbitre.
J'ai bravé ſon audace en reſpectant ſon titre ;
Et tandis que le bruit de ſes foudres ſacrés
Epouvantoit encor les peuples égarés,
Moi, diſcutant les droits de l'autel et du trône,
J'ai contre la thiare élevé la couronne,
Et d'un Pontife altier reprimant les vains droits,
J'aurai de ſa tutelle affronchi tous les rois.
Les exploits d'Edouard menacent-ils la France ?
Il expie auſſitôt ſa ſuperbe imprudence.
L'Anglois fuit, et laiſſant nos rivages deſerts,
Met entre nous et lui la barrière des mers.
Aux flots de l'ocean il demande un aſile ;
La terreur de mon nom le pourſuit dans ſon ile ;
Juſtement effrayé de mes hardis projets,
En vaſſal de ma gloire il accepte la paix.’

Art. XV. *Miscellaneous Poetry.* By the Honourable W. Herbert. 2 vol. 8vo. Longman & Co. 1804.

These little volumes contain a variety of translations from the Norse, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, &c. with a few original pieces. Those by which we have been most interested, are contained under the title of ‘ Select Icelandic Poetry,’ being versions of celebrated passages in the Edda of Sæmundar, and other specimens of Scaldic poetry. These translations form the *first* part of the first volume, and the *second* part of the second ; a confused and capricious arrangement, which we wish had been avoided. They are, to a certain degree, a novelty in our literature ; for although translations of many of these very pieces have been made by poets of different degrees of merit, from Gray to Amos Cottle, yet it has happened rather perversely, that not one of these translators understood the original Icelandic, but contented themselves with executing their imitations

from the Latin version, and thus presenting their readers with the shadow of a shade. We can only estimate the injustice which the old Scalds sustained in this operation, by considering what sort of translation could be made of any Greek poet from the Latin version. Mr Herbert has stepped forward to rescue these ancient poets from this ignominious treatment; and his intimate acquaintance with the languages of the North is satisfactorily displayed in an introductory address to the Hon. C. Anker, Director of the Danish East Indian Company, executed in Danish poetry, as well as by many learned criticisms scattered through the work. We do not pretend any great knowledge of the Norse; but we have so far 'traced the Runic rhyme,' as to be sensible how much more easy it is to give a just translation of that poetry into English than into Latin; and, consequently, how much is lost by the unnecessary intermediate transfusion. Indeed, the double difficulty of first rendering the Norse into the Latin, and then the Latin into the English, and thus interposing a version in a foreign and uncongenial tongue, between the original and the English, although this last is a kindred language, very similar, in its more ancient idiom to the Icelandic, has led to many, and some very absurd errors, in what has hitherto been given as Scaldic poetry. For example, in the famous death-song of Regnar Lodbrog, that renowned warrior has been made to assert, that the joy of a bloody battle, which he had just described, was superior to that of sleeping with a young virgin; and, in another passage, he is made to aver yet more specifically, that the pleasure of battering the helmet with the keen falchion, was like that of kissing a young widow reclining upon a high seat. Now, whatever partiality Regnar might entertain for the sport of swords, the dance of Hilda, and for his favourite amusement of hacking with helmets, he had too much taste to give the preference imputed in these passages, which are thus justly rendered by Mr Herbert.

'Bucklers brast, and men were slain;
Stoutest skulls were cleft in twain.
'Twas *not*, I trow, like wooing rest
On gentle maiden's snowy breast.'

Again—

————————' where falchions keen
Bit the helmet's polish'd sheen.
'Twas *not* like kissing widow sweet
Reclining in the highest seat.'

Such was the real and unbiassed opinion of Regnar with the Hairy Breeches; and truly we heartily join in it. The elegant Mason, as well as Bishop Percy, fell into a similar blunder in translating

translating the Love-song of Harold the valiant, which they understood to be a complaint, that, notwithstanding all the great deeds which he had performed, 'a Russian maiden scorned his love.' Now, this burden,

> 'Tho lætr gerdr i Gordum
> Gullhrings vid mer ſkolla,'

is accurately rendered by Mr Herbert, after Perinskiold,

> 'With golden ring in Ruſſian land,
> To me, the virgin plights her hand.'

Having noticed these gross errors, it is unnecessary to say how much of the spirit of the poetry, which is so much more volatile, must necessarily have escaped in versions, where even plain sense and meaning is so sadly corrupted. We therefore hail with pleasure, an attempt to draw information from the fountain-head, especially where it is interesting both in point of intrinsic poetic merit, and as a curious source of historic investigation.

The character of the ancient Scaldic poetry is various. It is often, especially when mythological, so extremely obscure, that it defies interpretation. This seems to proceed chiefly from the metaphorical and paraphrastic style, which was considered as an high ornament in such compositions. Instead of giving the name of a person mentioned, it is the fashion to call him the son of such a one, or the brother or the spouse of such another; and as the said father, brother, or wife, had probably fifty names, it becomes extremely difficult, in many cases, to hit upon the individual who is intended. In like manner, a ship is the sea serpent, or the rider of the wave, or the *ask* or water-newt, or something else which still less readily conveys the meaning. In poems composed in this style, it seems to have been the object of the poet to convert every line into a sort of riddle, for the exercise of the ingenuity of the hearer, who was thus obliged to fight his way from one verse to another, having, for his sole reward, the pleaſure of penetrating myſtery, and conquering ſtudied obſcurity. Great part of the Edda of Sæmund is involved in this artificial darkneſs, and is therefore poſitively untranſlateable. But in the more popular poetry, the romances, war-odes, and ſongs ſung to the great in their feſtivals, when their Honours, like Mungo in the farce, probably wiſhed to hear ſomething which they could underſtand, another and more ſimple kind of poetry was adopted. The following very ſingular poem affords a curious ſpecimen of this latter kind of compoſition; for though the perſonages are mythological, yet the tale is romantic, and the ſtyle of a ſimple kind, adapted to general comprehenſion. It is called the Song of Thrym, or the Recovery of the Hammer, from the principal perſonage and incident. This hammer was a ſort of

 ſceptre

sceptre or mace, used by Thor, the Mars of the Scandinavians, and on which much of his power depended. It was probably like those maces of arms which were used in war as low as the middle of the seventeenth century.* The translation is so admirably executed, that it might be mistaken for an original.

'Wrath waxed Thor, when his sleep was flown,
And he found his trusty hammer gone;
He smote his brow, his beard he shook,
The son of earth 'gan round him look;
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Now listen what I tell thee, Loke;
Which neither on earth below is known,
Nor in Heaven above; my hammer's gone."
Their way to Freyia's bower they took,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Thou, Freyia, must lend a winged robe,
To seek my hammer round the globe."

'FREYIA *sung*.

"That shouldst thou have, though 'twere of gold,
And that, though 'twere of silver, hold."
Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Asgard grounds,
And ere he has reached the Jotunheim bounds.
High on a mound in haughty state
Thrym the king of the Thursi sate;
For his dogs he was twisting collars of gold,
And trimming the manes of his coursers bold.'

'THRYM *sung*.

"How fare the Asi? the Alsi how?
Why com'st thou alone to Jotunheim now?"

'LOKE *sung*.

"Ill fare the Asi; the Alsi mourn;
Thor's hammer from him thou hast torn."

'THRYM *sung*.

"I have the Thunderer's hammer bound,
Fathoms eight beneath the ground;
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bring me Freyia to share my bed."
Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Jotunheim bounds,
And ere he has reach'd the Asgard grounds.
At Midgard Thor met crafty Loke,
And this the first word, that he spoke;

"Have

* Lithgow, the Scotish traveller, mentions maces as used by the English at the siege of Newcastle in 1646, of which he gives a very curious account.

« Have you your errand and labor done ?
Tell from aloft the course, you run.
For setting oft the story fails,
And lying oft the lie prevails. »

' LOKE *sung*.

« My labor is past, mine errand I bring ;
Thrym has thine hammer, the giant king :
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bear him Freyia to share his bed. »
Their way to lovely Freyia they took,
And this the first word that he spoke ;
« Now, Freyia, busk, as a blooming bride ;
Together, we must, to Jotunheim ride. »
Wrath waxed Freyia with ireful look ;
All Asgard's hall with wonder shook ;
Her great bright necklace started wide.
« Well may ye call me a wanton bride,
If I with ye to Jotunheim ride. »
The Asi did all to council crowd,
The Asiniæ all talk'd fast and loud ;
This they debated, and this they sought,
How the hammer of Thor should home be brought.
Up then and spoke Heimdallar free,
Like the Vani, wise was he ;
« Now busk we Thor, as a bride so fair ;
Let him that great bright necklace wear ;
Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare ;
And high and quaintly braid his hair. »
Wrath waxed Thor with godlike pride ;
« Well may the Asi me deride,
If I let me be dight, as a blooming bride. »
Then up spoke Loke, Laufeyia's son ;
« Now hush thee, Thor ; this must be done :
The giants will strait in Asgard reign,
If thou thine hammer dost not regain. »
Then busk'd they Thor, as a bride so fair,
And the great bright necklace gave him to wear ;
Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare ;
And high and quaintly braided his hair.
Up then arose the crafty Loke,
Laufeyia's son, and thus he spoke ;
« A servant I thy steps will tend,
Together we must to Jotunheim wend. »

Now home the goats together hie;
Yoked to the axle they swiftly fly.
The mountains shook, the earth burn'd red,
As Odin's son to Jotunheim sped.
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said;
" Giants, stand up; let the seats be spread:
Bring Freyia Niorder's daughter down
To share my bed from Noatun.
With horns all gilt each coal-black beast
Is led to deck the giant's feast;
Large wealth and jewels have I stored;
I lack but Freyia to grace my board."
Betimes at evening they approach'd,
And the mantling ale the giants broach'd.
The spouse of Sifia ate alone
Eight salmons, and an ox full-grown,
And all the cates, on which women feed;
And drank three firkins of sparkling mead.
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said;
" Where have ye beheld such a hungry maid?
Ne'er saw I bride so keenly feed,
Nor drink so deep of the sparkling mead."
Then forward lent the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke;
" Nought has she eat for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."
He stoop'd beneath her veil to kiss,
But he started the length of the hall, I wiss.
" Why are the looks of Freyia so dire?
It seems, as her eyeballs glisten'd with fire."
Then forward lent the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke;
" Nought has she slept for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."
Then in the giant's sister came,
Who dared a bridal gift to claim;
" Those rings of gold from thee I crave,
If thou wilt all my fondness have,
All my love and fondness have."
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said;
" Bear in the hammer to plight the maid;
Upon her lap the bruizer lay,
And firmly plight our hands and fay." *
The Thunderer's soul smiled in his breast,
When the hammer hard on his lap was placed;
Thrym first the king of the Thursi he slew,
And slaughter'd all the giant crew.

* *faith.*

He slew that giant's sister old,
Who pray'd for bridal gifts so bold.
Instead of money and rings, I wot,
The hammer's bruises were her lot.
Thus Odin's son his hammer got.' Vol. I. p. 1.—8.

In this little tale, the genius of the rude people, for whom it was composed, may easily be recognized. We were very much amused with the brutal stupidity of the giant, a quality which seems always to have been an attribute of the sons of Anak, with the rival obtuseness of intellect displayed by the godlike Thor, who, like Ajax, seems to have 'worn his brains in his belly, and his guts in his head;' and above all, with the insinuating address of the crafty Loke, who devised such marvellous good apologies for the circumstances in the bride's conduct, which excited poor Thrym's astonishment. The whole is a very curious specimen of the Northern romance. The notes upon it, and indeed throughout, display an intimate acquaintance with Scandinavian lore, and lead us to expect with anxiety a promised dissertation upon the ancient history and literature of Iceland.

Although we have selected this comic tale as one of the most entertaining, these volumes contain many strains of higher mood; many of those wild and wondrous stories of knight-errantry and witchcraft, which are the natural subjects of poetry in a rude and credulous age; and many of the songs of war and battle which stimulated the frantic valour of the Scandinavians. The following commencement of a war ode is very spirited: it is supposed to be sung by Biarko, the famous champion of Hrolfe Kraka, on the night when that monarch and all his chivalry were surprised and assassinated. It is imperfect; but Saxo-Grammaticus has favoured the world with a Latin imitation; and we think, though we are by no means certain, that something of the same kind may be found in the small volume containing the history of Hrolf Kraka, drawn up by Torfaeus, and published at Copenhagen in 1715.

'The day has dawn'd; the plumed helms sound;
'Tis time to tread the battle's ground.
Wake and ay wake each friendly head,
The latest prop of Adils dead!
Strong Har, and Hrolf, whose darts ne'er fail,
Men nobly born, who never quail.
For wine, or women, wake ye not!
Wake for the battle's hardy lot!' Vol. I. p. 125.

The other translations are less generally interesting than those from the Icelandic. There is, however, one poem from the Danish, which we transcribe as an instance how very closely the ancient popular ballad of that country corresponds with our own. It is said to have been taken down in the 17th century, from

from oral recitation, and that the old people at Höybye then pointed out the scene of the disastrous event, and the hill upon which divine service was performed, till the Pope recalled the interdiction.

' Sir Ebba let bigg a bower so tall,
As still each native knows,
There sing the small thrush and the nightingale,
Two damsels within it repose.

Sir Ebba he must to Iceland go
To bear his lord's behest;
That bower, I ween, his daughters two
Will find no place of rest.

Sir Bonda and Sir Schinnild there
Leagued with their mother came,
To harm Sir Ebba's daughters fair,
And work them scath and shame.

The younger brother trembled sore
To work the damsels' shame.
" Come Sir Ebba in peace to his native shore,
He venges his daughters' fame."

Then pale and wan grew his mother's face,
And savage wax'd her heart.
" Thou bear'st not the soul of thy father's race,
But play'st a coward's part.

There's none within to check your might
Beside two varlets small;
And, were they both in iron dight,
They must before ye fall."

Early in the morning
They whet the shining spear;
At the close of evening
Before the bower appear.

Under the lofty chamber's tier
In rush'd the knights amain;
They ask no leave, they know no fear,
But fast the chamber gain.

Up then awoke those ladies fair
To guard their maiden pride;
Sir Bonda and Sir Schinnild there
Lay by their snowy side.

The damsels wept full bitterly
With many a maiden tear;
And pray'd them for their modesty
To dread their father dear.

Up

Up rose the knights, and went forth, ere
Day lit the mountain's side;
They thank'd for what they gain'd by fear,
But dared not longer bide.

The younger sister wailed soon,
For she fell first to shame;
"Let us sink with a stone in the billows down,
And bury our blighted fame."

The eldest sister answer'd strait;
"Nay, gentle sister, nay,
Our sire from Iceland we'll await;
He'll venge us, if he may."

It was the good Sir Ebba there,
From Iceland home he came;
To meet him both his daughters fair
All weeping went with shame.

"Now welcome, welcome, father dear;
So sore for you we cried;
Sir Bonda and Sir Schinnild here
Have stain'd our maiden pride."

Sir Ebba's heart wax'd sore with woe,
To hear their mournful plight;
And, "Ill to Iceland did I go;
Now come the deadly fight!"

"You must not for our ravish'd fame
Bear helm and weapons keen;
We will by craft avenge our shame,
Though reft of honor sheen."

It falls upon a Christmas night,
To mass the people hies;
Betimes to whet their daggers bright
Sir Ebba's daughters rise.

Now shall Sir Ebba's daughters do
A deed of scath, I ween;
But they must not to the altar go
Without their weapons keen.

Lady Metelill smiled, and a glowing hue
Gleam'd under her rosy skin;
And, "Stand ye up, like ladies true!
Let the brides of my children in!"

Sir Bonda and Sir Schinnild there
To join the mass had sped;
And Trunda young, and Zenild fair,
Did fast behind them tread.

North

North within the armory bright
Young Trunda drew her blade ;
South before the altar's light
Sir Bonda 's fallen dead.

South beside the altar's ledge
Fair Zenild drew her knife ;
North upon the grunsel edge
Sir Schinnild lost his life.

" Here stand we now as widows two,
For neither is now a maid ;
And, lady, take your children two
To eat with salt and bread ! "

Seven winters o'er that mournful place
Sad interdiction hung ;
Nor rite was done, nor holy mass,
Nor funeral anthem sung.

On Helen's hill was a chapel built,
And there went woman and man ;
Till the Pope absolved the church from guilt,
And loosed the fatal ban. ' Vol. I. p. 22—28.

In this curious specimen of the Northern ballad, the traces of a very rude age may be discovered. The nature of the vengeance which Lady Metelill stimulates her sons to take upon the defenceless daughters of Sir Ebba, and the exulting insults with which she receives them at the church, are circumstances to be referred to a remote period of antiquity, and almost a savage state of manners. But we were most struck with its extreme resemblance, in style and structure, to the old ballads of our own country, which has been very dexterously preserved by the translator. We hope Mr Herbert will not confine his future researches to the Icelandic poetry, but will extend them to the popular poetry of Scandinavia, which we cannot help thinking is the real source of many of the tales of our minstrels. That there was a ready intercourse between the Northern romancers, and their brethren of the South, is evident from the titles of many of the MSS. which Wanley enumerates in his catalogue, as, for example ' Sagun af Kerla Magnuse og Koppum hans, i. e. the History of Charlemagne and his Paladins ; Sagan af Ivant Englands Kappe, that is, the Adventures of Sir Ywain, a champion of the Round Table, and others, whose titles obviously denote an English or French original. But, on the other hand, we suspect that our stock of popular poetry, and even that of the Anglo-Normans, was much enriched by the Northern traditions. Ugger, Ogier the Dane, as he is called by the French romancers, however he came to be accounted

accounted one of Charlemagne's Paladins, has evidently derived his original renown from some Northern saga. In King Lear, among other scraps of old songs quoted by Edgar, in his assumed madness, we have this fragment :

> ' Child Rowland to the dark tower came,
>
> The word was still fee faw fum,
> I smell the blood of a Christian man. '

The ballad or romance to which this quotation belongs, is to be found in the Kæmpe Visier, a Danish collection of ancient popular poetry, which we would beg leave to recommend, particularly, to the learned translator of Sir Ebba. Proud Ellen Lyle, had been carried off by a sort of sea-monster or dæmon, called Rosmer; and, like Chrystalline la Curieuse, in Count Hamilton's tales, was immured by him in an enchanted dwelling. Her brother Rowland, having traversed the seas in quest of her, at length arrives at the place of her confinement, and she conceals him to prevent his being put to death by Rosmer. When that dæmon arrives, he greets his affrighted spouse with the two last lines of gigantic ejaculation—

> ' Fee faw fum !
> I smell the blood of a Christian man. '

This curious old ballad has been lately translated by Mr Robert Jamieson of Riga, and published in a collection of Scotish ballads, with one or two others, which tend strongly to prove, that much of our popular minstrelsy was of Danish, at least of Scandinavian origin.

We have been so copious in our extracts from the Northern Poems, that we have little time to notice the others. Mr Herbert, from the formation of his style, seems to succeed best in those which he takes from the German. There is a very good translation of the Blandiné and Lenardo of Bürger, which is impressive, although strongly marked with the taste for outrageous sensibility, which disgraces most German poetry. The story is that of Tancred and Sigismunda; but Bürger, though he borrowed liberally, and without acknowledgment, from the English authors, * was unable to reach the manly vigour of Dryden, and therefore balladized the old tale as he found it in Boccacio. We are surprised to find, that some of our brother reviewers, upon the slight

* Witness his generously adopting Bishop Percy's beautiful ballad of the Child of Elle ; and, having bestowed upon fair Ellen and her lover, the sounding names of Ritter Karl von Eichenhorst, and Fraulein Gertrude von Hochburg, his very gravely calling it an ancient German Tale.

slight foundation of a verse or two in this translation, have taxed Mr Herbert with favouring revolutionary and levelling opinions. We should think it difficult to read far in his book, without seeing traces of very opposite politics, and would be more apt to number this ingenious poet with a party who must be allowed to possess a large share of literary merit, and of whom a professed dislike to innovation has been the leading and distinguishing principle.

In the translations from the Spanish and Italian, we are chiefly displeased with a want of pliability, as it were, in Mr Herbert's language. It seems as if he had laboured among the rugged rhimes of the Scalds, until his style had become too rigid for transfusing the elegance and melody of the Southern poetry. There is, for instance, something embarrassed and cumbrous in the following expostulation of a lover to his mistress; and it would probably require more than one reading, ere the lady could comprehend the full force of the reproof.

> 'Charms, which are *thine*, not to bestow,
> Lady, was just, I freely own.
> Law to the taste was never known;
> The will must teach the heart to glow.
> But, while the breast is cold as snow,
> Thus to pretend a mutual fire;
> That, as delusive hopes expire,
> Keen anguish may the bosom rend:
> Such wrongs e'en pride to cowards lend,
> And vengeful thoughts inspire!' II. p. 21.

The original poetry with which these translations are interspersed, displays no peculiar vigour of imagination. Indeed, the author has in general chosen subjects which have been too frequently the theme of the Muses to admit of any great novelty in the mode of treating them. Thus, we have an Ode to Despair, in the first volume, very well executed for that kind of composition; but we have now seen so many of these addresses to personified passions, and are so much accustomed to the routine of their being supplied with appropriate amusements, and a suitable pedigree, that a disagreeable and unimpressive similarity is their principal characteristic. By the way, we meet one expression in this Ode, which we cannot approve of: we hear of a mother

> '—— round whose side with slow consuming pang
> The *barking dogs* of famine hang.'

Yet there are several instances of great felicity of expression in these original pieces; and we think the author excels in that very difficult class of which love is the subject. There is an elegance in some of these little pieces, which deserts him in his more sublime efforts; and, very contrary to the meritricious effusions of

of contemporary bards, we remark, with pleasure, that the passion which his verses express, is that pure and virtuous affection which sublimes and refines all that is connected with it. The piece, upon the whole, which we are inclined to consider as decidedly unworthy of the others, is a ballad called William Lambert—a Tale, which the author seems to have suspected was too simple for publication. But, however true and pleasing the incident which it contains, the account of a boy relieved from beggary by the liberality of the Lady Margaret, and who prefers being a gardener to going to sea, cannot be considered as generally interesting. In some of the verses, the author has in fact slid into that style of tawdry and affected simplicity, which we should have thought that he who has studied popular poetry upon the manliest models, would, of all persons, have been least likely to imitate. The choice of the orphan to stay with Lady Margaret, is, for example, thus expressed.

> ' The little boy he hied him in,
> And busk'd him in the hall
> And soon he was all trimly dig
> And waxed stout withal.
>
> " A boon, (he cried) fair Lady mine!
> O send me not to sea!
> For thou must be mine only friend,
> And I must bide with thee.
>
> O let me here thy garden tend,
> Hard by this pleasant bow'r;
> Here deck the lawn with careful hand,
> And rear each scented flow'r;
>
> The soft primrose, the violet blue,
> The glowing celandine;
> And cuckoo buds, and sorrel pale,
> And luscious sweet woodbine." II. p. 85, 86.

This is not genuine ballad poetry, which Mr Herbert can write when he pleases; but that spurious kind, which trickles through Sir Eldreds of the Bower, and other legendary ditties of the 18th century. It is the very last refuge of those who can do nothing better in the shape of verse; and a man of genius should disdain to invade the province of these dawdling rhymers.

Having discharged this unpleasing part of our task, we only add, that we wait with impatience for new information from Asgard, Midgard, and Jotunheim.

To the first volume there is added a Greek translation of Berrathon from Ossian, and a translation from Gesner into the same language, the last by William Frere.

ART.

Art. XVI. *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio.* By Henry Richard Lord Holland. 8vo. pp. 294. London, 1806.

This is evidently the work of a person of taste and intelligence, not much accustomed to write with a view to publication. It is composed in an easy, conversational style, with very little of the getting up of authorship, or the parade of literary accomplishments. It is written, however, in a very pleasing and lively manner, and indicates great good sense and liberality of sentiment; although the want of pretension is sometimes carried the length of carelessness, and the want of method is sometimes productive of considerable embarrassment. We are told, for instance, of Lope's elopement from school, and of his early addiction to poetry, some pages before we are informed of his birth; and many of the critical remarks on his genius and compositions, which are subjoined to the narrative of his life, and form the larger division of the volume before us, are rather unskilfully anticipated in the sketch which is given of the biography. The candour, sagacity, and good humour of the noble author, however, make ample amends for these little blemishes; and entitle the work to be considered as one of the most valuable contributions that has lately been made to our knowledge of Spanish literature.

Little is known of the history of this poetical prodigy, except what can be gathered from incidental notices in his own works, and from the eloge composed upon him by his admirer and contemporary Montalvan, who has thought it better to display his ingenuity in hyperbolical praises, than to record any of the facts which it might be interesting to posterity to learn. Perhaps it is from this cause that Lord Holland has omitted to inform us of the name of either of his parents, or of their fortune and condition in society. He was born, however, at Madrid, in 1562; and, before he was twelve years of age, he had composed several dramas in four acts. At the age of thirteen, he seems to have been seized with that restless spirit of enterprize and adventure, by which his countrymen were then so remarkably distinguished, and made his escape from school, in order to indulge his desire of seeing the world. His ramble, however, was stopped at Astorga, by the interference of a magistrate, and he was sent back to his lessons under the charge of a constable. He afterwards studied philosophy at Alcala, and was received with great distinction by the Duke of Alva, to whom he was presented at a very early age, and to whom he dedicated his Arcadia, the first

work

work of any considerable magnitude which he gave to the world. After this he appears to have resided for some time in the family of that powerful patron, and only to have left him upon the event of his marriage. After this he continued to write verses with as much ease and celebrity as before; and having wounded a rival poet in a duel, he was under the necessity of leaving Madrid, and taking up his residence for some time at Valencia. In a few years he returned with increased reputation to his native city, and very soon after sustained a severe shock from the death of his wife. To dissipate the melancholy produced by this disaster, he embarked in the celebrated Armada which was then fitting out to invade our coasts; and besides his share in the general discomfiture of the expedition, had to witness the afflicting spectacle of the death of his only brother, who expired at sea in his arms. During this calamitous voyage, however, he has himself assured us, that he composed his epic poem of the Hermosura de Angelica, in which he has attempted to complete what Ariosto left unfinished. The poem, however, was not published till 1602, when it made its appearance along with another epic, entitled the Dragontea, in which the crimes and the punishment of the English Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, are exhibited for the edification of all true Catholics.

In 1590, he seems to have returned to Madrid, and soon after to have married again. Of the rapidity with which he wrote, some idea may be formed from the following little anecdote.

'In 1598, on the canonization of St Isidore, a native of Madrid, he entered the list with several authors, and overpowered them all with the number, if not with the merit, of his performances. Prizes had been assigned for every style of poetry, but above one could not be obtained by the same person. Lope succeeded in the hymns; but his fertile muse, not content with producing a poem of ten cantos in short verse, as well as innumerable sonnets and romances, and two comedies on the subject, celebrated by an act of supererogation both the saint and the poetical competition of the day, in a volume of sprightly poems under the feigned name of Tomé de Burguillos.' p. 42, 43.

Soon after this he had the misfortune to lose his second wife and his only son; and seems to have been so much overpowered with these severe afflictions, that, after having served an apprenticeship as secretary to the Inquisition, he became a priest, and entered into the brotherhood of St Francis. He was engaged, at this time, in a sort of critical and literary feud with Cervantes, Gongora, and several other writers of distinction; but maintained his own popularity, and the merit of the style he had adopted, by such a multitude of successful productions, as put all his adversaries to silence. He afterwards produced his Jerusalem Conquistada,

quistada, as a sequel to the epic of Tasso, and continued, for several years, as Lord Holland has expressed it, 'seldom passing a year without giving an epic to the press, and scarcely a month, or even a week, without producing some play upon the stage.'

His reputation had now obtained a height, which, we believe, was never reached before by any living author.

'He dedicated,' says Lord Holland, 'his Corona Tragica, a poem on the Queen of Scots, to Pope Urban VIII., who had himself composed an epigram on the subject. Upon this occasion he received from that pontiff a letter written in his own hand, and the degree of doctor of theology. Such a flattering tribute of admiration sanctioned the reverence in which his name was held in Spain, and spread his fame through every Catholic country. The cardinal Barberini followed him with veneration in the streets; the King would stop to gaze at such a prodigy; the people crowded round him wherever he appeared; the learned and the studious thronged to Madrid from every part of Spain to see this phœnix of their country, this "monster of literature;" and even Italians, no extravagant admirers in general of poetry that is not their own, made pilgrimages from their country for the sole purpose of conversing with Lope. So associated was the idea of excellence with his name, that it grew, in common conversation, to signify any thing perfect in its kind; and a Lope diamond, a Lope day, or a Lope woman, became fashionable and familiar modes of expressing their good qualities. His poetry was as advantageous to his fortune as to his fame: the King enriched him with pensions and chaplaincies; the Pope honoured him with dignities and preferments; and every nobleman at court aspired to the character of his Mæcenas, by conferring upon him frequent and valuable presents. His annual income was not less than 1500 ducats, exclusive of the price of his plays, which Cervantes insinuates that he was never inclined to forego, and Montalvan estimates at 80,000. He received in presents from individuals as much as 10,500 more. His application of these sums partook of the spirit of the nation from which he drew them. Improvident and indiscriminate charity ran away with these gains, immense as they were, and rendered his life unprofitable to his friends and uncomfortable to himself.' p. 64—67.

It affords a striking and almost incredible instance of the immeasurable desires and extravagant ambition of poets to learn, that [illegible]

poverty, [illegible]

In 1630 he published his Laurel de Apolo, in which no fewer than 300 Spanish poets are characterized and commemorated; and continued to write plays, and receive applauses, till 1635, when his devotional habits degenerated into a hypochondriasm which bordered upon insanity; and he is said to have died in the latter end of that year, in consequence of the extreme severity with which

which he had performed upon himself the discipline of flagellation.

Such are the few facts which the industry of Lord Holland has been able to collect with regard to this phoenix of Spanish literature; and whether or not they are sufficient to redeem the lives of celebrated authors from the heavy charge of being tranquil and undisturbed, it must be admitted, that they serve abundantly to shew that such celebrity has no necessary connexion with respectability or happiness. This favourite of fortune, fame, and genius, was tormented all his days by a restless and discontented vanity; was the slave of jealousy, bigotry, and envy, and died at last a victim to the most degrading and miserable superstition.

When any one takes the trouble of writing a book upon the works of a foreign author, it is scarcely possible to resist the temptation of magnifying his merits a little beyond their true dimensions. It is natural to wish that the stranger whom we introduce should make a favourable impression, and to feel some anxiety to satisfy others, that we have not cultivated an acquaintance with one altogether unworthy of distinction. An observant reader may perhaps discover some traces of this partiality in the work before us; but it is but fair to Lord Holland to observe, that they are infinitely less apparent than in any other production of the kind we remember to have met with. He acknowledges, we think, with great candour, that Lope was more of a prodigy than a poet; and, though he claims some merit for him on the score of dramatic invention, he admits that his works are chiefly remarkable for their incredible multitude, and for the astonishing facility and despatch with which they were written. In this respect, indeed, he must be allowed to outstrip all writers ancient and modern. The gentleman in Horace, who made two hundred lines standing on one foot, was nothing at all to the scribbling improvisatore of Madrid; and the folio volumes of Sir Richard Blackmore, and the Dutchess of Newcastle, shrink into perfect insignificance beside the mountain of his productions. He outweighs any ten German civilians or commentators; and shoots far ahead, even of the longwinded Hindu, who spins out his immeasureable mythology into the mazes of the Bagavat Geeta. Lord Holland gives the following account of his fruitfulness.

'As an author he is most known, as indeed he is most wonderful, for the prodigious number of his writings. Twenty-one million three hundred thousand of his lines are said to be actually printed; and no less than eighteen hundred plays of his composition to have been acted on the stage. He nevertheless asserts in one of his last poems, that

'No es minima parte, aunque es exceso,
De lo que está por imprimir, lo impreso.'

 'The

' The printed part, though far too large, is less
Than that which yet unprinted waits the press. '

It is true that the Castilian language is copious; that the verses are often extremely short; and that the laws of metere and of rhyme are by no means severe. Yet were we to give credit to such accounts, allowing him to begin his compositions at the age of thirteen, we must believe that upon an average he wrote more than nine hundred lines a day; a fertility of imagination, and a celerity of pen, which, when we consider the occupations of his life as a soldier, a secretary, a master of a family, and a priest; his acquirements in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese, and his reputation for erudition, become not only improbable, but absolutely, and, one may almost say, physically impossible.

' As the credibility however of miracles must depend upon the weight of evidence, it will not be foreign to the purpose to examine the testimonies we possess of this extraordinary facility and exuberance of composition. There does not now exist the fourth part of the works which he and his admirers mention, yet enough remains to render him one of the most voluminous authors that ever put pen to paper. Such was his facility, that he informs us in his Eclogue to Claudio, that more than a hundred times, he composed a play, and produced it on the stage in twenty-four hours. Montalvan declares that he latterly wrote in metre with as much rapidity as in prose; and in confirmation of it he relates the following story.

" His pen was unable to keep pace with his mind, as he invented even more than his hand was capable of transcribing. He wrote a comedy in two days, which it would not be very easy for the most expeditious amanuensis to copy out in the time. At Toledo he wrote fifteen acts in fifteen days, which make five comedies. These he read at a private house, where Maestro Joseph de Valdebieso was present and was witness of the whole; but because this is variously related, I will mention what I myself know from my own knowledge. Roque de Figueroa, the writer for the theatre at Madrid, was at such a loss for comedies that the doors of the theatre de la Cruz were shut; but as it was in the Carnival, he was so anxious upon the subject that Lope and myself agreed to compose a joint comedy as fast as possible. It was the Tercera Orden de San Francisco, and is the very one in which Arias acted the part of the saint more naturally than was ever witnessed on the stage. The first act fell to Lope's lot, and the second to mine; we despatched these in two days, and the third was to be divided into eight leaves each. As it was bad weather, I remained in his house that night; and knowing that I could not equal him in the execution, I had a fancy to beat him in the despatch of the business; for this purpose I got up at two o'clock, and at eleven had completed my share of the work. I immediately went out to look for him, and found him very deeply occupied with an orange-tree that had been frost-bitten in the night. Upon my asking him how he had gone on with his task, he answered " I set about it at five; but I finished the act an hour ago; took a bit of ham for breakfast;

breakfast; wrote an epistle of fifty triplets, and have watered the whole of the garden: which has not a little fatigued me." Then taking out the papers, he read me the eight leaves and the triplets; a circumstance that would have astonished me, had I not known the fertility of his genius, and the dominion he had over the rhymes of our language."

'As to the number of his plays, all contemporary authors concur in representing it as prodigious. "At last appeared," says Cervantes in his prologue, "that prodigy of nature, the great Lope, and established his monarchy on the stage. He conquered and reduced under his jurisdiction every actor and author in the kingdom. He filled the world with plays written with purity, and the plot conducted with skill, in number so many that they exceed eighteen hundred sheets of paper; and what is the most wonderful of all that can be said upon the subject, every one of them have I seen acted, or heard of their being so from those that had seen them; and though there have been many who have attempted the same career, all their works together would not equal in quantity what this single man has composed.'" Montalvan asserts that he wrote eighteen hundred plays, and four hundred autos sacramentales; and asserts, that if the works of his literary idol were placed in one scale, and those of all antient and modern poets in the other, the weight of the former would decide the comparison in point of quantity, and be a fair emblem of the superiority in point of merit of Lope's verses over those of all other poets together.' p. 75—82.

Allowing every reasonable deduction for mistake and exaggeration, enough will still be left to render this a very interesting and extraordinary account. Such instances of intellectual agility, are as curious, though probably as useless, as the wonderful accomplishments of the body; and a man who can write two thousand verses in a day, is as well worth crowding after, as one who can walk two hundred miles in the same period, or balance ten tobacco pipes on different parts of his body. The comparison will appear more tolerable, when it is considered what were the feats upon which Lope seems chiefly to have valued himself.

'The most singular circumstance,' says Lord Holland, 'attending his verse, is the frequency and difficulty of the tasks which he imposes on himself. At every step we meet with *acrostics*, *echoes*, and compositions of that perverted but laborious kind, from attempting which another author would be deterred by the trouble of the undertaking, if not by the little real merit attending the achievement. They require no genius, but they exact much time; which one should think that such a voluminous poet could little afford to waste. But Lope made a parade of his power over the vocabulary; he was not contented with displaying the various order in which he could dispose the syllables and marshal the rhymes of his language, but he also prided himself upon the celerity with which he brought them to go through the most whimsical but the most difficult evolutions. He seems to have been partial to difficulties, for the gratification of surmounting them.' p. 201—2.

Of the poetical merit of these hasty productions, Lord Holland has given the following short and impartial character.

'Their merit consists chiefly in smoothness of versification and purity of language, and in facility rather than strength of imagination. He has much to say on every subject, and he expresses what he has to say in an easy style and flowing numbers; but he seldom interests the feelings, and never warms the imagination of the reader, though he often pleases by the facility and beauty of his language, and occasionally surprises by the exuberance and ingenuity of his illustrations. From this character of his writings, it will naturally be supposed that his epic poems are among the least brilliant of his compositions. Even the faculty of inventing an interesting story, for which, as a dramatic writer, he was so deservedly celebrated, seems to have forsaken him when he left the stage. His novels and epic poems are alike tedious and uninteresting.' p. 86—7.

'I have never read the Circe or the Andromeda. The Dragontea is full of virulent and unpoetical abuse, and gives a false account of the death of Sir Francis Drake. The Arcadia is, I believe, the best of his pastorals. They are not in general very accurate representations of the manners of shepherds, nor do they even afford many specimens of simple or natural poetry; but they all, especially the Pastores de Belen, contain translations, elegies, songs, and hymns, of considerable merit. In them are also to be found some of his most celebrated odes. Indeed, Spanish critics, and more especially Andres, who is far from being partial to his countrymen, seem to consider him as a great lyric poet. I do not venture to express any opinion upon compositions of that nature, because, after humorous and burlesque works, they are those of which a foreigner is least capable of forming a judgement. If, indeed, the admiration of strangers be an object, Lope must be considered as unlucky. His light and burlesque poems, most of which he published under the feigned name of Thomé de Burguillos, are those most generally admired by his countrymen. Of these, the Gatomachia, a mock heroic poem, is esteemed the best, and often cited as a model of versification. They are all sprightly, and written with ease; but their length makes one occasionally lament a facility which rendered the termination of any work of Lope, an act of grace to his readers, and not a matter of necessity to him.

'His epistles and didactic works are not much admired in Spain; but, though not exempt from the same defect, they seem to me replete with observation and good sense, conveyed in very pleasant language and flowing versification.' 93—5.

Of the Arcadia, he afterwards observes—

'The species of composition is in itself tedious, and the conduct of the Arcadia evidently absurd. A pastoral in five long books of prose run mad, in which the shepherds of Arcadia woo their [illegible]ineas in the language of Amadis rather than of Theocritus, in [illegible] they occasionally talk theology, and discuss in verse the origin and

and nature of grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, astrology, and poetry, and which they enliven by epitaphs on Castilian generals, and a long poem on the achievements of the Duke of Alva, and the birth of his son, is not well adapted to the taste of common readers, or likely to escape the censure of critics.'—'There are in it many harmonious lines, some eloquence, great facility and occasionally beauty of expression, and, above all, a prodigious variety of maxims, similes, and illustrations. These merits however, are disfigured by great deformities. The language, though easy and fluent, is not the language of nature; the versification is often eked out by unnecessary exclamations and unmeaning expletives; and the eloquence is at one time distorted into extravagant hyperbole, and at another degenerates into low and tedious common-place. The maxims, as in all Spanish authors of that time, are often trivial and often untrue. When they have produced an antithesis, they think they have struck out a truth. The illustrations are sometimes so forced and unnatural, that though they may display erudition and excite surprise, they cannot elucidate the subject, and are not likely to delight the imagination. They seem to be the result of labour, and not the creation of fancy, and partake more of the nature of conundrums and enigmas, than of similes and images. Forced conceits and play upon words are indeed common in this as in every work of Lope de Vega; for he was one of the authors who contributed to introduce that taste for false wit, which soon afterwards became so universally prevalent throughout Europe. Marino, the champion of that style in Italy, with the highest expressions of admiration for his model, acknowledges that he imbibed this taste from Lope, and owed his merit in poetry to the perusal of his works. There is one species of this false taste, which is particularly common in the Arcadia, and at the same time very characteristic of the poet's style in general. It is an accumulation of strained illustrations upon some particular subject, each generally included in the same number of lines, and all recapitulated at the end of the passage. The song of the Giant to Chrisalda, in the first book, is the most singular instance of this conceit, but is much too long to be transcribed. It is divided into seven strophes or paragraphs, most of which are subdivided into seven stanzas of four lines; in each stanza the beauty of Chrisalda is illustrated by two comparisons; and the names of the things to which she is compared are enumerated in the last stanza of each strophe, which alone consists of six lines, and which is not unlike a passage in the *Propria quæ maribus*, being chiefly composed of nouns substantive, without the intervention of a single verb. In the first strophe, she is compared to fourteen different celestial objects; in the next, to ten species of flowers; in the third, to as many metals and precious stones; in the fourth, to eleven birds of different sorts; in the fifth, to twelve trees of different names; in the sixth, to as many quadrupeds; and in the last, to the same number of marine productions.' p. 12. 14—17.

 Of

Of his six epics, Lord Holland leaves his readers to form their opinion from the general character which we have already extracted, and from an abstract of the Hermosura de Angelica, in which it is confessed to be full of tedious, minute, and common-place description, and narrative without spirit, circumstance, or poetry. The Corona Tragica, which was, during his life, the most popular of all his productions, Lord Holland conjectures to have been indebted for its reception chiefly to the spirit of Catholic zeal and acrimony by which it is distinguished. Queen Elizabeth is there honoured with the sublime epithets of a bloody Jezebel, an obdurate sphinx, and the incestuous progeny of a harpy. Charles V. is extolled for nothing but his treachery to the Protestants; and Philip II., who is censured for not murdering Queen Elizabeth during the orthodox reign of her sister, is chiefly applauded for the persecution of his Brabantian subjects, and the expulsion of the Moors.

It is chiefly as a dramatic writer, however, that Lope is remembered by his countrymen, and known by reputation to the scholars of other countries. Lord Holland considers him as one of the great founders of the modern drama; and introduces his observations on his plays by the following excellent remarks on the comparative merits of the ancient and modern theatre.

'There are many excellences to which all dramatic authors of every age muſt aſpire; and their ſucceſs in theſe, forms the juſt point of compariſon: but, to cenſure a modern author for not following the plan of Sophocles, is as abſurd as to object to a freſco that it is not painted in oil colours; or, as Tiraboſchi, in his parallel of Arioſto and Taſſo, obſerves, to blame Livy for not writing a poem inſtead of a hiſtory. The Greek tragedians are probably ſuperior to all moderns, if we except Racine, in the correctneſs of their taſte, and their equals at leaſt in the ſublimity of their poetry, and in the juſt and ſpirited delineation of thoſe events and paſſions which they repreſent. Theſe, however, are the merits of the execution, rather than of the deſign; the talents of the diſciple, rather than the excellence of the ſchool; and prove the ſkill of the workman, not the perfection of the ſyſtem. Without dwelling on the expulſion of the chorus, (a moſt unnatural and inconvenient machine), the moderns, by admitting a complication of plot, have introduced a greater variety of incidents and characters. The province of invention is enlarged; new paſſions, or at leaſt new forms of the ſame paſſions, are brought within the ſcope of dramatic poetry. Freſh ſources of intereſt are opened, and additional powers of imagination called into activity. Can we then deny what extends its juriſdiction, and enhances its intereſt, to be an improvement in an art, whoſe profeſſed object is to ſtir the paſſions by the imitation of human actions? In ſaying this, I do not mean to juſtify the breach of decorum, the neglect of probability, the anachroniſms, and other extravagances of the founders of the modern theatre,

theatre. Because the first disciples of the school were not models of perfection, it does not follow that the fundamental maxims were defective. The rudeness of their workmanship is no proof of the inferiority of the material; nor does the want of skill deprive them of the merit of having discovered the mine. The faults objected to them form no necessary part of the system they introduced. Their followers in every country have either completely corrected, or gradually reformed, such abuses. Those who bow not implicitly to the authority of Aristotle, yet avoid such violent outrages as are common in our early plays; and those who pique themselves on the strict observance of his laws, betray in the conduct, the sentiments, the characters, and the dialogue of their pieces (especially of their comedies) more resemblance to the modern than the antient theatre: their code may be Grecian, but their manners in spite of themselves are Spanish, English or French:—they may renounce their pedigree, and even change their dress, but they cannot divest their features of a certain family likeness to their poetical progenitors. The beginning of this race of poets, like the origin of nations, is somewhat obscure. It would be idle to examine where the first play upon such a model was written; because many of the earliest dramas in every modern language are lost. But to whatever nation the invention is due, the prevalence of the modern system is in a great measure to be attributed to Spain; and perhaps more to Lope de Vega than to any other individual of that country.' p. 96—100.

In pursuing his observations on the plays of this inexhaustible author, Lord Holland admits, that the incidents are often in the highest degree unnatural and improbable: that his tragedies are stuffed full of inconsistences and absurdities; and his comedies, of plots and intrigues, which serve no other purpose but that of astonishing the spectator: that he is destitute of pathos or natural expression; and that the chief merit of his dramatic pieces consists in the multitude and rapidity of the incidents, and that unlimited power of invention by which the author was enabled to crowd into most of his tragedies as much plot as would serve for at least four plays on any other theatre.

The names of Lope and Shakespeare are often united by foreigners. The conjunction, we think, is very profane and irreverent. Lord Holland speaks of it with more temper than we think quite laudable.

'Lope was contemporary with both Shakespeare and Fletcher. In the choice of their subjects, and in the conduct of their fables, a resemblance may often be found, which is no doubt to be attributed to the taste and opinions of the times, rather than to any knowledge of each other's writings. It is indeed in this point of view that the Spanish poet can be compared, with the greatest advantage to himself, to the great founder of our theatre. It is true that his imagery may occasionally remind the English reader, of Shakespeare; but his sentiments, especially in tragedy, are more like Dryden and his contemporaries than

their

their predeceffors. The feelings of Shakefpeare's characters are the refult of paffions common to all men; the extravagant fentiments of Lope's, as of Dryden's heroes, are derived from an artificial ftate of fociety, from notions fuggefted by chivalry, and exaggerated by romance. In his delineation of character he is yet more unlike, and it is fcarce neceffary to add, greatly inferior; but in the choice and conduct of his fubjects, if he equals him in extravagance and improbability, he does not fall fhort of him in intereft and variety. A rapid fucceffion of events, and fudden changes in the fituation of the perfonages, are the charms by which he interefts us fo forcibly in his plots.'—'Among the many I have read, I have not fallen on one which does not ftrongly fix the attention; and though many of his plots have been transferred to the French and Englifh ftage, and rendered more correct and more probable, they have feldom or never been improved in the great article of exciting curiofity and intereft. This was the fpell by which he enchanted the populace, to whofe tafte for wonders, he is accufed of having facrificed fo much folid reputation.' p. 126—9.

We should have wished to have heard a little more of the personage mentioned in the latter part of the following extract. The Gracioso of the Spanish stage is evidently the clown of the old English comedy, although admitted to perform a much more important and offensive part in the former, than was ever assigned to him, we believe, in the latter. In Spain, indeed, he seems to be a very coarse and clumsy substitute for the Chorus; and the admirers of that ancient invention may probably derive some argument in its favour, from the singular fact of its recurrence in a different form among those who boasted of a total emancipation from the shackles of classical antiquity. The encomium of Voltaire, by which the subject is introduced, has no very close connexion with the merits of the Gracioso; but we are tempted to insert it at length, both on account of its truth, and the liberality by which it is dictated.

'Till Voltaire appeared, there was no nation more ignorant of its neighbours' literature than the French. He firft expofed, and then corrected, this neglect in his countrymen. There is no writer to whom the authors of other nations, efpecially of England, are fo indebted for the extenfion of their fame in France, and, through France, in Europe. There is no critic who has employed more time, wit, ingenuity, and diligence, in promoting the literary intercourfe between country and country, and in celebrating in one language the triumphs of another. Yet, by a ftrange fatality, he is conftantly reprefented as the enemy of all literature but his own; and Spaniards, Englifhmen, and Italians, vie with each other in inveighing againft his occafional exaggeration of faulty paffages; the authors of which, till he pointed out their beauties, were fcarce known beyond the country in which their language was fpoken. Thofe who feel fuch indignation at his mifreprefentations

and

and miſtakes, would find it difficult to produce a critic in any modern language, who, in ſpeaking of foreign literature, is better informed or more candid than Voltaire; and they certainly never would be able to diſcover one, who to thoſe qualities unites ſo much ſagacity and livelineſs. His enemies would fain perſuade us that ſuch exuberance of wit implies a want of information; but they only ſucceed in ſhewing, that a want of wit by no means implies an exuberance of information. If he indulges his propenſity to ridicule in expoſing the abſurdities of the Spaniſh ſtage, he makes ample amends, by acknowledging that it is full of ſublime paſſages, and not deficient in intereſting ſcenes. He allows the Spaniſh poets full credit for their originality, and acknowledges them to have been Corneille's maſters, though much excelled by their diſciple. He objects, indeed, to the buffoonery of many of their ſcenes; and the Gracioſo might ſurely offend a critic who had leſs right to be faſtidious than the author of Mahomet and of Zara. That prepoſterous perſonage not only interlards the moſt intereſting ſcenes with the groſſeſt buffooneries, but, aſſuming the amphibious character of ſpectator and actor, at one time interrupts, with his remarks, the performance, of which he forms an eſſential, but very defective part, in another. He ſeems, indeed, invented to ſave the conſcience of the author, who, after any extravagant hyperbole, puts a cenſure or ridicule of it in the mouth of his buffoon, and thereby hopes to diſarm the critic, or at leaſt to record his own conſciouſneſs and diſapprobation of the paſſage. This critical acumen is the only eſtimable quality of the Gracioſo. His ſtrictures on the conduct of the characters, the ſentiments, expreſſions, and even the metre, are generally juſt, though they would better become the pit than the ſtage. In other reſpects, he is uniformly a deſigning, cowardly, intereſted knave: but Lope found his account in the preſervation of this character, and was happy to reconcile the public to an invention ſo convenient to the poet. As any topic could be introduced in this part, he was thus enabled to fill up whole ſcenes with any verſes he might have by him ready compoſed. Nor was this all; at the concluſion of a complicated plot, when the author is unable to extricate himſelf from the embarraſſments he has created, in any probable manner, the buffoon ſteps forward, cuts the Gordian knot, explains away the difficulty, diſcloſes the ſecret, and decides upon the fate and marriages of all who are preſent. His oracles, like thoſe of fools in ſome courts, are looked upon as inſpired; and rivals, who had been contending during the whole play, acquieſce, without a murmur, in his deciſions.' p. 190–4.

In order to illustrate his remarks upon the peculiar style of his author, and at the same time to enable his readers to judge for themselves of his merits, Lord Holland has presented us with a copious abstract of one of Lope's best pieces, La Estrella de Sevilla, which has been lately revived, with some alterations, at Madrid, and has exhibited some of the most striking scenes, both in the original, and in a very close and spirited translation. We cannot

cannot afford to lay any part of this abstract before our readers; but we think the play a good deal more tame and unnatural than Lord Holland seems willing to allow.

The most entertaining part of the volume, perhaps, is that in which the noble author presents us with a short historical sketch of the Spanish stage, illustrated by some very liberal and judicious speculations on the causes which brought about its decline, and may probably operate its revival.

One of the earliest and most constant obstacles with which it has had to contend, was the hostility and court intrigues of the ascetic and superstitious clergy. During the whole of his life, Lope had to sustain the attack of this powerful and indefatigable enemy, of whose zeal and perseverance some estimate may be formed from the following animated passage.

'In arraigning his writings, and railing at his character, they lost sight of truth as well as candour; they styled him the disgrace of the age and of the nation; the shame of his profession; and the author, as a reverend writer expresses it, of more mischiefs to the world than thousands of devils. By such invectives, they endeavoured to ruin his fortunes, and harass his conscience. The temporary prohibition of his plays, which these censures extorted from the court, shows that they made considerable impression on the public; and the severity of the discipline which Lope afterwards inflicted upon himself, might gratify his uncharitable enemies with the reflection, that though they had failed in suppressing his works, they had embittered his satisfaction at their success with strong feelings of remorse. Since this war between the pulpit and the stage first commenced, no permanent reconciliation has ever taken place; and though dramatic representations have generally kept their ground, their adversaries have obtained many temporary and local advantages over them, which have often impeded their progress, and sometimes have seemed to threaten their existence. Even during the reign of Charles the Third, all the theatres were suppressed for several years. Some bishops, during the present reign, have forbidden plays in their diocese; and the inhabitants of Seville, in the late epidemical disorder, solemnly renounced, in a fit of devotion, the amusement of the theatre, as the surest method of appeasing divine vengeance. Since that act of self-denial, they have confined the gratification of their taste for public exhibitions, to the butchery of bulls, horses, and men, in the arena. These feasts are encouraged by the munificence, and often honoured by the presence, of the King. But no monarch since Philip the Fourth, has ventured to sanction a public play by his presence. Some, indeed, have indulged their taste for operas within the walls of the palace; but the present King is said to be convinced of their evil tendency; and, if he has not exerted himself to the utmost of his power to deter others, has uniformly and scrupulously preserved himself from the contamination of a theatre. If such scruples can exist, even in our times, it may readily be supposed that Philip the Second was not

proof

proof against arguments so congenial to his gloomy habits and saturnine temper. He was accordingly staggered by the censures of Mariana and the clergy; but, luckily for the interests of poetry and the gaiety of Europe, he referred the question to the university of Salamanca, where, after much discussion, it was decided in favour of the stage.' p. 109–12.

The effect which this persecution was likely to have, in depressing or perverting the talents of those who might otherwise have distinguished themselves in this seducing department of literature, may be calculated from the extreme absurdity of those sacred dramas, to which the muse of Lope himself was occasionally restricted by the interference of those ghostly censors. Lord Holland has given a very entertaining account of several of those edifying performances. The following may serve as a specimen.

'In the Animal Profeta, St Julian, after having plotted the murder of his wife, and actually accomplishing that of his father and mother, enters into a controversy with the Devil, as to the possibility of being saved; and when Jesus Christ descends from heaven to effect a miracle for that purpose in his favour, the Devil, with much logical precision, alleges such mercy to be a breach of the original contract between him and the Almighty. He insinuates, indeed, that if he cannot reckon upon a parricide, he may as well give over his business in souls, as there is no appearance of fair dealing in the trade.' p. 180, 181.

The most formidable obstacle, however, which the dramatic genius of Spain had to encounter, was, not the bigotry of the priesthood, but the general debasement of the nation, and the influence of a Bourbon court. The following sketch is given with the spirit and partiality of an old Castilian.

'The age of Calderon, the brilliancy of whose comedies, aided by the novelty and magnificence of expensive scenery, had somewhat outshone the lustre of Lope's exhibitions, was succeeded by a period of darkness and disgrace, as fatal to the literary as to the political influence of Spain. By the time that the public had sufficiently recovered from the amazement which Calderon's works had produced, to compare him calmly with his predecessors, they had become too indifferent about all that concerned the stage, to be at the pains of estimating the beauties of any dramatic author. The splendour of Philip the Fourth's court, survived the defeat of his arms, and the loss of his provinces; but it died with that improvident and ostentatious monarch. Under the feeble sovereign who succeeded him, not only were the theatres shut, and the plays prohibited, but all ardour in literary pursuits, all genius for poetry, all taste for the arts and ornaments of life, seemed to waste away as rapidly as the resources and glory of the kingdom he misgoverned. In the mean while, France rose upon the ruins of her rival. The successors of Corneille refined and improved a language, which the increasing power of the [illegible] had made it convenient to surrounding

rounding nations to study, and to which the extensive intrigues and wars of Louis the Fourteenth had given, as it were, an unusual currency in Europe. Fashion, which is often as peremptory in literature as in dress, enjoined the adoption of French rules of criticism; and an arbitrary standard of excellence was erected, without any regard to the different genius of languages, and the various usages and modes of thinking which distinguish one people from another. Hence, when, towards the middle of the last century, the love of letters seemed to revive in Spain, there arose a set of critics, men of considerable information and eloquence, who, in their anxiety to inculcate correct principles of composition into their countrymen, endeavoured to wean their affections from those national poets, by whom the public taste had, according to them, been originally vitiated. The names of Vega, Calderon, Moreto, and others, which, in the general decline of literature, had in a great measure fallen into neglect and oblivion, were now only quoted to expose their faults, and to point out their inferiority to foreign models of excellence. The disapprobation of all dramatic performances, the occasional preference of Italian operas, and, above all, French modes of thinking on matters of taste, naturally prevalent at a Bourbon court, threw the old Spanish stage into disrepute; and an admiration of such authors passed with the wits for a perversion of judgement, and with the fashionable for a remnant of national prejudice and vulgarity. Many enlightened individuals, also, who were anxious to reform more important abuses than the mere extravagances of a theatre, encouraged this growing predilection for French literature. They might feel a very natural partiality for a language from which they had themselves derived so much instruction and delight, or they might studiously direct the attention of their countrymen to French poetry, from a conviction, that a familiarity with the works of Racine and Boileau, would ultimately lead them to an acquaintance with those of Pascal and Montesquieu, and perhaps of Bayle and Voltaire.' p. 220-4.

The triumph of this party was ensured and extended by the injudicious conduct of the few who attempted to defend the old national drama against its encroachments. Partly by bestowing extravagant praises on some of its most faulty and extravagant productions, and partly by affecting to undervalue the indisputable excellence of the French models, they brought discredit upon the cause they professed to defend, and compelled the candid and judicious to take part against them. It required but little ingenuity to combat the opinions of those who maintained that the unprinted plays of Lope de Rueda were the models of Corneille and Moliere; that the *Athalie* should have been confined to the walls of a convent; and that the *Tartuffe* was a miserable farce, without humour, character, or invention. It was by other means that the reputation of the old Spanish dramatists was ultimately redeemed, and the honours of Lope and his followers in some measure restored.

' Insipid

'Insipid imitations of French dramas, and bald translations of modern pieces, in which the theatres of Madrid for some years abounded, have at length done more to restore the writers of Philip the Fourth's age to their due estimation with the public, than the hazardous assertions of Nasarre, or the intemperate retorts of La Huerta.

'The plays of Calderon, Moreto, and Roxas, are now frequently acted. Several of Lope de Vega have been succesfully revived, with very slight, though not always judicious alterations. Authors of reputation are no longer ashamed of studying his style; and it is evident that those most celebrated for the severity of their judgement, have not disdained to profit by the perusal of his comedies. The most temperate critics, while they acknowledge his defects, pay a just tribute of admiration to the fertility of his invention, the happiness of his expressions, and the purity of his diction. All agree that his genius reflects honour on his country, though some may be disposed to question the beneficial influence of his works on the taste and literature of their nation. Indeed his carelesss and easy mode of writing made as many poets as poems. He so familiarized his countrymen with the mechanism of verse, he supplied them with such a store of common-place images and epithets, he coined such a variety of convenient expressions, that the very facility of versification seems to have prevented the effusions of genius, and the redundancy of poetical phrases to have superseded all originality of language.' p. 228—30.

'It is a common remark in Italy, that in the same proportion as the effusions of *Improvisatori* have acquired correctness and harmony, the excellence of written poems has declined; and that the writings of these voluminous Spaniards which partook so much of the nature of extemporaneous productions, should resemble them also in enervating the language, seems a very probable conjecture. Perhaps it was in the efforts which genius made to deviate from so beaten a track, that it wandered into obscurity; and the easy but feeble volubility of Lope's school might induce Gongora and his disciples to hope that inspiration might be obtained by contortion.

'But the effect of Lope's labours must not be considered by a reference to language alone. For the general interest of dramatic productions, for the variety and spirit of the dialogue, as well as for some particular plays, all modern theatres are indebted to him. Perfection in any art is only to be attained by successive improvement; and though the last polish often effaces the marks of the preceding workman, his skill was not less necessary to the accomplishment of the work, than the hand of his more celebrated successor. This consideration will, I hope, excuse the length of this treatise. Had Lope never written, the masterpieces of Corneille and Moliere might never have been produced; and were not those celebrated compositions known, he might still be regarded as one of the best dramatic authors in Europe.

'It seems but an act of justice to pay some honour to the memory of men whose labours have promoted literature, and enabled others to eclipse

clipse their reputation. Such was Lope de Vega; once the pride and glory of Spaniards, who in their literary, as in their political achievements, have, by a singular fatality, discovered regions, and opened mines, to benefit their neighbours and their rivals, and to enrich every nation of Europe, but their own.' p. 231—33.

These observations conclude the account of the life and writings of this illustrious dramatist. An appendix is subjoined, containing a list of more than five hundred of his plays still extant and printed; some remarks upon the laws of Spanish versification; and a long extract from a memorial of Jovellanos on public spectacles and amusements.

Upon the whole, we think this little publication extremely creditable to the taste, talents, and judgment of the noble author. It is of good example, and we trust of good omen, that persons of his rank and political importance should dedicate a part of their leisure to the cultivation of studies, which will never attain to the dignity which, for the happiness of mankind, they ought to possess, till they be ennobled by something more than the patronage of the higher orders of society. What pleases us most in the work, is the total absence of pedantry or affectation, and the vein of constant good sense, good humour and impartiality, which runs through every page of the performance. There is no attempt to exaggerate the importance of the subject, and no pretension to extraordinary lights or valuable discoveries. The author communicates, in the most unassuming manner, the information which his peculiar opportunities and consequent studies have enabled him to acquire; and is so far from valuing himself upon these accidental advantages, that he delivers many just, and even profound observations, in such a way as to show that he was much more anxious that the reader should assent to their truth, than that he should admire the merit of the discovery.

We cannot take our leave of the volume, without saying a word upon the peculiar merit of the poetical translations by which it is occasionally illustrated. These are not executed in that ambitious and brilliant manner by which some poets have endeavoured to efface the merit of their originals, but are written with that closeness, brevity, and neatness, which seems to us to constitute the peculiar excellence of translation, and of which we have hitherto had so few examples in our language. We have no longer room for any considerable specimen of this talent. We give the following, chiefly because it is short, and because the prosaic nature of the original passage seemed to throw particular difficulty in the way of a literal version.

'El capitan Virues, insigne ingenio,
Puso en tres actos la comedia, que antes

Andaba

Andaba en quatro como pies de nino,
Que eran entonces ninas las comedias.—
Y yo las efcribî de onçe y doçe anos
De a quatro actos, y de a quatro pliegos,
Porque cada acto un pliego contenia.'

'Plays of three acts we owe to Virues' pen,
Which ne'er had crawl'd but on all fours till then;
An action fuited to that helplefs age,
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the ftage.
Such did I write ere twelve years yet had run,
Plays on four fheets, an act on every one.' p. 8, 9.

We add the following few lines from Boileau, an author whom it is no light task to rival in precision and conciseness.

'Un rimeur fans péril au-delà des Pyrénées
Sur la fcène en un jour renferme des années.
Là fouvent le héros d'un fpectacle groffier,
Enfant au prémier acte, eft barbon au dernier.'

Art Poëtique.

'The Spanifh Bard who no nice cenfure fears,
In one fhort day includes a lapfe of years.
In thofe rude acts the hero lives fo faft,
Child in the firft, he's greybeard in the laft.' p. 185.

Several entire scenes are translated with the same force and fidelity from the Estrella de Sevilla, and other performances. In these dramatic versions, as well as in the other, the author has voluntarily subjected himself to the unnecessary constraint of rhyme, which, though it may perhaps afford a truer picture of the original, we think might as well have been dispensed with on such an occasion.

We observe, with pleasure, that Lord Holland gives some indications of an intention to follow out the inquiries in which he has now been engaged, by preparing for the public some account of Calderon, and Guillen de Castro, the great rivals of Lope in the estimation of the Spaniards, and, after him, the brightest ornaments of the Castilian stage. We earnestly hope that he will not be induced to abandon those intentions. By a series of such biographical sketches, interspersed with enlightened criticism, and illustrated by occasional comparison with performances more familiar to an English reader, foreign literature may be most effectually naturalized, and most extensively disseminated among the reading classes of the community; the taste and intelligence of the nation may be gradually improved; our notions of excellence may be enlarged and corrected; and the objects of liberal emulation and the sources of innocent enjoyment may be multiplied among us to a considerable extent. Biographical treatises, if ably exe-

cuted, are better calculated for these purposes than any other sort of publication; because they are less laborious, more entertaining, and more miscellaneous than any thing else, and necessarily let us into the peculiar character of the age and the nation, as well as the merits, of the author in question. When we toil through a formal dissertation, or even a selection of celebrated passages, we feel that we have a task to perform, from which it would often be agreeable to escape, and in which but a few can ever be expected to engage. We decide in that case as scholars merely; and our opinions, which are apt to be dictated by prejudice or authority, can seldom go out, with their evidence, to the public. Biography is amusing and easy. The knowledge which it communicates assimilates readily with our general literature; and the judgments which it suggests being formed without effort, and in the course of a pleasant occupation, are likely to be more candid and natural than those which are extorted by a more laborious study.

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CONTENTS OF No. XVIII.

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY 1807.

No. XVIII.

Art. I. *Fragments upon the Balance of Power in Europe.* Translated from the German of the Chevalier Fred. Gentz. Peltier, London, 1806. pp. 385. 8vo.

The great reputation which Mr Gentz's political writings have acquired, both on the Continent and in this country, induces us to give a full account of the present work as soon as possible after its publication. That reputation has, in our apprehension, been considerably augmented beyond the author's intrinsic merits, by the peculiar nature of the junctures in which he wrote, by the boldness with which he adopted one marked line of political opinion, and by the constancy, rather than the discretion, with which he persisted in the same unbending tone of opposition to France, at a period when all open resistance to her power was chimerical. The people of England, too, were naturally pleased to find, among the venal or timid thousands of German authors, one, not the least considerable in talents and information, who had the liberality to despise those absurd prejudices against our commercial superiority, so prevalent, for the last ten years, both among the vulgar and the statesmen of foreign countries; and as Mr Gentz, in following out his views of hostility to France, necessarily made to himself an idol of England, in his devotion to which he surpassed many of its natural votaries, the people of this country came, as a matter of course, to regard him as their regular champion on the Continent—to view him with the esteem due to a sort of fellow-countryman—and to prize him, at the same time, as a foreigner attached to their cause.

Though such accidental circumstances tended considerably to increase the reputation of Mr Gentz, and especially contributed to his popularity in England, it must be admitted, that a large portion of his fame was justly earned, and that

the foundation of the celebrity which his former writings attained, was laid in their intrinsic merits. Before starting as a political writer, he had applied himself to the pursuits of literature and science. He had qualified himself for bearing a part in the great discussions of the day, by a course of excessive labour—by studying indefatigably almost every thing that had been written on political subjects—by making himself master of those practical details which students seldom think of learning—by examining the domestic economy, of Great Britain more particularly, with an accuracy and industry which has marked the investigations of scarcely any other literary man, and which, we may safely aver, no other foreign author can boast of. After thus preparing, in retirement, for the life which he purposed to lead, he adopted, and has since strenuously pursued, the line of exertion most hostile to the progress of the French influence; and, whatever we may think of his opinions on some points, it can scarcely be denied, that his talents and learning have been meritoriously applied. The excellence of his intentions cannot be questioned; and his former writings, though certainly not always very judiciously contrived, and frequently displaying opinions either false or overstrained, produced, upon the whole, very salutary effects.

To the work now under review, we can by no means apply the same general character; nor can we encourage our readers to expect from it the same good consequences. It derives almost all its interest from the former celebrity of the author, the importance of the subject, and the necessity of exposing some of its evil doctrines. On this account, principally, we are induced to bestow some attention upon it; and we shall accordingly exhibit a sketch of its substance, with such remarks as a careful perusal has suggested. We shall begin with our abstract, interspersing it with observations on the errors into which Mr Gentz seems to have fallen; and we shall afterwards offer a few general notices of those practical doctrines which we are disposed to substitute in the place of his.

This publication, as its title indeed implies, is part of an extensive work which Mr Gentz had begun upon the mutual relations of the different European powers. Pursuing his constant aim of pointing out the dangers to which Europe has been exposed by the growth of France, and anxious to exhibit the proper remedies for a malady so fatal as that indifference to French tyranny which was growing up in the European system, it had been his intention to take a general view of the principles recognized by our ancestors, as fit to regulate the mutual connexions of the different states—to show what a 'balance of power' had been in its original policy—and to trace the progress which this salutary

salutary principle had lately made towards a decline. The further prosecution of this plan led him to consider the relations which France bore to her neighbours, to indicate the various circumstances in her internal situation, as well as in their domestic policy, which rendered her so formidable, and to appreciate the effects of the revolution war upon the liberties of those countries which still remained nominally independent. From a proof that the balance was wholly deranged, and the ancient principles destroyed, he was led to attempt the investigation of such new principles as might be sufficient to create a barrier against French usurpation, and preserve what yet remained of the system.

A work of this nature, being one of the great *desiderata* in political science, we cannot help regreting, that a person so well qualified to execute it as Mr Gentz, should have been interrupted in his design. He would have given us a treatise replete with valuable information and ingenious argument, though, no doubt, we might have laid our account with both prejudice and declamation interfering where they are peculiarly calculated to do mischief. But when he had made some progress in his work, and had begun to write with a view of rousing Europe from a torpor which he considered as the sleep of death, he was thrown into great consternation, by finding her completely conquered almost before he knew of her being awakened. He therefore changed his plan; and resolved, without writing any more for the present, to publish what he had written already, with very little alteration. We are persuaded that he has given us the worst part of his projected work, and that, as he proceeded, he would have found the necessity of adopting greater accuracy in the investigation of his principles, as well as of leaving off declamation and rant. But we have now only to do with the portion which he has published; and to this portion, the terms, inaccurate and declamatory, are most justly applicable. It was written in the months of September and October 1805, and is now published, with a long introduction, dated April 1806. We have stated these things in justice to Mr Gentz, before entering upon our review of his '*Fragments*.' We must add, with the same intention, our belief that the translation now before us is more than commonly deficient in fidelity. It appears to be executed by one very moderately acquainted with the different idioms of the two languages; and, besides a degree of clumsiness and obscurity which we are sure belongs not to Mr Gentz's German style, it abounds in phrases wholly foreign to the English tongue. To give only a few of many instances.—We presume '*egotism*' and '*egotists*,' which occur perpetually for '*selfishness*' and '*selfish people*,' are entirely imputable to the translator. So, '*cogent*,'

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for '*rulers*,' in almost every page, and '*states' system*' for '*system composed of different states*,' are German, not English expressions. We know enough, too, of Mr Gentz's style, to believe that he could not speak, as the translation makes him do, (in p. 142.) of 'a great change being necessary in our views, calculations, measures, and arrangements.' And, to the same cause, we ascribe such marvellous tautology as the following sentence unfolds. 'At the end of this most important, eventful, and now hopeless and desperate war, Austria stood alone, insulated and forsaken, opposed to the colossal power of a revolutionary mass, disciplined by time, experience, and victory.' (p. 146.) Although, however, these and a thousand other passages of similar merit, belong, we are certain, to the English manufacturer, yet, from the length of the sentences, and the constant superabundance of epithets attached to each substantive, we suspect that a part of the diffuseness and tautology observable in this composition must be set down to the author's own account. To himself, also, or to the haste in which his work is got up, and the heat in which his speculations are carried on, we must impute much of the inflation of the style, and the bad taste of most of the imagery. Almost every extract which we shall have occasion to make, will give some specimens of the unpleasant structure of the sentences, the heaving and plunging, and labouring of the style. But the following short extract may suffice to show of what stuff Mr Gentz's flowrets are woven. It is the conclusion of his address to 'the high-spirited and magnanimous Germans.'

'If Providence has irrevocably decreed that the evil, the iron times in which your lot is cast, shall extend beyond the limits of your days, and that the darkness shall be completed before the enlivening influence of the sun again is felt, retire within yourselves, and enjoy through faith and hope what the troubled realities of the present deny you. But let your enjoyment be fitting minds influenced by the most serious impressions. The grounds of consolation with which persons such as you should arm themselves against the terrors of the present, have nothing in common with those by which selfish and short-sighted weaklings endeavour for a time to escape from the feeling of misery, the sentiment of shame, till at last the miserable bolster on which they thought to forget the loss of every thing that is great and good, and to slumber out existence, sinks into the all-devouring gulph. Yours are of a higher nature, more active, quickening and balsamic, but they must be purchased at an incomparably higher price, and enjoyed on much harder conditions. It is not permitted for you to shut yourselves up in sloth, cowardly to withdraw from the field, to retire with cynical disgust, or monkish apathy, from the world; and to indulge in inactive and inglorious repose. You must contend as long as you

you have breath, with the enemy, how great soever his might, how menacing soever his violence; you must not surrender a foot breadth of the sacred territory which you are appointed to defend, without resistance, and without a struggle; you must yield to no danger, to no difficulty, nor must you give up the cause entrusted to you, under any pretence or probability, not even when, to all human appearance, it seems irremediably lost. That is the law of your being; it is only thus you can insure peace with yourselves, tranquillity during the raging of the storm, and an exaltation above every fortune. It is fortunate, that what duty enjoins, your advantage requires; and that your interest is in perfect harmony with your obligations. Recollect that, in past scenes, every moment of repose proved dangerous to those who engaged in the race, and that restless redoubled endeavours to attain their object, was always the maxim of those who were familiarized with victory. In your career to stop, is to lose the prize. As soon as you stand still, your strength abandons you, the sleep of discouragement overcomes you, and the night comes and mantles you with its terrors. With the more constancy and determination you advance, the more certainly you will escape this feeling of fatigue; the more hope will fan you with its freshest breezes; the sooner you will be saluted by the purple dawn of morning.' Introduction, p. li.—liv.

We are, however, quite ready to admit, that in works of real importance, style is a very secondary consideration. Criticism, which is a part of our function, requires us to notice this in passing; but we hasten to the substance of the work before us, having premised whatever remarks on its exterior seemed likely to come in our way during our more serious examination of its essential merits.

The introductory matter is, for the most part, such as might well have been spared. It consists of a long and laboured harangue against yielding to the power of France, addressed to the Germanic nations. The topics of this declamation are such, and the tone so violent, that we cannot imagine how it could be addressed to those persons who alone bear sway in foreign affairs—the political class of society—statesmen and rulers—and speculative economists. Our author adduces, for instance, a multitude of reasons to dissuade his countrymen from wishing to be conquered (p. xxv.); to prove that national ruin is a thing not to be rejoiced at (p. xxx.); to encourage the Germans to long for the reduction of French influence (passim). No sober view, however, is taken of the means of resistance. No estimate is given of the time when an attack on France would be desirable; nor is any attempt made to point out a plan of operation which might unite the contending interests of the empire in this their common cause. All is general and undefined. We find nothing but page after page, to the number of fifty-four, filled with a very mud-

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dling kind of declamation, which neither teaches nor proves. In truth, nothing can be less adapted to the improvement of a system of practical policy than eloquence. It always exaggerates or diminishes the objects of our contemplation, and leads us blindfold over the path, so as to make us pass by the plain things which we are looking for. If, then, this introductory harangue is addressed to rulers and statesmen, it will tell them nothing intelligibly, except what they probably knew well enough before, that they ought not to wish for subjugation. If it is addressed to the multitude, it is placed, with singular want of judgement, in a large volume upon what multitudes never think about, the balance of power, and the international system of Europe. The introduction concludes with an exhortation, rather furious than zealous, to all the Germans, to 'unite hand in hand to cherish right sentiments, and to expect the coming of some perfect hero, who will spring forth as a saviour and sovereign, to wipe off the tears from all faces, and again build up Germany and Europe.' It is distinctly asserted, that such a person must necessarily arise, ere long, in a country like Germany (p. 50); and that the business of all good Germans, or, as Mr Gentz phrases it, their 'mighty calling,' is to prepare fit instruments with which he may work out their salvation. Touching this part of the subject, we cannot help remarking that some of the Germans appear rather too prone, without our author's exhortation, to wait for a saviour, like the Jews; and we are disposed to think the best advice he could give them, would be to believe in the renowned leader whom they already have been blessed with, and to give up, at length, the fatal error, the hardness of heart, which has hitherto possessed them in every crisis of their affairs, of withholding from him all their confidence, until inferior men have brought upon them such ruin as not even his genius can avert.

The first chapter is occupied with a general statement of what has usually been meant by the balance of power, and a short sketch of the system of mutual relations, established for upwards of three centuries among the different members of the European commonwealth. We have so often before had occasion to dwell upon this subject, and have so fully entered into the discussion of its fundamental principles, that we should only be repeating parts of our former statements, were we to give any abstract of this branch of Mr Gentz's work. We shall content ourselves with remarking, that he has very properly modified some of his former doctrines relating to this question, and that, instead of viewing the equality of power as the corner stone of the system, or the ultimate object of the arrangement, he most justly considers it as only desirable for the purpose of attaining the real end of the whole

whole scheme, the maintenance of each individual state in its independent existence and entire rights. This is the sole object of the policy in question; and, by applying themselves to its attainment, with a common consent, modern statesmen succeeded in raising that structure, which it required all the profligacy and folly of the year 1772 to shake. Even then, the principles which had slowly grown up, and were incorporated with modern society, could not be suddenly eradicated. They continued to exert a sensible influence, until new partitions and indemnities completed their destruction, which has only happened in these last and worst of times. The second chapter is composed of observations on the shock which the balance of power thus received from what our author calls the partitioning system. We are glad to find him speaking with more detestation than formerly, upon that most fatal transaction, to which all the sufferings of Europe may so fairly be traced. He distinctly states the partition of Poland as the first great blow which the modern system had received; and, after observing that this nefarious proceeding is the more to be reprobated, because it was covered over with the forms of the very law which it violated, he adopts a principle illustrated in a former article of this Journal, as leading to a refutation of some of his own doctrines, that the partition system arose unfortunately out of the balancing system itself. We cannot help regretting, however, that Mr Gentz should still interpose his great authority between the conduct of the partitioning powers, and that full weight of execration which ought to fall upon them. This is one of the feelings in which statesmen should never be afraid of indulging; and we fear Mr Gentz contributes not a little to check it by his attempts to withdraw our attention from its proper object. As this transaction, always eminently important, is now more urgently presented to our view than ever by the new development of its consequences, which every successive year brings about, we shall endeavour to correct the aberrations into which Mr Gentz is led, in discussing it, partly by his fury against France, and partly by his turn for apologizing, wherever France is not concerned.

In the first place, we must object to his unnecessary phrase of 'partitioning system;' and this on every account. Why should we denominate a crime, an act of plunder, or a course of such acts, by a name so little descriptive of the thing? Ancient usage, indeed, has made men talk of the slave *trade*, by which they mean repeated acts of robbery and murder, accompanied with unnecessary torture, for the purpose of gain. By this usage, too, the punishment and prevention of such horrible crimes has been in no small degree retarded; and therefore, so far from furnishing any

any defence of the courtly epithet applied to the enormities committed against Poland, the example alluded to should warn us for the future to call things by their proper names, whether in the case of cabinets, or of traders.

Secondly, We more than doubt the propriety of inculcating so strenuously to the German cabinets, that this partitioning system arises naturally out of the balancing principle. A speculative writer on political subjects may be allowed to perceive some connexion between things, which nations and practical politicians should be taught to view only as diametrically opposite. In truth, the partition of Poland has just the same connexion with the balancing system, that the maraudings of a banditti have with the functions of a police-office; and to describe the partition to the courts of Vienna, St Petersburgh and Berlin, as an abuse, or a something arising out of the balancing system, is like talking to the inhabitants of Newgate concerning 'that species of police corps usually termed a gang of thieves.' As Mr Gentz is the apostle of ancient principle, and as his work is intended to work the proper reforms in the sentiments of his countrymen relative to national virtue, we counsel him to speak boldly against profligacy, whether it be committed by French or by Germans; and warn him, when he speaks of the partition of Poland, not to imitate the preacher, who was afraid of calling hell by its own name before a courtly audience.

Thirdly, Mr Gentz has no sooner taken up the subject of Poland, than he leaves it, in order to prove, what he observes he had chiefly in view when he broached it, that the enormities of 1772 are no vindication of the enormities committed since by the French in different parts of Europe. This absurd pretension set up on the part of France, was quite undeserving of notice, and might have been safely left unanswered. In an elaborate exposition of it, however, our author is not only drawn away from the expression of his indignation against the partitioning powers, and from the development of the consequences which their crimes have entailed upon the world; he must also describe the partition by certain remarks extremely apt to diminish our horror of it. 'The fate of Poland,' he says, 'is long ago decided, not only in fact, but in right. By a number of treaties of peace and conventions between the partitioning powers, and all the other European states, their old and new possessions are recognized and guaranteed: the former Polish provinces are now so completely united and incorporated with their old territories, as to make it impossible to separate the one from the other.' And in another passage, we have an enumeration of the positive advantages that have resulted to Europe from the partition, which has

rendered

rendered the enemies of France, it seems, more able to resist her new power. (p. 87.) It is very true, that these remarks, and others of a similar complexion, are accompanied by certain caveats, such as a few words in a parenthesis, purporting that the rest of the passage is not meant to vindicate the transactions in question. But the best condemnation of a foul crime, is always to execrate it in a plain, unqualified manner, and to leave its extenuation to those who do not wish to speak harshly of it; and, unfortunately, in a popular production, the established mode of vindicating any act, bad in itself, is exactly to say all you can in its behalf; and to add just so many parentheses, disclaiming what is your real intention, as may render the apology effectual, by making it appear moderate. Wherefore, viewing the partition of Poland as the act by which one half of the great European powers, with the concurrence, rather than by the connivance of the rest, abandoned all public principle, and proclaimed, with a loud voice, that the safety of nations should be no more; we lament that Mr Gentz did not feel the necessity of tracing the fatal fruits of this crime, and of showing all Europe, without reserve, to what they owe their present degradation. The tone which we wish he had sustained, is exactly that of the following excellent passage. He is speaking of the indifference with which the transaction was viewed.

'Even among the enlightened and upright of the time, only a few escaped the dreadful contagion. Notwithstanding that what is purest in its nature may be profaned, and what is most wholesome may be poisoned—notwithstanding that the fatal blow which the federal constitution of Europe had received, called upon them the more loudly to unite to establish the foundations of the building on a firmer basis, and more vigorously to exert themselves in its defence, they either gave themselves up to a comfortless incredulity in the inefficacy of political maxims, or to a systematic indifference. The multitude, misled by the former, or not sufficiently warned against the latter, sunk every day deeper in the bottomless void, and became more and more accustomed to expect their law from violence, and their salvation from chance. How much this fatal habit of thinking must have contributed to facilitate crime, and spread desolation, when at last the evil days arrived when all right was trampled under foot, the ruin of all order conspired, and the whole social machine disjointed and broken, can have escaped only the inconsiderate observer.' p. 78, 79.

After remarking that the partition of Poland, and the injury to public principle resulting from it, were but as passing clouds compared with the thick darkness which has since involved us, and intimating thereby (we apprehend very erroneously) that the crimes of the revolution war are of a description infinitely worse than those of 1772, Mr Gentz enters upon a very general view of

of the means by which the balance of power may be restored. We say, a very general view; for the author hurries over the subject so lightly, touching only a few *common-places*, that we conceive his proposed remedies will be found altogether useless. The whole derangement of the system, he observes, have been owing to a dereliction of principle on the part of some governments, apathy on the part of others, and careless indifference among the inhabitants of the countries exposed to French invasion. Nothing can be expected to restore the situation of national independence, which these causes have lost, but a careful retracing of the steps by which we have fallen. We must therefore begin by *working*, one and all, with our whole might, for the success of the arms, now combined against the common enemy of Europe. From thence he makes rather a sudden transition to what should be the conduct of the combined powers, supposing them victorious. And no one can object to any of the advices which he gives them for their government in this happy predicament. They must abandon for ever all views of individual aggrandizement; they must cease to attack their defenceless neighbours; they must never forget the dangers from which they have escaped; and, keeping the fear of destruction always before their eyes, they must so order all their steps, as to guard against a return of the past evils, by taking care not to deserve them. Such are the duties of the governments themselves. But the mass of the people also have their part to play. They must rouse themselves to a sense of their danger; and every individual, of the smallest influence in the state, must lend his aid to quicken and invigorate the general enthusiasm for national independence. Having thus, as it were, taken every thing his own way, our author, somewhat awkwardly, *concludes* by saying, in a single sentence, that 'above all, it should never be forgotten, that these measures of security depend upon our being able to weather the storm, and that this must be the fruits of victory in the present contest;' a position, indeed, which is unfortunately as evident as any of the foregoing general doctrines, and which, no doubt, greatly diminishes their importance. For Mr Gentz thus appears to us in much the same light with a physician who, being called in during the crisis of a disorder, should prescribe regimen for the safety of his patient, advise him to follow a certain regimen after his recovery, and leave the room, with a judicious remark, that every thing, after all, would depend upon the patient's getting over his present malady.

The next subject which occupies our author is a comparison of the relative situations of France and the other Continental powers. He begins by observing, that the right of interfering in the affairs

affairs of any foreign state, is competent only to those who may be immediately endangered by its encroachments; and that nothing which passes in the interior of any country can, in the general case, be a cause of war to any of its neighbours. It follows, from this principle, that whatever form of regular government a people may live under, or in whatever manner their constitution may have been established, no foreign nation can have any right to refuse acknowledging it; and our author explicitly admits, that, provided a dynasty be once established, other powers have no right to inquire whether it is founded on usurpation or on justice.

To these positions, it is scarcely any exception to add, that if a nation is suddenly thrown into anarchy, the neighbouring powers are not bound to acknowledge its existence, or treat with those who for the moment may govern it. But the well known argument in favour of the neighbouring states interfering with the internal affairs of France at the beginning of the revolution, is put by Mr Gentz in a manner peculiarly weak and unsatisfactory. He does not contend that the fear of the French revolution was the ground of interference. He does not say that the other powers attacked the French revolution because its neighbourhood threatened their existence. This position is at least intelligible; and, with certain modifications, we are disposed to admit the principle of interference on which it rests. But Mr Gentz lays down another principle. He maintains the only right of interference to be derived from such a change in the neighbouring state, as reduces it suddenly to imbecility, or renders its annihilation, as a substantive power, matter of immediate apprehension. When a nation is thus brought low, and when its very existence is in danger, the other powers are called upon to interfere; 'because the state which is a prey to general disorder, has lost all its political functions, and is incapacitated from acting as a substantive member of the league; likewise because it is uncertain when it may be able to resume a place which it is essential to the interests of the whole not to permit to remain vacant.' (p. 113.) This, we fairly admit, is to us incomprehensible doctrine. If self-defence alone gives a nation the right to interfere by force in the affairs of its neighbour, surely the weakness of this neighbour is any thing but a ground for the exercise of such a right. When one of the European powers is threatened with the dreadful fate of becoming, for ages, a prey to anarchy, which is evidently a chimerical, if at all a possible danger, but which is all that Mr Gentz can mean by annihilation, we are at a loss to see how any danger can result to its neighbours from such a risk, or such a calamity, were it actually to happen. The doctrine, that the other states must interfere, because

cause the total loss of one power would derange the system, is altogether vague and unsatisfactory; it is a proposition founded on false metaphor, on the dynamical language employed too frequently by writers on this subject of the balance of power. The total loss of one member of the confederacy can never derange the system. What we mean by the system being deranged, is the destruction of one member by the violence of the rest. The principle stated by Mr Gentz, is exactly conceived in the language adopted by the three partitioning powers in 1772. They affirmed that Poland was the seat of anarchy; they asserted that it could hardly be said to have a substantive existence as a state; they inferred, by no legitimate reasoning, but by the same vague, theoretical mode of talking which Mr Gentz still adheres to, that the neighbourhood of such a scene of annihilation was dangerous to their own existence, therefore they concluded that it was their duty to interfere; and from this there was only a short step, easily taken by a repetition of the same vague and loose doctrines, to the final assertion, that the disease which afflicted the country was incurable; that no change of constitution was practicable; that it was a mass of disease, and must be cut in pieces by the sword;—*and, accordingly, they interfered.* And they sat down upon Poland with all their forces; they drove the people like herds of oxen, and butchered those who would not [illegible]tives; they overturned all law, and put down all constitution [illegible]; they plundered and murdered, until neither [illegible] resistance were left; sometimes, in their mockery, they wrung formal grants from assemblies of the state, surrounded by bayonets and cannon; sometimes, in their mercy, they massacred to the very infant at the breast, for days and for nights together; sometimes, in their blasphemy, they chanted the praises of God, because the measure of their wick[edn]ess was filled up. It is for these reasons that we will neither permit Mr Gentz to call the enormities of the French revolution unparalleled, nor to repeat, in favour of the confederates of Pilnitz, the very doctrines, in the very language by which the same confederates prefaced the first of their crimes. In our apprehension, the attempt to partition France in 1792, resembled the scheme which had begun the calamities of Europe twenty years before, in every thing but the event. Mr Gentz has himself stated the avowed ground of the interference in terms so remarkable, that we must be permitted to cite the passage.

'No opportunity must, therefore, be neglected of repeating, even should half a world[illegible] of philosophers, and (would to God) of philosophical writers, [illegible] in consequence of it,—that it was *not* fear for the [illegible] of France—for this first unfolded itself in the

the course of the war—that it was not a wish to profit from France's misfortunes, but that it was compassion for the helplessness of France; the dread lest its splendour, so necessary for Europe, should be eternally eclipsed, and the purest maxims of high and genuine state policy, which dictated the war against the French revolution.' p. 113, 114.

This is the precise language of 1772. Neither the Poles nor the French were left to themselves, lest their anarchy should continue, and lead to a kind of national suicide. Their neighbours must attack them, to save their existence, not to defend themselves; and, in consequence of this interference, had the Poles been as strong as the French, we should in all probability have seen Europe overrun from the Vistula westward, soon after 1772, instead of finding it conquered from the Rhine eastward, a few years later. But we shall be told that the original plan of the confederates of Pilnitz, was to cure, and not to profit by the disorders of France. Into this question of fact, we will not now enter. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to observe, that the changes which Mr Gentz admits to have subsequently deformed and degraded the original project, are essential to the very nature of all such combinations; that there is no real difference between uniting to partition a neighbouring nation because it has become too feeble, and uniting to attack it because its internal destruction may eventually prove dangerous; that, so long as the nature of man continues the same, all combinations of the latter description will speedily degenerate into the nature of the former; and that the certainty of this constitutes precisely the evil of interfering or attacking upon Mr Gentz's principle, and abandoning the safe and wholesome doctrine so often maintained in this Journal, of strictly confining offensive leagues to those cases wherein evident danger is threatened by the overgrown power of any one state.

There is another ground of alarm, according to our author; and the principles which he applies to this case appear altogether sound. It is, when, by the progress of improvement, by the gradual development of internal resources, or by any other domestic cause, the power of one nation becomes formidable to the rest. Here, Mr Gentz observes, that interference is out of the question, and that neighbouring states have nothing more to do, but to watch very closely every change which ensues, and to observe with the more jealousy all the proceedings of their powerful rival, because her hostility would be the more dangerous. In pursuance of this view, he proceeds to examine the circumstances which render France so formidable to all other states since the revolution. These he reduces to three;—the extraordinarily absolute form of her government; its military nature; and the revolutionary

volutionary forms which it uses in all proceedings with foreign states, where such forms may prove dangerous to the stability of their governments. In illustrating the first of these circumstances, he compares the French constitution with that of Austria, Prussia, and even Russia; giving the superiority, in point of despotism, very clearly to France. He alludes to the checks provided by hereditary rights, the wealth of great families, the influence of powerful individuals in all the countries of Europe, except France alone; and, neglecting the circumstance of hereditary right in the monarch himself, and the advantages which he always contrives to derive from the influence of his grandees, when he cannot entirely crush them, Mr Gentz scruples not to maintain, that the French chief alone is uncontrouled in his tyranny, and possesses a sway more formidable to his neighbours than any other sovereign in Europe. We think that the second particular, the military character of the French government, is the only circumstance which renders its tyranny more formidable than the despotism of its neighbours; and we do not find Mr Gentz sufficiently full upon the fatal effect of this military character, in rendering France a military nation; a change by far more dangerous to the repose of Europe, than any alteration in its constitution. Respecting the use of revolutionary weapons, such as the separation of the people from their rulers in addresses to foreign nations, and the tendency to excite insurrection which these proceedings may have, we own ourselves but little disposed to agree with Mr Gentz. Not only have the enemies of France had recourse to the very same means of dividing her, but, it is obvious, that such appeals to the people have now entirely lost their virtue; since the experience of the Swiss, Italians and Dutch, has proved how far a French army favours the nations whom it overruns, and since the inhabitants of France themselves have become altogether enslaved in the midst of their loud cries about liberty, and their officious attempts to make the rest of the world free

Now, besides these partial objections to the enumeration of circumstances just now abridged, we have others of a more general nature to urge against the conduct of this comparative view. But as these will come naturally under the concluding remarks which we shall have to offer upon the whole subject of this work, we shall, at present, go on to the remaining part of the abstract in which we are engaged.

The last half of Mr Gentz's work is employed in a very copious enumeration of the encroachments made by France subsequent to the peace of Luneville, prefaced by some laboured declamation against all who were anxious for that peace. Our author

author admits, however, that it was not to be avoided; and, without blaming the Austrian government for concluding it, he bewails it as the most disastrous of modern treaties, as the 'final result and lasting expression of a general disorganization.' The following passage is pointed against the general eagerness for peace which preceded the treaty in question.

'With this spiritless disposition of the courts, the complaints of the people, the dejection of the great, the decay of the sentiment of public interest, and the influence of the never-ceasing outcries of the treacherous or scrupulous apostles of peace, were all in unison. A considerable part of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, was in fact depressed in a degree scarcely supportable by the evils of the war; the most flourishing provinces of Austria grievously felt the scourge; the condition of the more opulent classes was straitened, painful, and perilous; the condition of the lower classes was equally comfortless. To long for the conclusion of the war in so distressing a situation, was what no friend to humanity could condemn, and no statesman could disapprove. But the characteristic of the time, as well in the cabinets of princes as in the opinion of the people, in every circle of society from the highest to the lowest, in every conversation and written production of the day, was, that no limits were set to this desire of peace; that peace, *on any condition*, was the universal watchword, the wish of all wishes, the ultimate object of all human efforts. In no other epoch of history has the feeling of present necessity so completely subdued the public mind, as to benumb and paralyze all power of reflection, as to confuse and falsify the judgments of every one. To investigate what might afterwards happen, to look at the most immediate consequences, merely to inquire what was the amount of the ransom, seemed then a sort of martyrdom to the minds of the nations; they would not even know—how and where they were about to fall; and, after the negociation was concluded, and the violent irresistible wish of so many millions was accomplished, had, in place of all other information and formalities, a board with the inscription *peace is signed!* been carried through the towns and countries, the public would willingly have consented to be left in total and perpetual ignorance of the conditions.' p. 148, 149, 150.

He proceeds to observe, that such a treaty, imposed on Austria by force, extorted from her, rather than granted by her, though not the less binding on that account, should certainly be interpreted most strictly against France, the powerful party; and that any breach of its stipulations on her side was a much more just cause of war to Austria, than a similar infringement on the part of Austria could have been to France. He then states, and with perfect justice, that the treaty was rigorously observed by Austria, in every minute particular; and he very properly remarks, that the best proof of this may be found in the grievances assigned by France in her manifestoes. It may, indeed, safely be admitted, that Austria had [illegible] when all that her enemy

enemy could ever find to accuse her of, was, the purchase of Lindau, the Emperor's sway over the south of Germany, and his not having resisted the British maritime code. On the other hand, Mr Gentz shows very fully, though we are disposed, after our view of the case, to think, unnecessarily, that the conduct of France, after the treaty of Luneville, was one continued act of hostility to its most important stipulations. He goes over those instances in which the violence and treachery of the French government broke through that convention; and dwells, at great length, on its interference with the affairs of the empire, its conduct in Switzerland, and the Cisalpine Republic; the seizure of Piedmont—of Parma and Placentia—of Genoa and Lucca; the encroachments upon Tuscany, Naples, and the States of the church. All these acts, whether of open violence, or of intrigue, backed by the terrors of a French army, were either in direct breach of the terms of the treaty, or in complete contravention of its spirit; for no one can, with patience, hear it asserted, that because the integrity and independence of certain states was not positively guaranteed at Luneville, therefore, one of the contracting parties had a right to seize on their territories when she thought fit. Agreeing almost in every sentence of this branch of Mr Gentz's work, we have only to regret that it is so much extended beyond the necessity of the occasion. About one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to the history of the French usurpations, which, we conceive, have never been defended even by the French government itself; for we cannot call that argument a defence of any act, which consists in an appeal to cases of real or supposed similarity, in the conduct of other powers; and France, so far as we recollect, never attempted to justify her proceedings in Italy and elsewhere, except by alleging that they were no worse than the usurpations of Russia in Persia, and of England in the East Indies. If, indeed, the whole of Mr Gentz's invectives against his countrymen, not only for want of patriotism, but for love of the enemy, be well-founded, his elaborate exposition of the conduct of France, may serve some good end, provided they will read it. In this case we should, especially, recommend to their perusal the description of the conduct held towards Switzerland, as extremely well executed, and abundantly conclusive against France. To readers in England, however, all such statements are quite superfluous. The tide here runs altogether the other way; and the sense of French injustice requires rather to be modified, and usefully directed, than stimulated, among the patriotic and warlike inhabitants of these realms.

The concluding chapter of this work, after briefly recapitulating the injuries and insults to which the two imperial courts had submitted

mitted in patience and peace, states the proximate cause of the war, now sorrowfully remembered as the fruit of the third coalition. We are not a little surprised to find, that this cause is, according to Mr Gentz, neither more nor less than the seizure of Genoa. Into the discussion of such a point, it would be superfluous to enter at present. We shall content ourselves with quoting the two following passages, as containing the substance of Mr Gentz's admissions respecting the temper of the court of Vienna previous to the affair of Genoa, and the influence of Russia, in producing a total alteration of its views.

'We have already shown the manifold occasions of discontent, and the weighty grounds of hostility with which this court had been furnished. But to provoke Austria to war was no easy task. The keenest shafts of injury had fallen blunted when pointed against the pacific spirit of the Emperor; his modest zeal for every thing that is good, and his honest and tender anxiety for the welfare and happiness of his people. Besides, the imperial court had been abandoned for several years, not merely without any prospect of assistance, but, as if it had wanted enemies, exposed to the oppression of those who alone could yield it succours, till at last, as in all similar situations, the circumstance of having suffered much became a reason for suffering more. In the last months of the year 1804, it is true, the Russian cabinet had entered into a more intimate connexion with this court, and into confidential consultations with it upon the common interest; but one must be very ill informed indeed respecting the progress and character of the intercourse then subsisting, to believe, that had the affairs of Europe remained in the situation even in which they at that time were, and in which they continued down to March 1805, any warlike resolution would have been adopted. It required a new provocation to overcome the mass of difficulties, of cares, of indisposition, of open and secret opposition, which on all sides obstructed the path to such a resolution in will, much more in execution. The constitution of Italy must once more be violently shaken; the French dominion extended by proclamation of a new kingdom, by arbitrary caprice; a despite of forms and realities, a contempt of all the relations and duties of neighbouring powers arising out of the law of nations, must be pushed to the uttermost in one great and comprehensive act of violence, finally to *drive* the court of Vienna to a resistance to which it could not have been *tempted* by any one of the preceding measures, nor by them all together. Nay, more, after so much had been done, it still depended upon him who had kindled the flame, either to nourish or extinguish it. The aversion to actual war, the longing desire of setting any bounds to the evil by means of pacific negociation, of arriving at any tolerable result, even if it was not satisfactory, at any decent compromise with duty and honour, was every where, and particularly at Vienna, so much superior to every other feeling, and to every other propensity, that any proposition, which had a specious appearance of justice and moderation, would have been grasped at with avidity and

joy. The union of Genoa, and the failure of the Russian mission, left Austria no alternative.' p. 319, 320, 321.

'It was Russia, and Russia alone, which, by its example, by its encouraging language, and by its mighty preparations, gave to the counsels of the Austrian cabinet, not an unnatural direction which they would not have themselves taken, but merely a more precise character, and a degree of stability, to which, at last, all considerations gave way.' p. 333

Viewing the English government as having created the third coalition, we nevertheless have always maintained, that Russia was the prime instrument in this fatal work. The foregoing passages must be coupled with the fact, that the Emperor Alexander actually sent a messenger of peace to France, after all the usurpations in Germany, Switzerland, Piedmont, Parma, Placentia, and the Cisalpine had been completed; and that this mission was utterly frustrated by the comparatively nugatory affair of Genoa and Lucca. When these things are viewed together, it will be extremely difficult to repeat the praises of judgment and magnanimity so often lavished on the court of St Petersburg, or to avoid lamenting that the ruin of the Continent, which Russia has been the means of England effecting, should have knit our fate inseparably with hers, subjecting to the understandings of a Russian cabinet the counsels of the most enlightened nation in Europe.

We now proceed to close this article, by suggesting a few general remarks to such of our readers as busy themselves with that branch of political science of which Mr Gentz treats, and to those who are occupied with reflecting on the foreign affairs of England during the present momentous period.

The statesmen of the Continent have, of late years, been divided altogether into two classes;—those who resolved to have war with France at all risks; and those whom no provocation could ever induce to encounter that great hazard. Between those, who excessively overrated the dangers of peace, and those who va-
with far greater reason, but still in an extreme degree, unders to
lued the chance of safety to be obtained by war, there appear; and
have been, at least in Russia and Germany, no medi of Eng-
unhappily the former party, stimulated by the influ Mr Gentz is
land, have generally preponderated. Of this cater making the
the chief literary champion. Its doctritwo or three very feeble
round of Europe, with the exception very fears of universal sove-
powers, have at last realized the ginally founded; and the Con-
reignty, upon which they were real subdued by France, in twelve
tinent of Europe has been piece ance to prevent her from con-
years, by dint of attacking quering

quering the Continent of Europe at some distant period. Such being at any rate the fact, it is not altogether unfair to suspect the soundness of the principles upon which the war party have proceeded; and to conjecture, that if ever the zealots of this faction are to assist in repairing the evil which their counsels have occasioned, it must be by revising their fundamental doctrines, or by correcting the application of them. The following remarks may assist us in estimating the kind of revision and correction which will probably be found necessary.

1. The advocates for continual war in order to prevent ultimate danger, have uniformly neglected a consideration in itself, one should have thought, sufficiently obvious, that their counsels led to great and certain calamities in the mean time, without in any degree ensuring the more remote object in view. These well meaning and high spirited persons, altogether overlooked, probably only because the topic was trite, the necessary evils of war; and whoever ventured to hint that the father of his people should pause before he took a step which must lay waste his provinces, kill many thousands of his subjects, cripple many more, and impoverish the whole of them, was looked upon as a sentimental enthusiast, or a friend of the common enemy. Now, without attempting to maintain that these constant attendants on continental wars should, upon every occasion, prevent the adoption of hostile measures, we must be permitted to think that they are sufficient reasons for preferring in every case measures of conciliation, where there is any chance of succeeding thereby; nay, even temporizing (we are not afraid to use this dreadful term), in order to put off the evil day; unless in those emergencies, which render war at last inevitable, and delay dangerous; emergencies which occur much more rarely than some men have been apt to suppose. But as these principles, though scarcely ever acted upon, will probably be admitted when stated in the abstract, we must observe,

2. In the second place, that the certainty and extent of the evil which the war party require us to embrace, is the best possible reason for carefully reflecting, before we make our choice, whether we have a tolerably good chance of gaining the end proposed, in return for the sacrifices demanded; and we will venture to assert, that this part of the question has been uniformly neglected by all the powers who have attacked France. They began their hostility when there was some little hope; and with every thing in their favour—her lawful rulers hostile to her interests—a civil war raging through her provinces—total anarchy in many great towns—a revolution happening about once a month in the capital—a new constitution in church, state, and army—the revolt of

some generals—the old age, or destruction of the rest—scarce a soldier who had seen service, or an officer who knew any thing of his profession—her trade destroyed—her colonies gone—her credit torn up by the roots;—in spite of all these powerful aids, the allies completely failed in their attack; one of them left the league; and the rest lost some of their finest possessions. This was a lesson to the belligerent faction, but it was altogether thrown away; and the two allies having been conquered by France during her worst times, the one that now remained never thought it possible, that, by renewing the war during the better days of France, she might be utterly undone. Such we presume to have been the grand error. Austria was induced to embrace all the certain evils, and to run all the mighty hazards of a war with France, when Prussia refused to join her, and when the extent of the French force was well known. It is needless to add, that she went to war, without improving the constitution of her military, or her finances, after she had found both the one and the other unfit for service. Nor can it be necessary to enlarge on the manifold advantages which a prolongation of the truce of Leoben (since she was not wise enough to stop the war sooner) must have procured her, in the event of a future rupture with France, when Prussia might be prepared to take part in it.

8. But if the court of Berlin was resolved not to give the cause of England and Austria any chance of success, there was a new ally preparing for us in the North, never thought of by our shortsighted forefathers; but now esteemed much more than a substitute for the power bequeathed by Frederic the Great to his prudent successors. The Empress Catharine, after augmenting the resources of her dominions as much as human wisdom could do, by reigning in peace with her powerful neighbours, never quarrelling with any body but Turks and Poles, and maintaining a sort of character for great power with the rest of Europe, by cautiously avoiding every movement that might ascertain her real strength, departed from the scene of wars and coalitions, leaving her son in peaceable possession of the throne. This prince, being found much less untractable and less politic, was forthwith courted by the allies. The amount of their panegyrics upon him was, that he possessed a warm heart and a hot head; so we may fairly doubt whether he was the best of possible associates in the new war; and whether his opinion of the strength of his empire, and his views of its true interests, were as much to be trusted as his mother's, who, with all the ambition in the world to take a direct part in European affairs, and all the wish to aid the common cause, had never sent armies, nor indeed any thing, but manifestoes, into Germany; and had only lent

England

England as many seamen as she wished to have taught in our service. But these were topics which the allies thought as little of as Paul himself. Accordingly, Russia, in an evil hour, began to move, ceased to be invincible, and lost her sway in Europe. Her influence sensibly declined at every successive event; for, after once beginning, it was part of the evil, that she must take a share in all the affairs which occurred; and we have now a right to assert, what we formerly predicted, that the effects of her first, accidental successes, have vanished before the repeated proofs of her unfitness for holding the balance of the Continent; and that as little now remains of the fear of Suwarrow, as of the influence of Catharine. We conceive, then, that the next grand error of the war party has been, the confidence which they have reposed in the assistance of Russia; both because it has made them renew their hazardous warfare against France, without the aid of Prussia, and because it has induced them to push forward into the field a power, whose assistance they might always have commanded in the cabinet—a power, whose influence was never doubted, until its strength was tried. As, however, this part of the subject is at present the most important of all, we shall stop to suggest one or two considerations in support of the low estimate which we are disposed to make of Russia as a European ally. These we are compelled to run over very quickly; but it is enough to mention them.

4. There is a natural enmity between the two great powers of Germany and France. Those who once thought that Prussia had for ever deserted the Germanic cause, may now be convinced, that had Austria not been hurried on to her ruin in 1805, she might have made head against France, with the assistance of Prussia, at a future and a better time. At all events, when those two powers should league against France, we might always, for reasons too obvious to mention, count upon their active and steady cooperation. It is not so with Russia. She is too far removed from the danger. She interferes too little with France. She has too few points of contact. Her natural enmity is rather with Germany, with Sweden, and with Turkey. She has more than once been found ranged on the side of France in the great European contest. It is more by accidental peculiarities of personal character in her rulers (very praiseworthy, we admit), than by the operation of any regular and steady principles, essential to her situation, that she has done for the common cause the little of which so much is said. She is naturally under no *necessity* to attack France, until Poland becomes a French province; and when that inducement arrives, obstacles will no doubt come along with it. It is manifest, that if Russia is to interfere, according

to her caprices in European affairs, and not according to the fixed law of her necessities, she may attack France this year, and Austria the next; but it is equally manifest, that she may succeed in the one case, and must fail in the other. Of these things, we are humbly of opinion, the cabinet of Vienna has been more aware than our own statesmen; and we imagine it will scarcely be doubted, that a fear of Russia hurried them on to their ruin in 1805.

But even if we were sure of the aid of Russia against France, what is the value of that cooperation? It may be worth something, if Austria and Prussia unite to begin the war, (in which case, we venture to predict, it will never be given.) It is worth absolutely nothing, in the only case in which it has been afforded, when Austria or Prussia, meeting France single-handed, are destroyed before Russia can come into the field.

It will be asked, however, why this immense empire should be unable to pour forth numerous armies, with so vast a population, and so small a risk of being attacked? To this, it may be answered, that she evidently cannot; because, with all the wish to do every thing, she has done nothing; and, if there is some flaw, some hidden impotency in her constitution, it is for those who count upon her assistance, to find it out; or, if they deny its existence, at least to show us why her aid has been so useless. But we shall simply allude to several causes of weakness, enough to show why the performances of Russia fall always so far short of her promises. Her armies, though exceedingly brave, are ill officered, and must be badly disciplined; so that, though ten thousand Russians might beat an equal number of French, 50,000 French are sure to beat a much greater force of Russians; and, unfortunately, France will not agree to fight with small detachments. The state of the internal administration of the country; the total want of able and prudent men in the important offices under the government; the poverty of the empire; above all, deficiency of sound sense in their statesmen; the exclusion even of their talents from their councils, and the proportional influence of barbarous nobles or intriguers; all these and other fruits of the half civilized state of Russia, which Catharine in part rendered harmless by remaining at rest, and in part counteracted by her own genius, must be fatal to the foreign influence of the empire, under a monarch of inferior ability, who excels that great princess only in rashness. The partial successes of Suwarrow, confirm, rather than modify, this statement. For, how long will an army be victorious, in which only one man can be found fit to command? While the right wing is annihilated by the Russian tactics of Korsakoff, what avails it that a European should lead on

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the left to a momentary triumph? Truly, when we take these things into the account, and consider how little the same defects exist in the French system, we must limit our hopes of Russian assistance to a very humble scale. Far from thinking of triumphs over France, we shall be extremely well pleased if Russia can save herself—happy if she shall be found stronger at home than abroad—if the folly of 1805, and the phrenzy of 1806, shall not enable the conquerors of Austerlitz and Jena, as they are called, but we will only say the conquerors of Jemappe, to transfer, from St Petersburgh to Moscow, the seat of those counsels which have ruined Europe.

5. When the advocates of the war faction refused to be taught, by experience, the lesson of the strength of France, it was a natural consequence of their obstinate blindness, that having, more by good fortune than by their own merits, obtained an interval of peace, they should wholly waste a period the more valuable, as they were resolved it should be of short duration, and should apply themselves to nothing but attempts at renewing the war, instead of undertaking such improvements in their domestic economy as their past losses had plainly suggested. Nothing can more evidently demonstrate the length to which this blindness had proceeded, than the abstract of Mr Gentz's comparative view of France and the allies, given above. In describing the superiority of France, he enumerates none of the circumstances to which she really owes her constant success. He altogether overlooks the grand difference between her and the powers whom she has destroyed,—the singular display of talents in every department which the revolution has occasioned. While this fatal event has placed, at the disposal of the French government, by whomsoever administered, the whole genius and acquirements of the state, that is, the whole power of thirty millions of civilized people; and while all the successive rulers have persisted in availing themselves of this mighty force, by employing, on every occasion, merits, and not men:—can we wonder that they have beaten enemies who have as uniformly persisted in the opposite line of conduct; have despised the very talents which were overwhelming them; and, far from being taught by their own defeats, have only become the more perverse and infatuated after each disaster? All this Mr Gentz and his party know; and yet they tell us that France has destroyed them by '*using revolutionary forms!*' All this we know, and yet we believe at each new coalition that France will be conquered. With the fatal contrast before our eyes, of talents matched against imbecility, we gaze with a stupid wonder each time that victory is given to the strong: and we cannot imagine how the greatest mass of genius and experience which the world ever saw, should overpower the

of ill-serjeantry and the heraldry of Germany, until we find Vienna, and Dresden, and Berlin, the head quarters of French armies. If the peace of Leoben, or even of Luneville, had been prolonged, and devoted to the strenuous cultivation of the allied resources—if, wise by experience, they had adopted such reforms as all their disasters demanded in their domestic economy—if, steadily contemplating the great engine by which France had defeated them, they had resolved to fight her another time at her own weapons, by choosing ministers and generals from their talents, and not from their quarters, or their grey hairs; then we might have had some right to indulge hopes of success, and our wonder would have been less silly, had we failed.

6. The last remark which we shall at present offer upon this melancholy subject, is in some degree connected with the preceding. The general conduct of the war, it is needless to observe, was extremely injudicious on the part of the allies. But England, too, always adopted the line of operation the least calculated to assist the common cause. We allude at present to the military history of the war merely. The history of our alliances is partly anticipated, and partly too obvious, to require any further notice.* But, unhappily, our wisdom has not been much more conspicuous, even when we were acting by our individual force, and attempting to assist our allies with our fleets and armies, unfettered by their separate interests, or by the weakness of their counsels. To describe, in a single sentence, the fundamental errors in which England has so fatally persisted, it may be sufficient if we remark, that she has reversed the ancient doctrine of conquering America in Germany; and has preferred defending her German allies in the West Indies. She has sent fleet after fleet, and army after army, to seize upon those distant and defenceless settlements; spending millions of money to purchase the temporary possession of an useless territory, or create a hurtful drain of her mercantile resources; † sacrificing thousands

* Mr Gentz has made a number of excellent remarks on the necessity of adhering to principles of justice and honour in all attempts to restore the balance of Europe. He has entirely overlooked the conduct of Russia in 1802 and 1803, relative to the German indemnities, the most unfortunate blow which public principle has received since the partition of Poland. We entirely agree with him in his general tenets; and therefore we think that no restoration of the balance can be expected from the efforts of cabinets, who one day publish manifestoes against usurpation, and the next are found sharing in its spoils.

† We have formerly explained, No. VIII., the manner in which West India conquests must always divert the capital of the mother country into the worst channels.

sands of men to obtain graves for thousands more. If all these expeditions, or the greater part of them, which have thus, at any particular time, been employed in seizing spice or sugar islands, had been united, at a proper season, in one army, we should have possessed a formidable means of annoying the enemy in Europe; not that, in this case, it would have been adviseable to repeat a similar error, and to send our force upon such expeditions as could only end in temporary advantages, where the enemy had little or no interest in opposing us.

It is evident that we might retake Holland, * and defend Naples † or Portugal ‡, without materially benefiting the great cause, or ultimately saving even Holland, Naples and Portugal themselves. For the plan of France has always been, to strike the grand blow in the right place—in the heart of her enemies; to win the great game first, and then to sweep the small stakes at her leisure. She cared not though England, in the mean time, should take possession of a few detached and naturally defenceless spots of the Continent, quite sure that, as soon as she overcame the main body of the enemy, she could recover those little outworks when she chose; and equally aware, that, if she was worsted in the centre, it availed her nothing to have her troops secure elsewhere. Therefore, we conceive it cannot be denied that England, after withdrawing from her colonial schemes sufficient supplies of men to form a respectable army, should have assisted the allies in Europe, either by directly joining them with this large force, or by making such a formidable diversion on one side, as could ensure their success on the other. In the former case, she must have acquired a salutary influence over their counsels, as well as their operations in the field, besides immediately contributing to their success. This was probably the best mode of carrying on her part of the combined operations. Next to it, some great and efficient diversion would have been the wisest measure; but not those paltry attacks, weak from their number and dispersion, which only tend to provoke the enemy's contempt, or to irritate a few of his peaceable subjects; which can secure no permanent advantage; which, even if successful in the mean time, will be neglected by France until she has fought the great battle, and placed herself altogether above them; which being neglected by her, and locking up our own disposeable force, are in truth diversions in her favour. Had such obvious considerations prevailed over our love of sugar islands, and our eternal activity in the line of small, secret expeditions, England would not now have been reduced to lament the decay of her influence in the counsels by which France must be

* In 1799. † 1805. ‡ 1797.

be opposed; or to see the continent ruined, as was truly observed by that illustrious man, to whose prophecies we were deaf, before an English sword had been drawn in its defence.

The result of all our errors has been the present calamitous state of Europe. Nor have our misfortunes taught us wisdom. It cannot be denied that the people of this country are still blind to their real situation; that they have not given over hopes of conquering France by a continuance of the war; that they have rejoiced in the last and greatest of our calamities—the failure of our attempts to save Europe by a peace. This infatuation will continue until the public burdens press with an intolerable weight upon the higher, as well as the lower orders of the community; or until Englishmen acquire the *real* courage to look their situation in the face, and ask themselves, once for all, what is to be gained by continuing the contest. We heartily wish that the cure may be effected, not by the first, but by the last of these changes; and to contribute our humble assistance towards this salutary work, has been the object of the present tedious and unpleasant discussion. For we are satisfied that the change in question never can happen, while the people persist in flattering themselves with hopes of continental assistance, and pray for their destruction in the shape of a fifth coalition.

Art. II. *Asiatic Researches: or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia.* Vol. VII.

We now resume our account of this curious and interesting volume.

'*Narrative of a Route from Chunarghur to Yertnagoodum, in the Ellar sircar.* By Captain J. T. Blunt.'

The Journal of this officer unites all the interest imparted by travels into an unknown country, where each step affords information to the geographer, with that derived from tracing the manners of tribes in states of civilization widely different. From countries in high cultivation, we are led into tracts covered by thick forests, under whose shade the savage natives pursue the chase, and, ignorant of the arts which seem indigenous in their vicinity, limit their knowledge to transfixing with their arrows the deer and antelope, coheirs of these sylvan regions, and to the rude culture of a fertile soil. Are these people different from the Hindus in origin, in language, and religion? Are they the aborigines of India, who, retiring from the encroachments of foreign

reign invaders, led on by Brahmans, have continued to assert their ancient independence, protected by the insalubrious atmosphere of their mountains, and by the impenetrable forests in which they have sought and found a refuge? Such are the questions suggested by the perusal of this narrative. We know that they have been answered in the affirmative by some writers. Before we take leave of Captain Blunt, some reasons will be stated for our dissenting from their conclusions.

On the 28th of January 1795, Captain Blunt left Chunarghur, on the banks of the Ganges, with a military escort, consisting of a Jemmaddar, and thirty sepoys. The object of his journey being 'to trace a route between Berar, Orissa, and the northern Sircars,' he proceeded in a southerly direction, and crossed the river Sona, at Silpi. The whole of this march was performed through a poor and mountainous country, scantily inhabited by the Chandelas, a tribe of Rajputs. 'The hoar frost had been so sharp as to blight the leaves on the trees, and had very much injured the crops.' After crossing the Sona, the route lay through thick woods and low hills. At the village of Amria, the remains of an aqueduct were still visible. The Gatama there rolls its pure waters over beds of blue and red slate, to join the Sona. This district is inhabited by Carwars, a race of mountaineers, whom our traveller evidently considers as distinct from Hindus, since he has inserted a specimen of their language. We have ever been strongly impressed with the little reliance to be placed on a few words collected from unknown tongues, as specimens of language; and we think that the following, being extremely succinct, merits to be cited, as an example of it. The ear is extremely apt to be deceived in receiving new sounds; and it is always uncertain if the native has seized the idea of the interrogant.

'In the course of my inquiries into the state of this wild country,' says Captain Blunt, 'my attention was occasionally directed to the language of the mountaineers, which induced me to collect a small specimen of it; but as the only method I had of acquiring this was by pointing to the object of which I required the name, the following were the only words which, after much pains, I could collect.

English.	Carwars.
Food, - -	*Gopuckney.*
to sit down, -	*gohurro.*
salt, . - -	*minka.*
a goat, -	*chargur.*
fire, - -	*uggundewtah.*
a tyger, -	*kerona.*
a hut, - -	*mujjarah.*
a horse, - -	*chekut.*
the moon, -	*chaderma.*
the sun, - -	*soorjundewtah.*'

Now,

Now, the abstract idea expressed by food, or all that serves for sustenance, is not very easily conveyed. *Gopucknoy*, appears to us to mean, to cook or dress victuals on the earth. Is it certain that the second word presents a Carwar infinitive? *Minka*, for salt, seems a corruption of the Persian *nimac*. *Chargur*, a goat, of the sanscrit, *Ch'hagala*. The words for fire, and the sun and moon, are the same as in Sanscrit, with the addition of the word *god* to the two first. The industry of Captain Blunt is highly commendable, and our remarks are only intended to expose the probable fallacy of any inductions from such documents furnished by travellers.

From Amria our author proceeded to Shahpur, the capital of the Rajah of Singrowla, on the banks of the Rhair, a considerable river. It is a large town, situated in a fertile plain, and the district abounds in iron ore. The route to the confines of Singrowla lay through a well cultivated tract: Four Hindu temples of great antiquity, and formed in the solid rock, were at no great distance. The image of Rávana with his hundred arms, and many in the temples consecrated to the Phallic rites, were now obscured by plants, and the path obstructed by shrubs.

The mountains of Corair terminated the territories of Singrowla. Their inhabitants, called Chohans, seem to us also a tribe of Hindus, as well as the Carwars. We deduce this inference from a peasant's recommending a sacrifice to Nilacanta, before scaling the eminence. The blue necked god, is a well known epithet of Siva, who presides over mountains.

Contiguous to Corair, lay Cargama, subject to Motibal, a Gond chief. 'The Gonds seeing us encamp quietly, came out to the number of fifty to gaze at us. They appeared to be a stout well looking people, and in every respect superior to the mountaineers of Corair.' It is much to be lamented, that Captain Blunt has not furnished us with more information concerning this singular people. The extensive region, named from them Gondwana, proves how widely their territories formerly stretched in the centre of Hindustan; their little isolated principalities are still found in parts of it, interspersed with more cultivated nations, from whom the Gonds have neither borrowed their refinement, nor their arts. These people are indisputably not considered as Hindus by Captain Blunt; for, speaking of two pilgrims plundered by these savages, he says, 'Having travelled unmolested for some time, and subsisted, in some places, on the alms of the Hindus, wherever they found them, they had at last fallen in with the huts and jungles inhabited only by the Gonds, who had plundered them, and murdered many of their companions; of whose bodies they had made offerings to their god.' But we

really

really can discover no proof that the Gonds are not Hindus, in this fact. The predatory Arabs who plunder the caravan of the pious Moslem journeying towards Mecca, to perform his devotions at the sacred Caba, are, like him, Arabians and Moslems: the banditti who infest the Apennines, and beset the pilgrims travelling to the shrine of our lady of Loretto, are, nevertheless, Italians and Catholics, and even very superstitious ones. Captain Blunt has afforded us no particulars on which a decided opinion might be founded; but we think it right to neglect no circumstance that can facilitate the investigation of so curious a fact as the existence of a distinct race, whether aborigines or otherwise, in the centre of Hindustan. We will remark, then, that all the names of persons and places, which he mentions amongst the Gonds, are common Hindu names. Thus, Motibal was Rajah of Cargama; Pratapghar, the name of the seat of the most powerful Gond chief, consists of two Sanscrit words; Bhupalpatan, the residence of the most savage of these people, signifies, in Sanscrit, 'the Zemindar's town:' in all this we discover no traces of a distinct origin. Moreover, it is quite unaccountable, that no mention of the Gonds should appear in the Puránas, if they always existed in their present situation as a distinct race; the name of Gondwana, applied to their country, is manifestly of Mohammedan origin, from the termination, as in Telingana, &c. Besides, in the centre of their territories, lies the famous resort of pilgrims, the sacred Amaracantaca, at the joint source of the Sona and the Narmada, (*vulg.* Nerbudda), which, issuing from the same fountain, pursue their courses in opposite directions, till they join the Ganges and the ocean which washes Malabar. In the Matsya Purana, we find a description of the course of the Narmada, on whose banks were a number of spots consecrated by Hindu superstition, from Amaracantaca, the most celebrated, to its confluence with the ocean. A very particular account is given of that place, and no mention made of its being situated in the midst of a savage race, from whom the pilgrims would have every thing to apprehend. If the rites of superstition may sometimes be traced to refined policy, no institution is entitled to higher praise, than the establishment of these annual rendezvous, at far distant temples, over the whole surface of Hindustan. They gave occasion, in fact, to annual fairs; spiritual advantage united with temporal profit, in determining the journey; and the pilgrims went and returned loaded with the commodities of their respective countries, but disencumbered of the moral guilt they might previously have contracted. But it is not in a land of hostile savages that policy would dictate their establishment, unless with a view to their civilization; and then the means could scarcely

ly fail of producing its end. All these circumstances lead to a suspicion that the Gonds are a Hindu nation, whose civilization has retrograded posterior to the Musulman invasion, and to the interruption that event occasioned in the regular practice of the ancient rites.

The Hutsu divides the Mahratta territory from the district of Cargama: a tribe, called Cowhirs by our author, inhabit the pergunnah of Mahtin, and were employed in celebrating the festive rites of the Huli. Retnapur, the seat of a Mahratta subadar, consists of 1000 huts; and Captain Blunt had now journeyed near 300 miles in a country generally desolate, and amidst a people generally savage. The Mahratta authority there dates from little more than half a century. Retnapur was previously an independent principality, which counted a succession of 52 princes. Its name appears to indicate, that diamonds were indigenous there, as well as in the adjacent territory of Sumbhu-pur. Captain Blunt here procured some account of the 'Table land of Amaracantaca. The Sona rises on the east side of it, and flows first through Pindara, where, being joined by numerous other streams from the north-east side of this mountainous land, it proceeds, in a northerly direction, through Sohajpur and Bagelkund; whence turning to the eastward, it pursues its course to the Ganges. After ascending the Table land, the temple is found situated nearly in the centre of it, where the Narmada rises from a small pucka cund, or well, from which, they told me, a stream perpetually flows, and glides along the surface of the high land, until, reaching the west end of it, it precipitates itself into Mundela. They described the fall as immense, and said that, at the foot of the Table land, its bed becomes a considerable expanse, where, being joined by several other streams, it assumes the form of a large river.'

Our author now journeyed through the fertile and cultivated district of Chatisgur to Raipur, consisting of three thousand huts. The road from Cuttac to Nagpur passes through Raipur, which is consequently the centre of a considerable commerce. Seven days more, during which he travelled south, brought him to the confines of this district, washed by the Mahanadi, beyond which thick forests and high mountains marked the commencement of another tract inhabited by Gonds. The Rajah of Conkair, called Syama Singh, (a Hindu name), furnished him with guides through a country disputed by the Gonds and Mahrattas. Beyond this, he entered another fertile district ruled by the Mahrattas. Byraghar, the chief town, consists of three hundred tiled and thatched houses: it is washed by the Gauengara, which, flowing westward, unites its waters with those of the Venwá, (*vulg.* Bauen ganga.)

A desire of tracing the shortest route, induced Captain Blunt to attempt a passage through a country inhabited by the most savage of the Goud tribes; but nocturnal attacks, and constant alarms, obliged him to return with his small party, after reaching the banks of the Indravati, a considerable river. Lal Shah, a Gond chief, informed our author, that he had acted wisely in desisting from his attempt to penetrate to Bhupalpatan; 'for that the inhabitants are of a more savage nature than any others of the Goud tribes; both sexes going naked, and living entirely upon the produce of their woods: that even the people in his country, who, by communication with the Mahrattas, had become in some degree civilized, eat grain only during three months of the year, and subsist on roots and fruits during the remaining nine months.' Lal Shah was attended by five hundred Gonds, 'most of them large and well made men. Upon comparing them with the sepoys, they appeared in nowise inferior to them in stature, but very black.' After tracing the Venwá to its confluence with the Gadaveri, Captain Blunt entered the district of Palunsha, governed by a Telinga chief, then in rebellion against the Nizam. From hence, following the course of the Gadáveri, which separates a tract inhabited by Gonds from the civilized inhabitants of Telingana, he entered the Company's territories in the Sircar of Rájmanderi.

'*An Account of a new species of Delphinus, an Inhabitant of the Ganges. By* Dr Roxburgh.

In the last edition of the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus, Gmelin particularizes four distinct species of this genus of cetaceous fishes, distinguished by having teeth in each jaw; *viz.* the porpoise, dolphin, grampus, and belluga of the Russians. The delphinus gangeticus, of which Dr Roxburgh makes a fifth species, has sixty teeth in each jaw. As they abound in the Ganges, we lament that the Doctor has not furnished a description from a full grown individual, rather than from 'a young, little more than half grown, male, six and a half feet in length, and at the thickest part, which is nearly about, or rather behind, the pectoral fins, three in circumference: the weight one hundred and twenty pounds.'

'*Translation of one of the Inscriptions on the Pillar at Delhi, called the Lat of Firuz Shah. By* Henry Colebrooke, Esq. *With Introductory Remarks, by* Mr Harington.'

'Among the places built by Firuz Shah,' says the author of the Heft aclim, in Mr Harington's translation, 'is a hunting place, which the populace call the Lat of Firuz Shah. It is a house

house of three stories, in the centre of which has been erected a pillar of red stone, of one piece, and tapering upwards. Report says, this pillar is a monument of renown to the Rajahs, or Hindu princes, and that Firuz Shah set it up within his hunting place.' Mr Harington adds, that the height of the pillar now visible above the building is thirty-seven feet, and that its circumference, where it joins the terrace, is ten feet four inches. The building is supposed to have been used by Firuz Shah as a menagerie and an aviary. This prince died in A. D. 1388; but the date of the pillar is altogether uncertain. Five inscriptions, in unknown characters, engraved on the pillar, have been accurately transcribed from the manuscript of the late Captain Hoare. A sixth in Devanagari, and in the Sanscrit language, has already been published by Sir William Jones, from a copy made by Colonel Polier; but the date having been inaccurately copied, a new translation is now presented. The date of this inscription is ascertained to be 1220 of the Samvat æra, or A. D. 1164. The conquests of Visala Deva, son of Billa Deva, are extolled, who reigned between the mountains Himavan and Vindhya. But as such monuments are only useful in illustrating history, it is surprising that the translators have not applied it to that purpose. The unknown characters prove that the architecture is much more ancient than the time of Visala Deva: hence Mr Colebrooke appears to have committed an oversight, in supplying the word 'monument' at the commencement; since it was manifestly not the monument, but the inscription only, which belonged to Visala Deva.

'In the year 1220, on the 15th day of the bright half of the moon, Vaisakhe (this monument) of the fortunate Visala Deva, son of the fortunate Billa Deva, king of Sacambhari.'

But we find that Shehabeddin Mohamed, king of Ghaur, a country situated to the north-west of Hindustan, after conquering the Mohamedan prince who reigned in Lahore, carried his arms into India, which he harassed with repeated incursions, in most of which he was repulsed by the valour of Pithura, king of Dehli. In the eighth battle, the Rajah was taken prisoner, and, in his person, terminated the last of the Hindu dynasties, who reigned in Dehli, in the year of the Hegira 588, or A. D. 1192. The reign of Pithura was of forty-nine years, and, consequently, included the year 1164, the date of the inscription. Billa Deva was not his father, but the founder of the dynasty; and the inscription records with truth, that by his prowess the land of virtue (Aryavarta) was again what the name signified, being once more cleared from barbarians, (Mlech'ch'ha.) This inscription proves that, in the time of Pithura, (there called Visala Deva), the

the Devanagari character differed much less from the Bengalese than it does at this day. The vowels, in particular, are written as in Bengal, where the modern alteration has never been adopted.

The importance of this inscription, in confirming and illustrating the records extant, relative to the history of Hindustan, at the period immediately preceding the Mohammedan conquest, induces us to translate from Abul Fazil, the passage respecting Rajah Pithura, whom the inscription calls Visala Deva, king of Sácambhari. We have no doubt that this was his real name; for the word 'Pithura,' of the Mohammedan writers, is destitute of signification, and appears to us a corruption of Prithivi Raj, king of the Earth, probably a title of this prince.

'In the year 429, of the æra of Vicramaditya (A. D. 373), Anangapal, of the tribe of Tanor, raised the standard of justice, and founded the city of Dehli. * In the year 848, of the same æra, (A. D. 792), in the vicinity of that vast metropolis, the contest was decided between Prithiviráj (descended from Anangapal) and Billa deva, † of the Chohan tribe. The latter gained the throne by his victory. In the reign of Rajah Pithura, ‡ the Sultan Moazeddin of Ghizna made several unsuccessful incursions into Hindûstan. Seven times he renewed the attack, and was as often defeated. In the year 588 of the Hegira (1192, A. D.), || the eighth battle was fought near Thaneswara, in which the Rajah was taken prisoner. He had in his service a hundred heroes, each of whom was named Shamant, whose wonderful exploits

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* Our author manifestly means, that Anangapal added a new city, called Dehli, to the ancient city of Indraprastha. That this is really his idea is proved, by his having previously mentioned Dehli as the capital of the Pándava, many centuries before Anangapal; though it was then called Indraprastha.

† This is indisputably the Billa deva mentioned in the inscription.

‡ The Visala deva, who caused the inscription to be engraved.

|| It must be observed, that Abul Fazil gives the pedigree of Rajah Pithura so incorrectly, that the length of the reigns, from the accession of Billa deva to the defeat and death of Pithura, the last of his descendants, occupy only 83 years and 7 months; though they should fill an interval of four hundred years, from A. D. 792 to 1192. The historian Mohamed Casim Ferishta appears to contradict Abul Fazil, by calling Khandiraï king of Dehli, and Pithura king of Ajmira. But this inconsistency is only apparent; for, in another passage, he names Khandiraï, Sepasillar (general) of Dehli. He was the brother and general of Prithiviráj, whose kingdom of Sácambhari included both Ajamira and Dehli, though his residence seems to have been the former. Colonel Dow has rendered the whole passage unintelligible, by calling the city of Serhind, 'Teberhind,' and placing it in Ajamira, whilst it is considerably north of Dehli.

can neither be detailed nor credited. But in this battle none of them were present. For this prince, from his amorous disposition, resigned his empire for musky tresses, and spent his days in a way unworthy of of him, careless of state affairs, and heedless of military duties. The story is thus related. Rajah Jayachandra, king of Hindustan, dispensed justice in the city of Canoj, and the other princes acknowledged his supremacy. Attracted by his generosity, a multitude of Persians and Tartars were engaged in his service. This prince proposed to perform the solemn sacrifice, called Rájasuya. In this ceremony, it was the custom for all menial offices to be performed by kings, even to washing the utensils, and kindling the fire; and the hand of a princess rewarded the most deserving. Rajah Pithura intended to repair to the festival, like the others; but it was hinted to him that the supreme dominion being now in his family, it would be improper for him to go. The flame of rivalship was thus kindled in his breast; and he absented himself. Jayachandra resolved to compel his attendance, but was deterred by the near approach of the time fixed for the ceremony: he therefore caused a golden statue of the Rajah to be sculptured, and placed it at the gate of the temple, as performing the functions of janitor. Pithura enraged at this affront, accompanied by 500 men in disguise, went to the sacrifice, fell upon the assembly, and, after much bloodshed, carried off the effigy in triumph. But the princess, enamoured with Pithura, from the recital of his valorous exploits, refused to give her hand to the prince chosen by her father, who, indignant at her predilection for his rival, dismissed her from the palace, and secluded her in a separate mansion. Pithura no sooner heard this story, than he burnt with desire for the fair prisoner; and selecting an eminent musician, he commanded him to repair to the court of Jayachandra, as an encomiast, while himself, with a chosen band, followed as his attendants. By the talisman of prudence, and the witchcraft of valour, he seized the ball of desire, and bore it to his capital. The hundred Shamants, in various disguises, made head one after the other against the host of pursuers, and put them to flight. First, Govinda Rai opposed them, and multitudes of the enemy accompanied him in death. Narsingha Deva, Chandu Pandir, Sardula Solanghi, and Balhen Deva, with his two brothers, after performing wonderful exploits, exchanged their lives for fame on the first day. The bodies of the hundred Shamants lay strewed on the route: but Pithura and his two brothers, accompanied by Chanda, brought the bride to Dehli. A fatal triumph! for the Rajah became so enamoured of her charms, that he neglected every other object. A year afterwards, Shehabeddin availed himself of this circumstance, to form an alliance with Jayachandra, and seized on various places. Pithura long remained ignorant of his danger, immured with the princess in the recesses of the palace. At length, the chiefs caused Chanda to enter the queen's apartments, and to inform him of the state of affairs. Elated with former victories, the Rajah instantly called a few troops, and marched to attack the invaders. But circumstances were now

changed;

changed; the heroic companions of his former exploits were no more: the empire was in confusion; and Jayachandra, previously his ally, was leagued with the foe. Rajah Pithura was made prisoner, and carried to Ghazna. Chanda, faithful to his master, hurried thither, and being well received by the Sultan as a musician, he contrived to enter the prison; and, attracting his master's attention by his well known sounds, proposed that he should invite the Sultan to be a spectator of his dexterity with the bow, when he might revenge his wrongs. This was resolved and executed; but the death of the Sultan was compensated by that of the Rajah and of Chanda. Such is the Hindû tradition; but the Persian writers assert that Pithura fell in battle.'

We hope the length of this passage, translated from Abulfazil, will be excused, on account of the interest excited by the courage and character of the last Hindu prince who sat on the throne of Dehli. The faithful picture of Hindu manners which the narrative presents, (manners which appear to have undergone no change from the date of the Puranas, till the Mohammedan conquest), was an additional motive for its insertion.

Tournaments and religious ceremonies; princesses bestowing their hands on the cavaliers who distinguish themselves in martial exercises; others carried off by single heroes, though surrounded by opposing hosts, such are the circumstances which perpetually recur in Hindu poems; love and war, beauty and valour, unite in the same romantic adventures, and recal the times of chivalry, celebrated by the Italian muses, when

> 'Risonava Parigi di strumenti,
> Di trombe, di tamburi, et di campane
> Vedevansi corsier con paramenti,
> Con fogge nuove, peregrine et strane;
> D'oro e di gioje tanti addobbamenti,
> Che non bastano a dir li voce umane:
> Che per piacer' all' alto imperadore,
> Ognuno a suo poter si fece onore.'

'*Account of the Cucis, or Lunctas.* By John Macrae, Esq. *Communicated by* J. H. Harington, Esq.

THE anniversary discourses of Sir William Jones supplied an important *desideratum*, by indicating and generalizing the most prominent facts discovered since the last. Such a summary by the eloquent and philosophic Cuvier, usually forms the most interesting portion of the labour of the French Institute. But for the Asiatic Society, the adoption of this plan is almost indispensable to the reputation which their labours so well deserve. To men accustomed to reflect on certain topics, a simple narrative will frequently suggest deductions little thought of by the writers: a proof of this has already been given in the dissertation on the

Singhala; the paper before us affords another. From this we consider it as certain, that the savage mountaineers who inhabit or infest the lofty barriers of the English frontiers on the east, are not sprung from the Indian stock; that they are a less civilized branch of the people, who, under the names of Burmans, Peguvians, and Siamese, occupy the countries interjacent to India and China; and that, like them, they venerate Buddha, with the rude ritual adapted to their manners and condition.

> 'Jupiter angusta vix totus stabat in æde,
> Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.'

A fact equally singular and unaccountable is, that though mention of the Ganges occurs in every page of the Purana, the name of the Brahmaputra, a river more remarkable both for its size and the length of its course, never once occurs; though all those poems contain a list of rivers, in which a number of very insignificant ones find a place. This river must, we imagine, be considered as the ancient boundary of Hindostan. After crossing it, the delicacy of feature, and attention to personal cleanliness, which marks the Indian figure, disappears; robust, squat persons, with harsh features, and ruder manners, mark the limits of ancient India; and the languages are as discrepant to the ear, as the forms to the sight. Previously to the reign of the Emperor Akber, the province of Chittagong never appears to have been annexed to the Indian empire. Intersected by a ridge of mountains running parallel to the direction of the bay, this district forms a striking contrast with the flat alluvial land which constitutes the remainder of the suba of Bengal. A second, and more lofty chain, marks its eastern frontiers; the Chumias, who are probably Hindus, inhabit its western skirts, and partake in some degree of the civilization of their neighbours. Beyond them, the Cucis, or Lunctas, as they are called from their nakedness, inhabit those mountains. Hunters and warriors like all savage nations, they are divided into several tribes, and carry on constant warfare with each other, molesting the Chumias with predatory excursions. They refer their own origin to the Magas; and in this we think they are indisputably right: but whether, like us, they limit that denomination to the inhabitants of Rekbeng, is more doubtful. Their language, of which an ample specimen is exhibited, is manifestly not derived from the Sanscrit

[illegible]

figure of wood, of the human shape, representing Sheem Sauk; it is generally placed under a tree, and to it they offer up their prayers before they set out on any excursion or enterprise, as the deity that controuls and directs their actions and destiny. Whenever,

ever, therefore, they return successful, whether from the chase, or the attack of an enemy, they religiously place before Sheem Sauk, all the heads of the slain, or of their game killed, as expressions of their devotion, and to record their exploits. Each warrior has his own particular pile of heads; and according to the number it consists of, his character as a hunter and warrior is established in the tribe. These piles are sacred.' In this passage, we find the proof of the Cucis being adorers of Buddha: the name he bears amongst them is Sheem Sauk; the last a corruption of his common title Sacya, and the first, probably, in their language, signifying muni, or an inspired anchoret; if it be not also a corruption of Samana; an epithet often applied to him, and which might most conveniently be translated equanimous, did our language permit of that adoption.

'*On the Sanscrit and Prácrit Languages. By* H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.'

The languages of India, or at least those used by the poets, were, according to a treatise on rhetoric, cited by our author, fourfold, viz. 1. Sanscrit, or the language of the gods; 2. Prácrita, or the vulgar dialect; 3. Païsachi, or the language of demons; 4. Mágadhi. In a second enumeration from the same work, instead of the two last, are substituted Apabhransa, or jargon; and Misra, or mixed. Mr Colebrooke considers the Apabhransa, or jargon, of the second citation, as corresponding with the Mágadhi of the first. The Païsachi, or language of demons, he thinks a fantastic gibberish introduced by poets; and the Misra, or mixed language, he refers to dramatic compostions, in which gods, men and demons, are represented as conversing in different idioms. Thus, according to this intelligent writer, the number of languages really recapitulated as existing in the preceding quotations, are only three.

Notwithstanding our extreme deference for the superior attainments of Mr Colebrooke in the Sanscrit language, we venture to doubt the accuracy of his conclusion; and to contend for the actual existence, as spoken languages, of all those enumerated. There can be no doubt as to what is meant by Sanscrit and Pracrit. The Païsachi of the first, we consider as the Apabhransa of the second citation. We conceive it to have been a foreign or distinct language, and, consequently, not liable to the rules of Sanscrit inflection, which is the definition he gives of Apabhransa. There existed a written character, as well as a language, called also Païsachi, from the beings who were supposed to have used them. The Païsachi we are disposed to consider as one of the tribes of mountaineers imperfectly civilized, who, continuing to

to harass the inhabitants of the plain by nocturnal excursions, figure in the Hindu dramas as solitary demons, wandering about at night, and concealing themselves in hollow trees and impervious forests. The fourth language mentioned in each series, is the Mágadhi and the Misra; and we have already stated Mr Colebrooke's opinion concerning them. We think that the Mágadhi is the Pali language, or that used by the priests of Buddha. We believe that all scepticism on this point will be removed, if it be recollected, 1. That Mágadha is the ancient name of the province of Behar, in which Buddha was born, who consequently spoke Mágadhi; 2. That in the island of Ceylon, the Pali tongue, in which their sacred books are composed, is called Mágadhi at this day. That it is with great propriety called a mixed dialect (Misra), is also certain, since a great proportion of the Pâli words cited by different writers are Sanscrit. It appears to us also, that our explanation is more consentaneous with the expressions of the Hindu writer quoted; who, after stating the existence of four languages, fell into a manifest absurdity by including one in each series which had no existence. Moreover, in our explanation, the third and fourth of each series correspond, as might naturally have been expected; an advantage which Mr Colebrooke loses in his method of considering them.

Our author then proceeds to furnish a learned and able enumeration of the most celebrated works composed for the elucidation of Sanscrit grammar, from the earliest periods, down to the seventeenth century. The most famous of all these grammars, though too abstruse and difficult for general use, was composed by Pánini, who lived before the composition of the Puránás. But even this ancient monument of literary refinement abounds in references to the works of still more ancient grammarians—' Sácalya, Gárgya, Cásyapa, Gálava, Sácatáyana, and others.' A similar list of Sanscrit vocabularies succeeds. None of these are of great antiquity; and the philologers cited in them are now only known by name, their works having perished through time. Before we quit the subject, we will remark, that Mr Colebrooke states it as his opinion, that the Sanscrit language ' evidently draws its origin (and some steps of its progress may even now be traced) from a primeval tongue, which was gradually refined in various climates, and became Sanscrit in India, Pahlavi in Persia, and Greek on the shores of the Mediterranean.'

The interesting proposition contained in the above citation is, we think, more correctly announced by Sir William Jones in his Dissertation on the Origin and Families of Nations. That eminent scholar states it as capable of incontestible proof, ' that the first

first race of Persians and Indians, to whom we may add the Romans and Greeks, the Goths, and the old Egyptians or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith.' Our objection to the statement of Mr Colebrooke is, that we are firmly persuaded, that of the three successive languages spoken at different epochs in Persia, the Pahlavi is that which bears the least analogy to the Sanscrit. A reference to the vocabulary of the virtuous and learned Anquetil du Perron, will prove that the Zend bore a much stronger affinity to it than the Pahlavi; and even the Deri appears to us to have a closer resemblance.

In this curious and instructive memoir, our author next proceeds to consider the second class of Indian languages, or the Prácrit, 'which comprehends the written dialects now used in the intercourse of civil life, and cultivated by learned men.'— 'There is reason to believe,' adds Mr Colebrooke, 'that ten polished dialects formerly prevailed in as many different civilized nations, who occupied all the fertile provinces of Hindûstan and the Dekhyn. Evident traces of them still exist. They shall be noticed in the order in which these Hindu nations are usually enumerated.' Our limits will not permit of our inserting this interesting enumeration; but our readers will be pleased to see a succinct abstract.

1. The Saraswata, a nation called from the river on the banks of which they lived. It flows through the Penjab; and their dialect is more peculiarly distinguished by the appellation of Prácrit; though it have long ceased to exist, with the people who spoke it.
2. The Cányacubjas, whose metropolis was the proud city of Canoje. Their prácrit, or vernacular tongue, was, in Mr Colebrooke's opinion, the language now called Hindi, which by an admixture of Persic and Arabic nouns, is become the Hindustani, or Moors. The two languages above mentioned are written in the Devanágari character, like the Sanscrit; all those which follow have a character peculiar to themselves.
3. Gaurá, or the Bengal nation, of whom Gaur was the capital. Their prácrit is almost exclusively spoken by learned natives in that province, at this day.
4. Maithilá, the inhabitants of Tirhut, bounded by the Cusi, the Gandhac, and the Nepal mountains. Their dialect differs slightly from that of Bengal.
5. Utcala, is the province of Orissa; its dialect and character called Uriyà.
6. Dravira, is the country which terminates the peninsula of

India, and extends to between the twelfth and thirteenth degree of north latitude. Its language is called 'Támla; and Mr Colebrooke ingeniously deduces its etymology from the celebrated river 'Támraparni, which washes the southern Mathura.

7. The Maháráshtra, or Mahratta. 'Like other Indian tongues, it contains much pure Sanscrit, and more corruptions of that language, intermixed with words borrowed from Persian and Arabic, and with others derived from an unknown source.'
8. Carnáta, or Carnára, 'the ancient language of Carnátaca, a province which has given name to districts on both coasts of the peninsula.' It still prevails in the intermediate mountainous tract.
9. Telinga. The province named Telingana in our maps, but which formerly included the adjacent provinces on either bank of the Crisna and Gadaveri, and those situated on the north-eastern coasts of the peninsula. Since Mr Colebrooke has retained with great propriety the ancient names of the other divisions, we are at a loss to imagine why he has not done it in this instance, but substituted 'Telinga,' the modern corruption for Calanga.
10. Gurjara, the province of Guzerat, of which the Pracrit slightly varies from the Hindi.

Mr Colebrooke proceeds to treat of what he considers as the third class of Indian languages, 'denominated Mágadhi and Apabhransa, in the passages quoted at the beginning of this essay.' We have proposed our doubts of his accuracy in considering those terms as correlative, and stated our own opinion, with the proofs on which it rests. We are strongly confirmed in the truth of our deductions, from finding that, 'under these names, he comprehends all those dialects which, together with the Pracrits above noticed, are generally known by the common appellation of Bhasha, or speech.' Accordingly, our author furnishes the provincial dialects of the Penjab and of Mathura, as examples of this class. But we are sure that Mr Colebrooke will not contend that these dialects were ever termed Mágadhi, *i. e.* belonging to the province of Behar; and we consider the beautiful pastoral languages, which he cites, as proving only, that his enumeration of Pracrits is incomplete. We have been more diffuse in treating this subject, because even the errors of so distinguished an Orientalist as Mr Colebrooke, deserve consideration. But we are far from asserting that his view of the subject is erroneous; and will conclude with a succinct exposition of our own, that our readers may distinctly perceive the points on which we differ.

We

We conceive that the two passages cited by our author are designed as a classification of the languages known in India, anterior to the Mohammedan invasion, and that the denominations in the two series are correlative, or that the third and fourth of each are different terms for the same languages. We shall then have,

1. Sanscrit; or the elegant and refined language of books.
2. Prácrit; comprehending all the vernacular tongues enumerated by Mr Colebrooke, and others which he has omitted, as the Penjabi, and Vrija Bhasha.
3. Paísachi, or Apabhransa; which we consider as a language totally distinct from the Sanscrit in its origin, and conjecture to have been that of the mountaineers, by some writers regarded as the aborigines of that country. That the demons, introduced by poets in their dramatic compositions, should mix some Sanscrit words in their jargon, might be expected, since the sense would otherwise be unintelligible to the audience. It is even possible that their speeches may be intended to ridicule the awkward attempts of those people to speak Sanscrit, as in many passages of Shakespeare, where the interlocutors are French; and not genuine specimens of their own language, as in the Pœnulus of Plautus.
4. Mágadhi, or Misra. This we imagine to be the language called both Páli and Mágadhi on the island of Ceylon, and used by the priests of Buddha. Its admixture of Sanscrit entitles it to the appellation of Misra, or mixed, and it originated in Magadha, or Behar.

On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmans especially. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Essay II.

A former essay on this subject described the daily ablutions performed, with prayers and acts of religion by every Brahman. 'In the present,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'I shall restrict myself to explain the oblations to fire, and then proceed to describe funeral rites and commemorative obsequies, together with the daily offerings of food and water to the manes of ancestors.'

Oblations to fire are presented in all ceremonies where fire is used, and commences the rites. The ground is consecrated, by the sacrificing priest, for its reception: the fire itself is hallowed, by exorcising its carnivorous portion, when the remainder is supposed innoxious, and fitted to waft the offerings of men to the gods. With the rites suited to the object of the sacrifice, the oblations, consisting of clarified butter, are poured on the flame, the priest saying, 'Earth! be this oblation efficacious. Sky!

be

be this oblation efficacious. Heaven! be this oblation efficacious.'

A dying man, when no hopes of his surviving remains, should be laid on a bed of cusa grass in the open air, his head sprinkled with water drawn from the Ganges, and smeared with clay brought from the same river. A sálagráma stone should be placed near him, holy strains from the Veda chanted aloud, and leaves of holy basil scattered over his head.'

When he expires, the corpse must be washed, perfumed, and decked with wreaths of flowers; it is then carried by the nearest relations to some spot in the forest, or near water. The funeral pile is lighted from the consecrated fire maintained by the deceased. The nearest relation applies the flaming brand to the pile hung round with flowers, and the attending priests recite the appropriate invocations. 'Fire! thou wert lighted by him. May he therefore be reproduced from thee, that he may attain the region of celestial bliss. May this offering be auspicious!' All who followed the corpse walk round the pile, but may not view the fire. They then proceed to the river; and, after bathing, present oblations of water from the joined palms of their hands to the manes of the deceased, saying, 'May this oblation reach thee.' Elegiac verses are then recited.

'1. Foolish is he who seeks for permanence in the human state: insolid like the stem of the plantain tree; transient like the foam of the sea.

'2. When a body, formed of five elements, to receive the reward of deeds done in its former person, reverts to its five original principles, what room is there for regret!

'3. The earth is perishable; the ocean, the gods themselves pass away. How should not mortal man meet destruction?

'4. All that is low must finally perish; all that is elevated must ultimately fall; all compound bodies must end in dissolution; and life be concluded with death.'

During ten days, funeral cakes, together with libations of water and tila, must be offered as on the first. On the last day, the nearest kinsman of the deceased gathers his ashes, after offering a sráddha singly for him. This rite consists of offerings of rice, clarified butter, water and condiments. Then, proceeding to the spot where the pile stood, after adoring the divinities who preside over cemeteries, he deposits the bones of the deceased in a casket, composed of the leaves of the Butea frondosa, and inters them in a profound excavation. 'To cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted, or a mound of masonry be raised, or a pond be dug, or a standard be erected.' After some time, the casket is again dug up, and committed to the Ganges. The second series of obsequies, commencing on the

the day after the period of mourning has elapsed, is opened by a lustration, termed the consolatory ceremony. Mr Colebrooke proceeds to describe the ceremony performed in honour of progenitors in general; and at which three funeral cakes are offered to three paternal ancestors, as many to three maternal forefathers, and two to the Viswedwas, or assembled gods. These cakes, or more properly balls, with a little oil, barley, flowers, rice and water, constitute the offerings presented at each repetition of this rite, named Sráddha.

'*Parva petunt manes.*'

On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmans especially. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Essay III.

This essay consists of a description of the manner in which the duties of hospitality are exercised, which our author styles 'one of the five great sacraments which constitute the daily duty of a Hindu.' It is followed by a detail of marriage rites; these, though curious and interesting, will not admit of abridgement.

That so accomplished a scholar as Mr Colebrooke should confine himself so exclusively to the description of living manners, seldom deviating into the obscure but alluring labryrinths of antiquity, and avoiding the numerous analogies which must have obtruded themselves on his imagination, with the classic allusions which would have embellished his pages, will, in the opinion of many, stamp additional value on his lucubrations. Others will probably conceive the tedious ritual of superstition curious, in proportion only as it furnishes deductions of a more general nature; and will lament that Mr Colebrooke has limited his researches so strictly to the subject he professes to treat. But even these will admit, that he has supplied a copious detail of facts, on which all just inferences must be founded. To the candour of Mr Colebrooke, in retracting the incidental mistakes he had fallen into in former essays, we cannot assign too much praise. We must, however, enter our protest against another practice, into which he appears to have been inadvertently led, and which, in the present state of imperfect information on the subject of Indian history, may be productive of infinite confusion and perplexity. It is the incidental mention, in notes, of important and sometimes singular opinions, unsupported by evidence, and leading to no discussion. Erroneous ideas once disseminated are not easily extirpated; and the interests of truth and science are better consulted by weighing probabilities, where positive evidence cannot be procured, than in circulating unexamined possibilities. Our respect for the abilities of Mr Colebrooke compels us to justify our animadversion.

'Amera

'Amera Sinha was an eminent poet, and one of the nine gems (for so these poets were called), who were the ornament of Vicramaditya's court. Unfortunately, he held the tenets of a heterodox sect; and his poems are said to have perished in the persecutions fomented by intolerant philosophers, against the persons and writings of both Jaïnas and Bauddhas.'

Now, are those sects different in Mr Colebrooke's opinion? The fact is important; and, *prima facie*, one would imagine, that our author had satisfied himself that the votaries of Jina were distinct from the sectaries of Buddha. Yet, at the conclusion of this note we find, 'Bhanuji Dixita denies that there is any evidence to prove that the author of the Amera cosha belonged to the sect of Jaïnas.' Now, the inscription at Buddha Gayá demonstrates that he was a Bauddha, and the matter is left involved in some perplexity. We resume our citation.

'The persecution instigated by Sancara and Udayan Acharya were enforced, perhaps from political motives, by princes of the Vaïshnava and Saïva sects, who compelled the Bauddha monarchs to retire from Hindustan, and to content themselves with their dominions of Lásata and Bhota.'

Mr Colebrooke thinks this expulsion posterior to the reign of the Bauddha princes, mentioned on the monuments found at Monghir and Buddal. Were this certain, we should determine the epoch when Sancara áchárya flourished to be in the first century of the Christian æra. But such a conclusion would be precipitate. The mere circumstance of his persecuting the Bauddhá, a sect always at variance with the followers of the Veda, supplies no indication of the period. Do we know that the Bauddha monarchs were at all expelled from Hindustan? May they not, as in Casmira, (see No. 1. of our Journal), have reverted to the doctrine of the Vedás, without conquest, and without expulsion? In another note, Mr Colebrooke states, that the above philosopher, Sancara áchárya, established the sect of Saïvas, who worship Siva; whilst Mádhava áchárya, 'in like manner, established the sect of Vaïsnavas, who adore Visnu as God.' All this must consequently have happened about the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus; and the two newly established sectaries have immediately united to expel the Bauddhá. We confess, this appears to us improbable; particularly, as the Vaïsnava and Saïva are frequently mentioned in the Puranás; and the style of these works unquestionably proves them to have been anterior to Vicramáditya.

In the last mentioned note, we find the following remarkable passage. 'Vopadeva, the real author of the Sri Bhágavata, has endeavoured to reconcile all the sects of Hindus, by reviving the doctrines of Vyása.' Mr Colebrooke, consequently, styles the Bhágavata,

Bhágavata, a modern Purána. We should have considered the proofs of this assertion as infinitely the most curious portion of these dissertations. The style and contents of the Bhágavat had convinced us that it was more modern than the rest of the Puránas; but that it was composed so very recently, we certainly shall require strong proofs to credit. But who was Vopadeva? Is he the same with the author of the popular grammar called Mugdha bodha, grounded, according to Mr Colebrooke, on the plan of the Caumudis, of which the most esteemed was composed, 'within a few centuries past,' by Rámachandra? To conclude, we lament that this learned and ingenious writer has hazarded these assertions, unaccompanied by some sort of proof. The only error in which we perceive Mr Colebrooke to have fallen is, in calling 'Swadhá' the food of the manes. Swadhá is a goddess, whose adventures are very poetically narrated in the Brahma vaïvartica purána, originally a nymph of Goloca, the paradise of Visnu. Her celestial charms excited the jealousy of Rádhá, who perfectly represents the Grecian Juno in her caprices, her jealousy, and her fury. Hurled by the goddess from the empyrean, Visnu, to console her under her banishment, gave her in marriage to the Dii Manes. She is the goddess of funeral obsequies, conveying to the manes the offerings of men, and rewarding the latter for their piety to ancestors.

An Account of a Method for extending a Geographical Survey across the Peninsula of India. By Brigade Major Lambton.

THIS officer having been appointed by the Madras government to effect the object mentioned in the title, gives, in this paper, an account of his instruments, and of the commencement of his operations, by measuring a base line near Bangalor, commencing in lat. 12° 54′ 64″ north, and extending 7.4321 miles north-easterly, making an angle with the meridian 0° 57′ 7″.

On the Origin and peculiar Tenets of certain Mohamedan Sects. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

OF these sects, the Bohrahs are now the most numerous This tribe, found principally in populous cities, is entirely addicted to commerce, and are highly esteemed for industry and sobriety. Their tenets do not appear to differ from those of other Shiahs, and, like them, they are considered heretics by the Indian Moslems.

The Sadicas hold some tenets in common with the famous Ismaelites, whose chief was in former days renowned in Europe, under the appellation of Prester John, and the Old Man of the Mountain. But, from the account here cited, we cannot discover

whether

whether the Sadicas be still an existent tribe, or how far they conform with the opinions of the exploded sectaries.

The only people here mentioned, whose tenets deserve to be particularized, are the Ali-Allahiyas. They appear to have blended the doctrine of the Shiahs with the Hindu superstitions. They believe in the metempsychosis; they hold that the divinity has often assumed a corporeal form. The principal of these incarnations was in the person of Ali, whom they consequently worship. This sect is stated by Mr Colebrooke to be numerous at the present time.

A Summary Account of the Life and Writings of Avyar, a Tamul Female Philosopher. By the Reverend Dr John.*

Avyar, whom Dr John terms a celebrated philosopher, was the author of four little books in the Tamul language, which are used in teaching children to read in that country. The maxims are well adapted to the age and purpose; for nothing can be imagined more jejune and puerile. Dr John has translated an account of her parents, from a work entitled the Kandapranam, and determines the age in which she lived to be the 9th century of the Christian æra. We think this probable from one of her observations, 'The present Tamul language does not equal the old;' for, at that time, the language had undergone a considerable change by the arrival of numerous Mohamedan colonists. But we read with infinite surprise, in a note of the Secretary, that the work whence the story of Avyar was extracted, was probably the Scanda puráná. It is scarcely credible, that after Sir William Jones had proved the Puráná to be greatly anterior to the Christian æra, from a critical comparison with the works indisputably composed in the century preceding that epoch, the Secretary to the Asiatic Society, on no better foundation than a slight resemblance of name, should assert that one was written in the 9th century. But the whole paper seems to us entirely unworthy of a place in the memoirs of the Society.

Account of the St Thomé Christians, on the Coast of Malabar. By F. Wredé, Esq.

When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar; and the difference of their character and colour attested the mixture of a foreign race. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese; but the inquisitors soon discerned in them the unpardonable guilt of Nestorian heresy and schism.

With

With respect to their origin, there exists much difference of opinion. The Portuguese assert, that St Thomas, the apostle, preached the gospel in India, and that these are the descendants of his proselytes, whose faith had been subsequently perverted by the unwary admission of Nestorian Bishops from Mosol in Syria.

Mr Wredé observes, that Mar, or St Thomé, is considered by the Nestorians as the first who introduced the Christian religion into Malabar, and as their first bishop and founder, from whom they derive the name of St Thomé Christians. 'His arrival may be placed towards the middle of the 5th century; since notice is taken by Cosmas Indico-pleustes, of Christians in the Pepper country, or Malé, who received their bishops from Persia, where the Nestorian patriarch of that time resided, who had first his seat in Seleucia in Persia, afterwards at Babylon, and, lastly, at Mosul.'

'In the Malabar hiſtories, (Keralutpatti), the firſt mention of a Syrian colony of Chriſtians is made in the reign of Cacurangana Paramal, who probably lived in the ſixth century; a wealthy Syrian merchant, of the name of Thomé Cannaneo, is ſaid to have landed at Cranganor, where he was well received, and induced to ſettle, by great privileges granted to him by Perumal.'

Now to us it seems extremely probable that the Thomé of the Keralutpatti, is the identic Thomé of the Nestorian tradition; and it were to be wished that our author had given some authority for his fixing the arrival of the first mentioned in the 6th century, in contradiction to so plausible an inference.

'If one adds to theſe hiſtorical dates,' ſays Mr Wredé, 'the name of Syrians retained by the St Thomé Chriſtians, their diſtinct features and complexion ſomewhat fairer than the reſt of the Malabars, the ſtyle of their building, eſpecially their churches, but, above all, the general uſe of the Syrian, or rather Chaldean language, which is preſerved to this day in all their religious functions, even in thoſe churches which have ſince embraced the Roman rites, and that to this day they take their Chriſtian and family names from the Syrian and Chaldean idiom, no doubt can remain but that the St Thomé Chriſtians are originally a colony of Neſtorians, who fled from the dominions of the Greek emperors, after Theodoſius the Second had commenced to perſecute the followers of the ſect.'

On the above passage, the Secretary to the Society has the following note.

'Neſtorius was patriarch of Conſtantinople, A. D. 428, under the reign of Theodoſius the Second. His heretical opinions were firſt declared in 429, and condemned by the firſt council of Epheſus in 431. But the Emperor was not prevailed on to baniſh Neſtorius till 435; and four years more had elapſed before ſentence of proſcription paſſed againſt his

his followers. Gibbon, however, asserts, on the authority of St Jerome himself, that the Indian missionary St Thomas was famous as early as his time. Now Jerome died in 420: consequently the sect established in Malabar by Thomas could not have been that of Nestorius. Yet Gibbon himself appears to have overlooked this inconsistency.'

It is a pleasing circumstance for an unpractised writer to be able, for his *coup d'essai*, to correct a historian of such eminence as Mr Gibbon; but, in that case, he ought to be very sure of being right. We have searched in vain for any passage in which that historian asserts that the Nestorian heresy was preached by St Thomas; he only affirms that, ten centuries later, the Portuguese found the Malabar Christians infected with that schism. We admit, however, that although no inconsistency attaches to Mr Gibbon, the observation of the Secretary is fatal to the hypotheses of Mr Wredé; for, since St Thomas had already converted the Indians in the time of St Jerome, it follows, that he did not arrive subsequently to the persecution of Theodosius the Second. To us the traditions cited suggest a plausible and rational induction;—that the St Thomas mentioned by St Jerome is the same with the Thome of the Indian proselytes, and of the Keralutpatti; that he came from Syria, and preached Christianity in India before the time of Nestorius; that the Christians continued to receive their bishops from Syria; and when the Nestorian heresy was become prevalent in that country, it found its way into India by means of these bishops. By force and argument, the Portuguese, during the period of their sway, had brought over most of the Nestorians to the Roman rites; Mr Wrede counts still thirty-two churches who adhere to the doctrines of Nestorius, and contrasts the misery of the present race with the opulence of their ancestors. This gentleman intimates an intention of translating the history of Malabar, called Keralutpatti. We should have greatly approved of this resolution, had he not, as a specimen, furnished us with two erroneous translations of the title. For Keralutpatti neither signifies 'the commonwealth,' nor 'the description of Malabar;' but, as Mr Duncan has very properly translated it, (in the Asiatic Researches, vol. V.), the emersion of the country of Keral,' which is supposed to have been gained from the sea.

'*Account of an hereditary living Deity, to whom devotion is paid by the Brahmans of Puna and its neighbourhood. By* Captain Edward Moore.'

'Mrii Ba Gosvami was a Brahman of Puna, who, by abstinence, mortification, and prayer, merited, above others, the favourable regards of the Almighty. Ganapati, the most common name in this country, among

among the many hundreds of Ganésa, accordingly vouchsafed to appear to him at Chinchur, in a vision by night; desired him to arise, and bathe; and, while in the act of ablution, to seize, and hold sacred to the godhead, the first tangible substance that his hand encountered. The god covenanted, that a portion of his holy spirit should pervade the person thus favoured, and be continued as far as the seventh generation, to his seed, who were to become successively hereditary guardians of this sacred substance, which proved to be a stone, in which the god was to be understood as mystically typified. This type is duly reverenced, is carefully preserved, and hath ever been the constant companion of the sanctified person inheriting with it the divine patrimony. This annunciation happened about the year A. D. 1640; and six generations have since passed away.'

Half a century later than the apparition of the Indian Janus to the Goswami of Puna, the inhabitants of the most enlightened capital of Europe, assembled to witness and to venerate the pretended miracles performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris. An edict of the government put a stop to the assemblies, but the superstition survived some time longer. It was on that occasion the celebrated epigram was composed,

'De par le roi: defense à Dieu
De plus paroître dans ce lieu.'

But the sovereign of the Mahrattas is the dupe or the accomplice of the Indian impostor. It is possible that the predictions of the living deity, in unison with the politics of the Peshwa's cabinet, may be a convenient instrument in the hands of a statesman: possibly that prince is credulous enough to believe in the divine character of the Brahman. It were superfluous to state, that the legend has no more connexion with the Hindu religion, than the miracle of St Januarius, or those of our Lady of Loretto with the Christian faith. A religious mendicant from Varanes, who accompanied our traveller to the abode of this pretended divinity, treated the whole affair with derision.

On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon. By Mr Joinville.

'The cession of Ceylon to the English will not be productive of cinnamon alone to this nation. A stock of information, abundant, if not valuable, will hereafter form a part of our imports from that island. But it is easier to strip trees of their bark, than to attain the fruits of knowledge; and whilst the obdurate shell of two difficult languages must be overcome before we can penetrate to the kernel, it is reasonable to conclude, that some time will still elapse before the history of the isle shall receive a satisfactory elucidation.

We would earnestly recommend to such of our countrymen as have leisure for such researches, to attend first to the natural

 history,

history, the population, the commerce, the civil and military institutions of the country; in short, every thing comprised in its actual situation. But, if these barriers be too confined for the activity of their exertions, and researches into antiquities furnish a more alluring field, we shall then intreat them to begin with the study of the Pali, or at least of the Singhalese language. The miserable errors of all the disquisitions composed by learned Europeans on the subject of Hindu antiquities, before the Sanscrit language was studied, holds out a salutary admonition to our countrymen in Ceylon, and should prevent them from publishing what, a few years later, will be recognized as errors, or neglected as futile.

Mr Joinville is a writer of considerable information and talent. The subjects of which he has treated, are too multifarious to admit of an abstract. They may be classed under three heads: 1. Present customs, of which he has recorded several interesting particulars: 2. The religion of Buddha; and the perusal of what he has written on the subject, entirely confirms us in the observations we stated on Captain Mahony's memoir: 3. The cosmogony of the Singhalese. We have already observed, that the Bauddhá have borrowed their cosmogony from the Puránas. The Bhuvana cosha is the prototype whence the delineations given by M. Pallas, as collected from the Mongols,—those exhibited by Dr Buchanan as described by the Burmans,—and, lastly, this of Mr Joinville, from the Singhalese, are formed. Some of the proper names are more or less corrupted from the Sanscrit, and many not at all. We remark, indeed, that the Singhalese have preserved the original terms, as might be expected from their proximity, with much greater fidelity than the Tartars or Burmans: 4. Mr Joinville has taken considerable pains to prove that the religion of Buddha was anterior to the doctrine of the Vedás; and his opinions are undoubtedly entitled to consideration.

'I am rather of opinion, upon a comparison of the two religions, that that of Buddha is the more ancient, for the following reasons. The religion of Buddha having extended itself, in very remote times, through every part of India, was in many respects monstrous and unformed. An uncreated world and mortal souls, are ideas to be held only in an infant state of society; and, as society advances, such ideas must vanish. *A fortiori*, they cannot be established in opposition to a religion already prevailing in a country, the fundamental articles of which are, the creation of the world, and the immortality of the soul. Ideas in opposition to all religion, cannot gain ground, at least cannot make head, when there is already an established faith; whence it is fair to infer, that if Buddhism could not have established itself among the Bráhmans, and if it has been established in their country, that it must be the more ancient of the two.'

But

But the dogmata of Democritus and of Epicurus, were exactly those stated;—an uncreated world and mortal souls. Yet Mr Joinville does not regard them, we suppose, as the most ancient of philosophers. In the time of Cicero, when most of the Roman nobility adopted the doctrines of Epicurus, it was not surely because a creation and immortality had never been heard of before. We wish our author had stated whether the Singhalese themselves contend that their system is more ancient than the Brahmanic; to us it appears, that by placing the present Buddha eighteen centuries later than Ráma, the 7th Avatara of the Hindus, they concede the priority to the latter. But M. Joinville has himself stated a fact, which we think decisive on the point. The distinguishing feature of the doctrine of the Vedás, is the division into four casts,—the sacerdotal, the military or that of kings, the agricultural, and the servile. Now, our author informs us, that all these formerly existed in Ceylon. 'But,' adds he, 'as all these are the casts of ancient and fabulous times, they can only be said, at present, to exist in books.' This concession is more than sufficient to confirm our opinion, that the doctrine of the Vedás preceded the religion of Buddha in Ceylon, since it is manifest that the casts ceased to exist only after the introduction of the latter.

An Account of the Bazigars, a Sect commonly denominated Nuts. By Capt. David Richardson.

This is an amusing memoir. Captain Richardson describes the manners of several tribes of itinerant jugglers, who gain a livelihood by exhibiting their tricks and gambols for pay, throughout Hindustan. In their love of intoxication, dissolute habits, and indifference for all religion, they resemble the Gipsies; and the language of the latter is most unquestionably derived from India. We have examined, with attention, the vocabulary of the Gipsies, published by Grellman; and half of the words are obviously of Indian origin; many Persian words also occur, and several German and Italian. We are inclined to think that the remainder will be found to be Turkish and Slavonic, all amassed in the course of their migrations. They gave out in Italy that they were Egyptians flying from the persecution of the Saracens; but this story was much questioned at the time, as invented to excite compassion. Those who arrived in Hungary and Bohemia do not appear to have made that pretension, and came there from the provinces adjacent to the Black Sea. It were curious to ascertain the period of their quitting India. It struck us, that the word *bandúc*, a musket, established their emigration to be posterior to the invention of fire-arms. But we are informed that

this term is in use through the whole Turkish dominion. Many Sanscrit words occur in their vocabulary, which have never been adopted into Hindustani; and the Persian words might be owing to their transit through that country, as the German and the Italian undoubtedly are. *Nâta*, of which the word *Nut* is a corruption, signifies a dancer, in Sanscrit.

On the Burmha game of Chess, compared with the Indian, Chinese, and Persian game of the same denomination. By the late Capt. Hiram Cox.

CAPTAIN COX determines the comparative antiquity of those games in favour of the Indian, from its being the most complex and least perfect of them all. This is unquestionably true of that described by Sir William Jones, from the Bhavisya purâna, and which was played with dice. But the honour of the invention might perhaps be better decided by the appellations of the pieces, did the subject merit an elaborate investigation.

Upon the whole, our readers will easily perceive, that this volume contains no small share of interesting information: but the Society, we think, has not yet recovered the loss of its illustrious founder,—nor is it likely to give any great attraction to its publications, by inserting in them disquisitions which have no reference whatsoever to their local situation. In this volume, we have, besides the papers we have analyzed, a demonstration of the 12th axiom of Euclid, and a systematic arrangement of Scarabs; articles, we believe, which few European philosophers would think of importing from Calcutta.

ART. III. *Notes on the West Indies, written during the Expedition under the Command of the late General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, including Observations on the Island of Barbadoes, and the Settlements captured by the British Troops upon the Coast of Guiana; likewise Remarks relating to the Creoles and Slaves of the Western Colonies, and the Indians of South America; with occasional Hints regarding the Seasoning or Yellow Fever of hot Climates.* By George Pinckard, M. D., of the Royal College of Physicians, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals to his Majesty's Forces, and Physician to the Bloomsbury Dispensary. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1440 London. Longman. 1806.

THIS work is an extremely valuable addition to our information upon colonial affairs. It abounds in facts, the result of actual

tual observation, relative to all the interesting subjects enumerated in the above unwieldy title-page, and tends to supply the *desideratum* which we have formerly had occasion to point out among the variety of modern books of travels, by presenting us with a work of this description upon our West Indian colonies. 'It is a strange thing,' says Lord Bacon, in a passage prefixed as the motto of Dr Pinckard's volumes, 'that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but, in land-travaile, wherein so much is to bee observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation.' This complaint might be well founded in the age of Lord Bacon, but it is only applicable in our days under some limitations; for, in these times, when every traveller carries a journal-book as regularly as a portmanteau, our only regret is, that none but the worst diaries ever see the light, while the ridicule that has thus been attached to publishers of their travels, imposes silence on all who are fit to instruct the world by their communications. To this class, Dr Pinckard unquestionably belongs; and it gives us sincere pleasure to see him adventure before the public, notwithstanding the foregoing circumstance of discouragement.

The value and variety of the information which his volumes afford, can only be justly estimated by those who have had occasion to study West Indian affairs in books, and who have constantly experienced the most serious interruptions in their researches, from the omission of minute details of things highly necessary to be known, but left out as trifling, or passed over as presumed to be understood, in the writings of those who are best acquainted with the subject. Dr Pinckard, on the other hand, having gone to the West Indies with very little knowledge of the topics which he there had occasion to examine, remained in those interesting settlements a sufficient length of time to put a person, of less acuteness and activity than himself, in possession of the details so much wanted by the student of colonial affairs in the mother country; and he gives those details in the work before us, with the fullness of a person who is not too much inured, as it were, to the subject. To all those, therefore, who desire such a valuable addition to their previous knowledge of the country, as can only be supplied by books of travels, we recommend the perusal of this work. It contains, besides, a mass of more general and important information, unarranged indeed, and conveyed in a faulty style, but sufficiently interesting to require our further attention upon the present occasion.

Before entering upon a sketch of it, we must clear the way for ourselves, by remarking that Dr Pinckard's style is that of a per-

son unaccustomed to the art of composition, but habituated to write numerous epistles to private friends, and thereby to indulge in all manner of incorrectness, sentiment and eloquence. Hence, a reader not very anxious for the real and solid instruction which his book contains, would be apt to close it in disgust, at the bad taste which it continually displays. It is perhaps enough to mention, as a confirmation of this stricture, the first page containing a dedication of the work to FRIENDSHIP, dated from *Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury*, and concluding with 'Accept then, benign power, thine offspring! and cherish it even as thou hast begotten it; and cause thy warmest influence ever to animate the heart of thy faithful and devoted servant, the Author.' All which may be very fine, and we have no doubt is quite sincere; and yet it strikes us as the most absurd dedication we ever read; except, perhaps, that of a book on natural history,—one volume of which is dedicated to a peer of the realm, and another to God Almighty. After this specimen of the author's taste, it is perhaps needless to mention, that his style is extremely inflated throughout. There is nothing more tiresome than his constant load of epithets, where he is not in metaphor; and the frequent recurrence of all sorts of bad figures, raises him to the rank of the letter-writers in circulating libraries. Thus, 'the craggy shores and rugged broken figures of the West India islands, bespeak the convulsive throes of a sudden birth,' and shews that they owe their formation to 'the vehement vomitings of volcanic eruption.' (II. p. 74.) These savour, indeed, of the Doctor's peculiar profession; but, in the next page, (for every page has its flower), the bold summits are piercing the skies, and Barbadoes is the venerable and decrepit parent of the race (of islands.) So (p. 79,) 'the woods fall before the rueful axe;'—'stagnant morasses empoison the breeze;' and a thousand other utensils and pieces of land and water, are endowed with life and thought, by the creative eloquence of Dr Pinckard. As this work will probably go through more editions, we trust, if he has not the heart to prune and weed himself, that he will employ some dull friend to perform this useful work, and convert his book into a plain narrative, as it ought naturally to be.

The adventures of our author, and his observations upon the West Indies, are contained in a series of letters to a friend. The nine first letters are needlessly occupied with his proceedings before he left England—his journeys in the mail coach—his stay at Southampton and Portsmouth, and a number of common occurrences that happen to every body. He then puts to sea, and is driven back by a storm, which obliges him to encounter more ordinary adventures on shore, until he sails a second time—meets with

with bad weather again, but arrives safe at Barbadoes. All the *minutiæ* of the voyage, which would have been very interesting in the fifteenth century, are carefully detailed in successive epistles; so that it is only in the eighteenth letter, about the middle of the first volume, that the work may be said to begin; and among other improvements for a second edition, the unfeigned interest we take in the success of this work, makes us suggest the total omission of the first seventeen epistles.

The following extracts contain his description of the first impressions made by the climate and scenery of the West Indies. He landed in Carlisle Bay.

'The harbour is a fine open bay, the whole of which, with its varied shores, were before the eye; many ships were riding at anchor, and a multitude of boats and small vessels were sailing and rowing to and fro. The two points of land, at the entrance, serve as a defence; while they augment the beauty of the harbour. On one of them appears a formidable battery, together with an extensive barrack for troops: on the other is a fine grove of mountain cabbage, and cocoa nut trees. Through the shipping at the bottom of the bay, are seen numbers of neat cottages; among which are interspersed various tropical trees, affording the protecting shelter of their umbrageous summits. On the south-west shore stands Bridge-town, the capital of the island; and on the north-east, upon high ground, is a new and handsome quadrangle of stone barracks, with the military hospital and other buildings of St Anne's Hill. Nor is the prospect confined to these limits. It extends still wider; and, in addition to the water, the shipping, and the numerous other objects immediately before the eye, the back ground, beyond the bay, and above the town, forms a rich and extensive landscape. The land is seen above the houses, the trees, and the topmasts of the ships, rising to a great distance, clothed in all the richness of its tropical apparel. Verdant fields of sugar, of coffee, and of cotton; fine groves, dark with luxuriant foliage; country villas; clusters of negro huts, windmills and sugar works, all present themselves to diversify and enliven the picture. Such was the scene that appeared before us as we sailed into Carlisle Bay.' I. 196, 197.

'The very beautiful rising and setting of the sun and the moon, were the frequent and admired subjects of our contemplation. Viewed from a West India sea, the surface of these orbs does not appear like a mere plane fixed in the heavens, as in Europe, but their convexity and globular form are seen very distinctly. When rising, they appear as detached globes protruding from the deep; at setting they resemble distinct spheres sinking, or rather dropping, divested of their rays, into the ocean.

'The moon is brighter than in England, and reflects a clearer light. When only a few days old the whole orb is visible—not decked in uniform brightness, as when it is at the full, but with the great body in shade, while the horned edge, alone, is dressed in silver.

'The appearance of the western sky was likewise an object of novelty to us. By day the whole canopy is one fine azure expanse, bright and unclouded; but, at evening, dark mountainous clouds accumulate, and, gathering into deep heavy masses, impend in awful majesty of form over the horizon.' I. 218, 219.

After landing in Barbadoes, our author made excursions through various parts of the island,—resided sometimes in the town, sometimes in the country,—visiting the inhabitants of all classes, merchants, planters, whites and negroes; and he notes down every thing that he observed, in the order in which it occurred. He has accordingly given a minute, and, we believe, a very faithful picture of the manners, habits, and character of the Barbadians; and with all the allowable partiality of a friend, grateful for the constant hospitality which he met with, he has abundantly confirmed the notions entertained by all who have attended to this subject, relative to the uncomfortable and vulgar state of society, and the absurd vanity, and other still less amiable qualities of the natives. His evidence on the grand question of West Indian policy, the slave system, we reserve for a distinct abstract, in which we shall bring together the different proofs scattered over his volumes. At present, we shall give our readers a few extracts illustrative of the state of society in Barbadoes, omitting, for the sake of decency, the important facts in Letter XXII, Vol. I. relative to the dreadful influence of the negro population upon the manners of the white women. The Barbadians look upon themselves as not only the privileged race of West Indians, but as superior to all other nations.

'Besides the great number of hospitable mansions found on the large plantations, in the different parts of the country—many humble dwellings attract the notice of the traveller, and improve the general scenery of the island. Of some of these I have before spoken. They are the cottages of a poorer order of white people—of obscure individuals, remote from the great mass of merchants and planters, and who obtain a scanty livelihood by cultivating a small patch of earth, and breeding up poultry, or what they term stock for the markets. They are descended from European settlers; but, from misfortune, or misconduct in some of the race, are reduced to a state far removed from independence; often, indeed, but little superior to the condition of free negroes.

'Curiosity has led us to visit several of these families, and we find that, throughout many generations, their predecessors have lived constantly in the island. Some have not been able to trace back their pedigree to the period when their ancestors first arrived, and therefore have no immediate thought or regard concerning the mother country; but abstractedly consider themselves only in the detached sense of Barbadians, fondly believing that, in the scale of creation, there can be no other country, kingdom or empire, equal to their transcendant island—

to their own Barbadoes; and hence the adage, '*What would poor old England do, were Barbadoes to forsake her?*' The same spirit of attachment and of preference is also betrayed in the common expression, '*neither Charib nor Creole, but true Barbadian*'—thus proudly distinguishing themselves as the true-born natives of the island which they consider superior to all others. They do not even admit themselves to be *Creoles*, but they are "Barbadians"—a something distinct and superior—a something different from, and unlike the inhabitants of the other West India islands!

'The pride attaching to this sentiment, I have before remarked to you, has diffused itself even to the negroes, who now loudly echo the boastful term—"*me Badian!*" II. 132, 133.

The following passage describes the effects of the climate in producing indolence and languor.

'One of the most prominent characteristics of the island is the tedious languor in which the people of Barbadoes pronounce their words. Nothing perhaps is more annoying to strangers. To convey to you, by the pen, any idea of their manner of speaking, is utterly impossible:—to be comprehended, it must be heard. The languid syllables are drawled out as if it were a great fatigue to utter them; and the tortured ear of an European grows irritable and impatient in waiting for the end of a word or a sentence. "*How you do to da—ay?*" spoken by a Barbadian Creole, consumes nearly as much time as might suffice for all the compliments of the morning! Nor is this wearisome pronunciation confined to the people of colour only. It occurs, likewise, among the whites, particularly those who have not visited Europe, or resided for some time away from the island. In the same lengthened accent do the lower orders of Barbadians, in unrestrained impetuous rage, pour forth vollies of uncommonly dreadful oaths, which, in their horrible combinations and epithets, form imprecations so strikingly impious, as to entitle them to the *merit* of peculiarity.

'In manner also, and in movement as well as in speech, a degree of indolence and inaction prevails, beyond what might be expected merely from heat of climate, and which has in it a something extremely annoying to Europeans.' II. 107, 108.

The hospitality of the Barbadians is such as might be expected in a half-civilized country, abounding in men suddenly raised to affluence, and in most of the rude produce subservient to animal enjoyment. It betrays a proportionate want of refinement and selection in the society, and of elegance and even manufacture in the materials. The following extract will probably bring our readers more speedily into the bosom of a West Indian family, than the most laboured general description.

'The breakfast usually consists of tea and coffee, or chocolate, with eggs, ham, tongue, or other cold meat. Bread is seldom used, but substitutes are found in roasted yams or eddoes, both of which a good deal resemble roasted potatoes. They are used hot, and eaten with butter,

butter, which is sometimes made in the country, but more frequently barrelled and brought from Ireland; that made in the island being of cream-like softness, and not always of good flavour. In the course of the forenoon are used fruits, or sandwiches, with free libations of punch and sangaree. Immediately preceding dinner, which is usually at an early hour, are taken punch and mandram. The dinner, for the most part, is profuse; and many hours are commonly passed at table in full and busy occupation.

'After a more than plentiful consumption of food, a free indulgence in fruit, and a bounteous supply of wine and other good liquors, to crown the repast, the appetite and thirst are further provoked by a dish of sprats, or other broiled fish, and a large bowl of milk punch. Tea and coffee are next served—and, lastly, comes the supper, which forms no trifling meal. After this, the bottle, the glass, and the punch-bowl, know no rest, until the silent hour, when Morpheus, with rival powers, dethrones the Bacchanalian god.' II. 97, 98.

'In the order of the feast, plenty more prevails than elegance. The loaded board groans, nay, almost sinks beneath the weight of hospitality. That delicacy of arrangement now studied in England, under the term—economy of the table, is here deemed a less perfection than a substantial plenty. Liberality is more esteemed than delicacy in the supply; and solids are, sometimes, heaped upon the table in a crowded abundance, that might make a London fine lady faint.

'The repast not unfrequently consists of different kinds of fish—a variety of soups—a young kid—a whole lamb, or half a sheep—several dishes of beef, or mutton—a turkey—a large ham—Guinea fowls—and a pigeon pye; with various kinds of puddings; a profusion of vegetables, and multitudes of sweets. I was lately one of a small party, where precisely this dinner was served, and where the half of a sheep, kicking its legs almost in the face of the master of the house, adorned the bottom of the table—forming the most unseemly dish I ever beheld.

'Perhaps we may find it to be common to the West Indies, but, hitherto, it has appeared to us peculiar to Barbadoes—to put on table three or four large substantial puddings of different kinds, and four or five dishes of the same sort of meat, differently dressed. Unaccustomed to this, an English eye, on looking into the dining-room, is surprised at the continuation of mutton, mutton, mutton, pudding, pudding, pudding, from one end of the table to the other, and which the crowd of other good things seems to render unnecessary.

'The generous board is often supplied wholly from the produce of the estate; and on the occasion of giving an entertainment, it is not unusual to kill an ox, a sheep, or, literally, the fatted calf; hence it occurs that various dishes of the same kind of food, under different forms, sometimes make up the principal part of the dinner, and, thus, it becomes explained, why we sometimes see upon table, at the same time, roasted mutton, mutton ragout, boiled mutton, mutton chops, and

and a mutton pye. The puddings mostly used, are of citron, cocoa-nut, yam, lemon, and custard, and do great credit to the Barbadoes cookery-book. The desert is not less plenteous than the dinner, consisting of a variety of fruits and preserves, served in crowded supply. The bottle and glass pass freely, and the fluids are in full proportion to the solids of the feast.' II. 100, 101, 102.

Having escaped from this hospitality by the united strength of his constitution and his professional skill, Dr Pinckard was detached as chief of the medical staff with the expedition sent to restore the balance of power in Europe by the capture of the Dutch settlements in Guiana. In a short time, the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbische, were taken, it being speedily discovered by the Dutch, that the events of the European campaign would restore those provinces at a general peace, after our temporary possession should at once have fed them with the capital of which they stood so much in need, and given them the certainty of further supplies, even subsequent to their restitution.* In Guiana, our author remained above a year, and made various interesting and adventurous excursions. His anecdotes are for the most part amusing; and his observations relative to the Indians, whites, and negroes, are curious and valuable. We shall not pretend to abridge these, but shall content ourselves with selecting some parts by way of specimen; premising, that we omit entirely those parts which touch upon the yellow fever, and other diseases of the climate, though they are both extensive and important branches of the work. The following passage contains by far the most distinct and striking description of the settlements in Guiana that we have ever seen. We make no apology for transcribing it entire.

'On approaching these colonies from the sea, the land is not visible, until you come very near to the shore. The tops of trees only are seen; which appear to be growing out of the ocean. Before the coast was brought into cultivation, the forest reached very near to the edge of the water; and, from the land being low, it was frequently overflowed by the tides. Now, there is a cultivated territory, a mile and half in depth, between the ocean and the forest; but this is so entirely flat, as wholly to escape the eye, and, on sailing towards the coast, the trees still look as if they were growing within the edge of the sea.

'Perhaps none but the plodding industrious Hollander would have attempted to settle in such a country—where wood and water concealed every appearance of the land, and seemed to bid defiance to all the powers of cultivation. Nor, indeed, were the early labours of the first settlers directed to this part of the coast. They sailed far up the rivers, and

* This has been already explained in various articles of our Journal. See particularly No. VIII.

and established the settlements upon their more elevated banks, at a distance remote from the sea; not venturing to devote their industry to the immediate borders of the ocean, until they were prompted to it by the enterprize of more adventurous planters from the British islands.

'The whole of the territory now brought into cultivation upon the coast, is *made* land. It has been placed—I had almost said created, by the hand of man; and is only preserved to his use by constant toil. Numerous ditches and canals are cut to drain the water from the common surface; and the land that is planted, is only the mud and clay thrown out of these channels.

'An estate, or plantation, usually consists of a long piece of flat land, about a quarter of a mile in width, and a mile and half in depth, running back from the sea to the woods. It is bordered by wide ditches, and traversed by numbers of others, and is thus formed into many separate divisions, somewhat resembling an assemblage of beds—such as are usually made in our English gardens, for the planting of asparagus.

'From a number of these estates lying contiguous to each other, the coast is formed into an open, though narrow, territory; and the border of the sea swells into one splendid cotton field, a mile and half deep, and of nearly seventy miles extent. The surface being quite level, this immense tract of cultivated land opens at once to the eye, and the scene is not less rich than novel. Perhaps a plain so spacious, a soil so fertile, and a produce so abundant, cannot be met with in any other country.

'Like the soil in cultivation, the land which forms the public roads, is only the mud and clay procured from the ditches that border them. They are of course flat, like the rest of the territory; and, running at the bottom, or along the sides of the estates, they form straight lines, and right angles, throughout the whole extent of the plantations, interrupted only by the wooden bridges which cross the numerous ditches and canals.

'In allotting the land, a certain width of territory between each two estates, is, with much wisdom, reserved to the colony, in order to form what are here termed colony paths. These not only serve as common ways, from the front to the back of every plantation, but in each of them is cut a public canal, which runs from the sea, throughout the whole depth of the cultivated land, to the forest. By this provision, many useful purposes are answered,—the public convenience is promoted, and each individual planter is benefited.

'The colony path, not only offers itself as a common road, from the sea to the bush, but preserves a free communication for any future settlers, who may engage in the cultivation of land at the back of the present estates; while the canal, by means of floodgates, lets off to the ocean the water that lodges in the forest, and prevents it from overflowing the cultivated fields; bringing, at the same time, a supply of fresh water, for the use of the negroes and the cattle; and affording to the planters

planters a ready means of conveying the produce of their estates to the sea.' Vol. III. p. 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.

In these extensive flats, thus rescued from the sea by the most industrious of mankind, the peculiar fertility of the soil renders the crops far more abundant than in any other West Indian settlement. This very fertility offers, indeed, the only obstacle to cultivation, by exacting a constant care from the weeders and hoers. But such labour to Dutchmen, who are abundantly supplied with slaves, is of trifling difficulty. On the other hand, these possessions enjoy the singular advantage of entire freedom from the earthquakes, hurricanes, and destructive insects, so fatal to the profits of the husbandman in the Caribbee Islands. They are exempt from the great droughts; and, from their flatness and exposure, suffer few sudden changes of temperature, or cessations or interruptions of the regular breezes.

The cultivation of this country began near the rivers, and was for a long time confined to their banks. But since their intercourse with England, by means of loans, conquest, and English emigration, the rivers have been deserted for the more profitable culture of the land on the coast. Thus, the colony already exhibits a singular appearance. It consists of a narrow strip of highly cultivated land, on the borders of the sea, and bounded, on the opposite side, by a forest extending over the whole continent. The rapidity of the clearing and settling here, is of that unnatural sort which is only known in slave colonies, where the number of hands may be always multiplied to any extent required, by the abundance of capital. In less than twelve years, one hundred and sixteen plantations were established, and indeed perfected, in the colony of Demerary. These, in 1797, were almost all in cotton, and produced, at an average, from 50 to 60,000 lib. each *per annum*. But, since that time, the number of estates has greatly increased; and, as usually happens, many of the cotton plantations have been converted into very rich sugar estates. It may be proper to remark, that a sugar plantation requires one negro for every acre of land; a coffee plantation two negroes for every three acres; and a cotton plantation only one negro for every two acres. The number of slaves in the colony of Essequibo and Demerary, amounted, in 1797, to 55,000; but they are now increased to upwards of 80,000. A single estate, being that of the wealthy planter, has 2000 slaves; and his fortune is estimated at 50,000*l.* Sterling a year.

Here, as in all other tropical colonies, the cultivation of sugar, coffee, and cotton, almost wholly engrosses the stock and labour of the community. The fruitfulness of the soil, indeed, is equally adapted to the production of the ordinary vegetable food of man and cattle

cattle, and would raise immense crops of all sorts of grain and garden stuffs; but the exportable produce is found more profitable, and a small proportion only of vegetable food is raised for consumption. In like manner, though the forests swarm with all sorts of game, and though every domestic animal thrives well in the plantations, a very small portion of attention is bestowed on live stock. These things may be seen from the relative prices of different commodities. Bread costs 5d. a pound; grass, fresh cut, 5d. a bundle, of which a horse requires five or six in a day. Beef and mutton 1s. 6d. a pound; bad milk 5d. a pint; a turkey 1*l*. 5s.; while sugar costs 4d. a pound, coffee 7½d., and cotton 1s. 3d. Articles of manufacture, it is needless to add, are extravagantly dear, as in all West India colonies, and articles of importation still dearer. A small tart, which in London would cost a penny, in Demerara costs 5d. A very ordinary saddle and bridle cannot be had under ten guineas and a half; and a pound of green tea costs a guinea. Where almost all the work in the country is performed by slaves, it becomes difficult to estimate the natural price of labour. It may be conjectured, however, from considering the profits of a class of capitalists in these colonies, who buy great numbers of negroes, and, having no landed property, let them out to others for so much daily or monthly hire. The neat profit obtained in this way, from a slave who cost originally 80*l*. Sterling, is from twenty to twenty-two guineas a year, the person who hires him paying all expenses of food, medicines, &c. It is calculated, that a negro hired by the day brings his master about four shillings; and, when hired for a number of weeks, about half that sum. Of course, the higher kinds of labour performed by whites and free mulattoes, as carpenters' and smiths' work, are exorbitantly dear. A common labouring carpenter can earn nearly eighteen shillings a day.

We have already stated our intention of passing over Dr Pinckard's medical dissertations, though they are, we doubt not, extremely valuable.* We shall only observe, that he thinks the climate of the colonies in Guiana by no means worse than that of the islands; and hazards an opinion, that our troops might be rendered nearly as effective for service in the West Indies as in Europe, by gradual transportation, first to Gibraltar, then to the Windward Islands, and not to the less wholesome climate, until after a few years seasoning in those cooler and safer places. It is clear, on the other hand, that the climate, even of the most favoured of the islands, renders insupportable to European constitutions all those harder exertions of labour which must be performed to raise West India crops. Nevertheless, there are scattered over Dr Pinckard's volumes various proofs that the creole

whites

whites are capable of undergoing great fatigue, and that many of the poorer of their number, those who are usually denominated *small whites*, live entirely by their own industry, like the peasants of European countries, without any slaves to cultivate their farms or tend their cattle.

We now proceed to close this account of the work before us, by noticing the evidence which it gives us on the subject of the slave system. The first thing which must strike every reader on this matter, is, that though Dr Pinckard was always well received by the planters—lived in their society on a footing of the closest intimacy—was a witness of all the good as well as the evil of their manners—and is, in every respect, most naturally and properly inclined to vindicate them where truth will permit; yet his whole volumes, abounding in every species of information, containing all the results of his attentive, unwearied observations on the state of the slaves, as well as of the colonies in general, and written with a minuteness which only the importance of the subject and his abilities could prevent from being tiresome, do not offer to the most attentive perusal one single fact or circumstance approaching to a defence of the evils so often imputed to the slave traffic. Their whole compass offers not a line to contradict, nor even in any degree to weaken, the mass of evidence upon which former writers on colonial affairs have long ago denounced that detestable enormity. On the contrary, he furnishes, almost in every page, new examples of its evils, and new grounds for pushing its abolition. Of these, our limits only permit us to extract a few specimens. Nor is it, we trust, necessary to multiply the proof, at this time of day, when the Legislature is on the eve of proceeding to the total destruction of the trade, upon the unexampled chain of evidence already before them—evidence which, we will venture to assert, renders this by far the clearest case of a union between justice and policy that occurs in the whole history of nations.

It appears from our author's comparative account of an American and a Liverpool Guineaman, both of which he minutely examined, that, in spite of all our regulations, the former has the advantage in the treatment of the cargo. The English negroes were, he at first thought, better looking, from their skins not being affected by an eruption very prevalent among the American slaves; but this difference, he found, was owing to the use of a vile composition of spirits, gunpowder, &c. with which the former were rubbed on approaching the market, and which was to be used with the latter also as they came near America. (See vol. I. p. 232.)

His description of an insurrection on board the American

ship,

ship, when lying off the coast of Guinea, deserves to be noticed by those who conceive that the negroes are sold by common consent, being the absolute property of African masters before we get them. Those miserable wretches were kept on the coast, while the cargo was completing, in view, says our author, of the country where they had left their wives and families. They rose upon the crew in a fit of despair, and having murdered the captain and mate, were only quelled by a superior force. See vol. I. p. 236.

Of the desire which those poor creatures have to return to Africa, after tasting the sweets of European society, or their eagerness, by any means, to get rid of those enjoyments, we learn many curious particulars in the volumes before us. That they universally believe in transmigration to Africa after their decease; and that this renders them often desirous to terminate their miseries by suicide, which masters have the greatest difficulty in preventing, are statements pointedly made by Dr Pinckard. But his account of two negro funerals, which he witnessed himself, are still more striking, as evidence of the humanity of planters, and the happiness of their slaves. At both these solemnities, the most unbounded marks of joy and, as it were, congratulation, formed the rude ceremonial. The corpse of the happy negro, now rescued from his chains by a power, against which not even white men could contend, was followed by his surviving comrades, singing and capering for joy; not asking him, like the barbarians of the polar circles, why he died, or lamenting that he had left them; but addressing him in exclamations of envy,—of hope that they should speedily follow him,—and of confidence that the moment of their death would prove also the signal of relief from their wretchedness. See vol. I. p. 273, and vol. III. p. 67.

It is needless to observe that these volumes abound likewise in examples of the good qualities of the Africans, even under circumstances the least favourable to the development of any of the excellences of our nature. Their fidelity, gratitude, and humanity, are exemplified in many anecdotes which passed under the author's own eye, and which we forbear to dwell upon, only because we conceive the doctrine of negroes being divested of all good feelings, to be a senseless paradox, daily losing ground, and unworthy of a laboured refutation. See particularly, Vol. I. p. 367; III. p. 267; II. p. 218, 222, 330; and III. p. 358.

But with all these undoubted marks of amiable qualities which those passages exhibit, we find an unavoidable mixture of the features peculiar to uncivilized men—men kept forcibly in a state of unrelenting slavery—men suddenly and violently transported

from

from a state of savage freedom to a state of bondage in a civilized community. Their hatred of bad masters, their sense of injuries, their proneness to insurrection, are clearly illustrated by the details of Dr Pinckard. We refer particularly to the account of the fury exhibited by the slaves on a certain plantation against the overseer, for his cruelty towards one of their comrades, vol. III. p. 68; and the debasing and unnatural effects of slavery on the character may be estimated by the habits of stealing from their masters without thinking it any crime, which are described, vol. II. p. 118.

The general cruelty of the treatment to which negro slaves are subjected, receives strong illustration from the adventures related, and the observations made in these curious volumes. With all his tendency to excuse the planters, it is obvious, (from vol. II. p. 208), that instances of good treatment are given by Dr Pinckard, as exceptions to the general fact; while anecdotes of a contrary nature are to be viewed only as examples of the prevailing rule. The particular specimens of atrocious cruelty, both in masters and mistresses, and in overseers, contained in vol. II. p. 193 and 250, and III. p. 64 and 72, are too shocking for these pages. We shall content ourselves with remarking, that, in other passages, proofs are given of a more general nature, and leading to certain universal conclusions which nearly decide the question of treatment. It is quite clear from the facts related in vol. I. p. 398, and vol. II. p. 68, that the feelings of white men in general, and as a body, are altogether different in the West Indies and in Europe. For we find in those passages, that wanton and unprovoked cruelties are committed on negroes on the public streets, in the face of day, before the whole mob of whites, sometimes by their masters, but sometimes also by indifferent persons who happen to be present; and that so far from exciting the least disapprobation, the aggressor's part is always taken by the multitude, who, in England, would tear to pieces such miscreants as are there described. From vol. II. p. 270, and vol. III. p. 166, it clearly appears that the tendency of all the whites to make common cause against all blacks, is sufficiently strong, to prevent persons in the highest offices from observing the laws where negroes are concerned; and the shocking story related in vol. III. p. 71 and 72, proves how impossible it is to infuse into the common run of West Indians the least idea that cruelty to a negro is a crime.

It may be asked, then, if slaves are anxiously desirous of regaining their liberty? That imported slaves are so, no one has ever doubted; but creole negroes, who have never known freedom, are incapable of enjoying it; and being unfitted, by their

unnatural state of bondage, for supporting any independent character, they seem to have very limited ideas of the advantages of liberty. Our author relates several anecdotes to this effect; and gives the conversation which he held with some slaves on the subject of emancipation: vol. III. p. 252. The wish to get rid of a cruel master, and to live idly, was common to all with whom he talked; but those unfortunate beings at the same time observed, that if they were freed, they might starve at the present moment, and must die of hunger when they grew old, (III. 253.) It is quite needless to add, that such facts are only strong confirmations of all that has ever been said against slavery and the slave trade.

We shall conclude these references, with noticing the many instances furnished by Dr Pinckard of the wretchedness occasioned at slave sales, by the separation of friends and relatives. This dreadful and inherent feature of the traffic has not perhaps been sufficiently attended to; and we meet with it in every account of a sale which our author gives. Of the many examples which abound in these volumes, we shall extract one. It is the description of a mother who was exhibited at a sale, with her son and three daughters.

'The fears of the parent, leſt ſhe ſhould be ſeparated from her children, or theſe from each other, were anxious and watchful beyond all that imagination could paint, or the moſt vivid fancy pourtray. When any one approached their little group, or chanced to look towards them with the attentive eye of a purchaſer, the children, in broken ſobs, crouched nearer together, and the tearful mother, in agonizing impulſe, inſtantly fell down before the ſpectator, bowed herſelf to the earth, and kiſſed his feet; then, alternately clinging to his legs, and preſſing her children to her boſom, ſhe fixed herſelf upon her knees, claſped her hands together, and, in anguiſh, caſt up a look of humble petition, which might have found its way even to the heart of a Caligula!—and, thus, in Nature's trueſt language, did the afflicted parent urge the ſtrongeſt appeal to his compaſſion, while ſhe implored the purchaſer, in dealing out to her the hard lot of ſlavery, to ſpare her the additional pang of being torn from her children;—to forbear expoſing her to the accumulated agonies which would reſult from forcing thoſe aſunder, whom the All-wiſe Diſpoſer of events had bound together by the moſt ſacred ties of nature and affection.' III. 357, 358.

'*Et dubitamus adhuc?*' And shall we still hesitate to put down this greatest of human iniquities? Shall we still reserve all our execrations for those *political* crimes which our enemies or our allies have been committing in Europe, and exhaust all the efforts of conscience in repenting of our own enormities in Asia, nor once turn a thought towards the slave coast and the slave islands, where public injustice and individual atrocity are

working

working hand in hand—where more wretchedness is hourly accumulating in a few spots of ground, than France has spread over the west, and England over the east, during an age of violence or intrigue?

ART. IV. *Translations from the Greek Anthology, with Tales and Miscellaneous Poems.* London. Philips. 8vo. pp. 233. 1806.

ALL who aspire to the character of Greek scholars, must have devoted some portion of their time to the several anthologies which have been preserved by the collectors of various ages; a study, in the prosecution of which, if they have been occasionally wearied by the insipidity, or astonished at the inanity of some poems, they must have been often charmed by a striking purity and nobleness of sentiment, interested by a most natural and delicate expression of human feelings, and delighted by beautiful and finely finished descriptions of visible objects. The homage due to these excellences has been already paid, in many instances, by the lovers of English literature; many of the most popular among Ben Johnson's lighter poems, many of Cowley's, some of Prior's, and some, it would appear, even of Shakespeare's, having been originally drawn from this source: but we do not hesitate to say, that much still remained well worth the labour of translating, and capable of forming a most desirable accession to our national libraries.

The nature and value of the acquisition thus to be obtained, would depend in a great measure on the taste and talents of him who should undertake the task of translation. A complete and indiscriminate version of all the poems contained in all the anthologies, accompanied with such an illustration as contemporary authors might easily be made to contribute, would supply such a gratification to the antiquarian of Grecian customs and habits of thinking, as Pompeii has afforded to the traveller who longed for a specimen of the external appearance of a city inhabited by ancient Romans. If, on the other hand, the less enlarged ambition of the translator could be satisfied with transfusing into English the poetical beauties which he found scattered through the pages of the Grecian epigrammatists, we are persuaded that a careful, and what we should call a *sifting* selection, would have admitted our fair countrywomen to the enjoyment of many most exquisite productions. The author of the present work appears to us to have had both these plans in view, without adhering to either with sufficient steadiness: the number of poems translated is infinitely

too small, and their subjects by far too general, to preserve much of the interesting peculiarity of ancient manners; and certainly no accurate discrimination of merit appears in the selection actually made. Not a few pieces are introduced, which to us seem quite destitute of beauty, and are recommended by no other circumstance of curiosity, than that such things should ever have been written, read, and translated.

From the title of the work, we were led to conjecture, that it was confined to such poems as are found in the Anthology of Maximus Planudes, the last of the Greek collectors: but it appears that many valuable fragments have been drawn from the rich treasuries of Stobæus and Athenæus; and a scanty specimen is subjoined of the mutilated relics of the Comedians. We are informed, in a preface of some length, which is elegantly written, though with too great an affectation of softness and sentiment, that the first regular anthologist was Meleager the Syrian, himself a poet, who lived about a hundred years before the Christian era. For him our editor has contracted a very natural partiality, and will not suffer him to lye under the imputation of having indulged in satirical effusions. While we applaud this sensibility for the honour of Meleager, we must be permitted to doubt the correctness of a style of argument, the tendency of which would be, to convince future ages, if Eloisa's epistle survived alone among the works of Pope, that he had never libelled Lord Hervey, nor wallowed in the mire of the Dunciad. The same kind of reasoning is afterwards employed in one of the notes, to prove that three different persons bore the name of Simonides, and, we think, with even less appearance of justice.

Philip of Thessalonica continued the work, at an interval of 150 years; but, in the sixth century, Agathias, the continuator of Procopius, instead of preserving the former collections, and making such additions as must have occurred since the days of Philip, did little more than bring together the loose sonnets of his own licentious age. The reader will be shocked to hear that he was abetted in his unhallowed labours by Paul the SILENTIARY, whose very name he will be prepared to respect and venerate, as belonging to the most pure and tranquil-minded hermit of the desert, not to an obscene voluptuary, the eulogist, and probably the paramour, of the insatiable Theodora. His entire name was Paulus Cyrus Florus; he was probably indebted to the partiality of the empress for his addition of Silentiarius, which imports no brahmin penance inflicted by him on his own tongue, but the office of imposing silence upon others. 'It was an office,' our author informs us, 'in the *Court of Justinian*, corresponding to that of gentleman usher.' p. xxiii. note. We were never before

apprised,

apprised, that the gentleman usher of modern times was invested with a despotic controul over the conversation of the ladies; and are more inclined to suspect that the functions of the Ησυχαστοις corresponded with those of the crier of the *Court of King's Bench*, who 'strictly charges and commands all manner of persons that they *keep silence*, on pain of imprisonment.' In the tenth century, Constantinus Cephalus made another effort to preserve the then remaining epigrams; and the last of all the collectors was Maximus Planudes, 'a monk (says the preface) of the fourteenth century.'

That this extraordinary character, not the greatest so properly as the only scholar of his age, should be dismissed with so short a notice, is the more surprising, after the long conjectural observations on Meleager and Agathias. We do not expect that even learned men should ransack the libraries of Italy or Paris, in quest of his Greek versions of the Metamorphoses, and of Cæsar's Commentaries, though their labour would be well repaid by the spirit of the one, and the remarkable clearness and accuracy of the other: but surely our author could not be ignorant, that Planudes has obtained the doubtful glory of being one of the first and most successful authors of literary forgery. He published the celebrated fables, under the name of Æsop, who certainly never wrote one of them, together with a biography of that illustrious slave, in which every incident is demonstrably the invention of the writer. Nothing can more strongly prove the natural ease and vivacity of style, by which these productions are distinguished, than the credulous acquiescence with which they appear to have been universally received as genuine till the 17th century. Then, indeed, Father Vavassor made the fatal discovery that Æsop, in his supposed life, is frequently made to quote Euripides, who was not born till near a century after his death; and that the fables not only speak of the Piræus by a name which it did not receive till the days of Themistocles, but also anticipate the very words of a religious observation, which may be found in the 6th verse of the 4th chapter of St James's Epistle. Why were these facts respecting Planudes excluded from an essay abounding with information on less interesting subjects? Was it apprehended that our knowledge of his having committed one forgery, would have laid him under suspicion of another? and that the readers of this work might be visited by disagreeable misgivings, that while they had given themselves credit for their intimacy with Solon and Mimnermus, they had, in fact, been only decoyed into the company of the monk Planudes?

After a few more observations on those to whom the author has been indebted in the course of his performance, we are in-

 troduced

troduced to the comic poets, and meet with the following striking remarks on Menander.

'The name of Menander, from the praises lavished on him by his contemporaries, suggests to our mind the most complete model of gaiety that any poet before or since his time has presented. We are entitled, from the universal assent of the antients, to expect this quality in a writer to whom it was said so eminently to belong. But time has revelled on the noble image of Menander; it has preyed on all that was inviting in his aspect, and spared little else than his frowns, wrinkles, and deformities. What a proof does it present to our mind of the instability of mortal fame, when we find that the very character of this celebrated bard has undergone so entire a revolution; and that, of his voluminous works, the monuments by which he vainly hoped to be immortalized, only fragments enough remain to present to our view the very reverse of that which they were designed to perpetuate!

'Even this poet, gloomy and melancholy as he now appears, was once, according to Pliny, "*omnis luxuriæ interpres*;" in the language of Plutarch, "the constant worshipper, the chief priest of the God of Love, who, like some universal spirit, pervaded and connected all his works." Yet his love was so refined, and his voluptuousness so guarded by delicacy, that he was placed, without scruple or danger, in the hands of youths and virgins.

'Fabula jucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri,
Et solet hic pueris virginibusque legi. Ovid.

'Many ages after his death, a statue was erected to his memory, and placed by the side of the image of Cupid.

'Two or three epigrams made upon this statue are preserved, which display, in the figurative, but forcible language of his countrymen, the estimation in which he was held, and give him a distinguished rank among the gay and amorous poets of antiquity. I select the following.

'Menander, sweet Thalia's pride,
Well art thou placed by Cupid's side;
Priest to the God of soft delights,
Thou spread'st on earth his joyous rites;
And sure the boy himself we see
To smile, and please, and breathe in thee;
For, musing o'er yon imag'd stone,
To see thee, and to love, are one.

"In supporting the characters of fathers, sons, husbands, soldiers, peasants, the rich and the poor, the violent and the gentle, Menander surpassed all in consistency, and by the brilliance of his imagery threw every rival into the shade." Such is the character given of him by Quintilian. The natural partiality of Cæsar for his countrymen, only permits him to give a secondary place to Terence, the imitator of the elegant, but not of the witty, Grecian. Ausonius couples our poet with Homer; and he is extolled, by all those who had access to his works, with an enthusiasm not inferior to that with which the name of that prince of poets is mentioned.

'I

'I have heard that a great English orator now living, the only scholar who has made the style of Demosthenes his own, and adapted it to present politics and the events of the times, has frequently declared his opinion, founded on the specimens of our poet which yet remain, and the praises of all the discerning ancients, that the loss of his dramas is more to be deplored than of any other ancient writings whatever. Alas! Menander is no more; and all the praises of antiquity, and the regret of subsequent ages, resemble only the rich mantle which wraps the corpse of a monarch, or the frankincense which burns upon his pile!

'A few relics, among those of lesser note yet remaining (which, like the bones of some giant picked up in the field, once the theatre of his exploits, cannot be fitted to any other than the huge body to which they belonged) give us some idea of the vastness of Menander.—But "*quantum mutatus ab illo!*" Where are the flowers, perfumes, garlands, the breathings of gallantry and tenderness, the sprightly sallies of wit, and all the apparatus and circumstance of love, youth, and delight, that conveyed and recommended morality to the gay and thoughtless, by attiring her in a dress that enamoured her beholders? That his aim was morality, is evident from the praises bestowed on him by Plutarch and other writers. This end he kept in view, "unmixed with baser matter," and by a sort of Πειθανάγκη, by an equal exertion of force and persuasion, commanded the hearts of his readers and auditors. And yet the fragments that have come down to us stamp him with the character of morose, sarcastic, and querulous. But these sentiments were put by him into the mouths of characters whom he designed to hold up to detestation or ridicule;—and what remains of him does not mark so strongly his own peculiar genius, as the taste of those selectors who have chosen his words to illustrate their own ideas. Thus to the saturnine and melancholy selector we owe the survival of the sad, peevish, and infantine complaints on the many sorrowful *items* "which flesh is heir to," and which, instead of offering an alleviation to the evils we suffer, tend to aggravate their load, and debilitate the bearer. On the other hand, the strikingly moral passages with which his works abounded, alone caught the attention of the fathers of the primitive church, who found in the Greek comedian a strain of piety so nearly approaching to their own belief and feelings, that all ideas of a preponderance of satire over moral precept must yield to evidence so irresistible as the approbation of Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius. In short, it is from these two sources alone, the writings of the melancholy and religious man, that we are furnished with our specimens of the great Menander. Happy were it for us and for posterity, had the gay, the lively and the witty, finished the portrait of the bard, by transmitting to after ages examples that would have enabled us to measure him by the standards of humour, sprightliness and fancy.' Pref. p. xl—xlvi.

From the circumstance of nothing being known concerning Philemon, every thing is charitably presumed in his favour, though we doubt whether the story which is here copied of his

 dying

dying of laughter at seeing an ass eat figs and drink wine, involves any great compliment to his understanding. We must not withhold the following *morceau* from our readers.

'Every thing seems to have been so well tempered within him, all violent and malign passions to have been held in such perfect subjection, and all the more engaging and estimable qualities to have been allowed such free indulgence, that his constitution suffered no violence from pent-up emotions, and his body no diminution of vigour from the jarring, gloomy, or furious elements of his mind. He did not indulge in the luxuries of the table, which, as they pamper, irritate and inflame, are, at least, one of the sources from which the most dangerous disorders of temper, intellect, and constitution, derive their growth. Owing to these causes, he reached the very advanced age of one hundred and one years.' Pref. p. li.

We should not do justice, either to the good humour or the ingenuity of our author, if we did not state that his knowledge of this Philemon, of whom some curious particulars might have been drawn from the thirteenth book of Athenæus, appears to be precisely equal to the acquaintance of any Londoner with the many Duncan Campbells and Donald Mackenzies, who are from time to time reported in the newspapers to have reached the same 'very advanced age of one hundred and one years,' in our Western Islands.

We cannot take leave of the preface, without noticing what we think a faulty and injudicious arrangement. It contains many things that would have appeared more properly in the notes, which, on the other hand, abound with matter more naturally belonging to the subject of the Preface. For example, in p. 73, we meet with the following lines.

'Farewell to wine—or, if thou bid me sip,
Present the cup more honour'd from thy lip;
Pour'd by thy hand to rosy draughts I fly,
And cast away my stern sobriety;
For as I drink, soft raptures tell my soul
That lovely Caroline has kiss'd the bowl.'

The life of Agathias, the author of them, is touched upon in the preface, p. xxv. An excellent illustration of the poem is inserted in the notes, from Achilles Tatius, p. 150.

'When we were all assembled again at supper, the cup-bearer furnished us with a new artifice of love; for in pouring out wine to Leucippe and and myself, he changed our cups; and I, observing that part of the cup where her lips had been, drank from the same side, and pleased myself with the image of a kiss; which Leucippe seeing, did the same; and the kind cup-bearer frequently employing the same stratagem to favour us, we consumed the whole evening in pledging each other with these fanciful kisses.'

After

After all this, the parallel song of Ben Jonson is introduced at p. iv. of the preface. The chronological position of the poems, according to the era of their respective authors, (which is however extremely incorrect), we also disapprove, and should have thought the form much more attractive, had they been ranged according to their subjects, and all the observations connected with them laid before the reader in the same page, while the preface might have been more advantageously confined to the literary history of the collections.

A 'Prologue' follows, in which the too obvious metaphor of a 'wreath of flowers,' already woefully jaded in the preface, is absolutely ridden to death. In its last moments, it undergoes a sudden transformation from a garland of flowers woven into a chaplet, to a transplanted exotic.

'For zephyrs soft that fanned thy youth,
How wilt thou meet the *gale uncouth?*
Torn from a genial summer's smile,
How wilt thou bear a northern isle?
Far from thy home and native sky,
Meek stranger, wilt thou live or die?'

We now come to the translations themselves. The first place is justly assigned to Meleager; and four of the five epigrams ascribed to him, which are here translated, appear to us extremely beautiful compositions, and are translated with the greatest felicity. We extract the second, in which we take the liberty of restoring the Greek name to the lady, who has been deprived of it in the translation, p. 4.

'Sea-wandering barks that o'er the Ægæan sail,
With pennants streaming to the northern gale,
If in your course the Coan strand ye reach,
And see my Phania musing on the beach,
With eye intent upon the placid sea,
And constant heart that only beats for me,
Tell my sweet mistress, that for her I haste
To greet her, landing from the watry waste.
Go, heralds of my soul! to Phania's ear,
In all your shrouds the tender accents bear!
Great Jove shall calm with smiles the wave below,
And bid for you the softest breezes blow.'

We should have wished to present our readers with the third specimen from Meleager, but we cannot here replace the real name without considerable alteration; and we must decline all share in a practice which our judgment condemns as very strange and unwarrantable. We are fairly warned in the preface, that *our* proper names are substituted for the original Greek, for the purpose of giving an air of familiarity to the translated poems; and

and a list is added of such Grecian appellatives as are thought least compatible with the harmony of English verse. In answer to this, we would observe, that where a real character is the subject addressed, there is an indispensable historical necessity for adhering to the real name; but even where a fanciful passion and a fictitious person are described, we are of opinion, that if a change is to be made, the *costume* ought at any rate to be so far respected, that no English names should be substituted that are not of Greek origin. When Erinne laments the death of a virtuous companion, we confess our disappointment at finding that the adopted name of 'Julia' makes it possible to confound her with the abandoned daughter of Augustus. There are many English names naturalized from the Greek, and thence much more in unison with a Grecian subject, as well as more harmonious, than Rosa, Rosalind, and Eliza. We should be loath to object to the celebration of Janet, a lively countrywoman of our own, we presume, who has captivated our author in a tour to the Highlands, with the national graces of rosy arms, sandy hair, and far-projecting cheeks. But we should have thought ourselves unworthy the trust reposed in us, as magistrates in the literary commonwealth, had we not made strict inquiries touching one 'Thyrza's' right of settlement in English poetry. Τίς πόθεν; What certificate has she of honourable service elsewhere, and what claim to a favourable reception here? Why does she impose her harsh title upon us as one of '*our* proper names?' and how can such a sound make verse more familiar and harmonious to our ears? After much fruitless search after her birth, parentage, connexion, and former settlement, we found the lady's fame recorded in 'the Death of Abel,' as the daughter and daughter-in-law of our first parents, the wife and sister of their eldest son. A very useful and deserving character, by Mr Gesner's account, though somewhat too much addicted to sermonizing; but, when all our sympathy is excited for Meleager's Heliodora, on what principle of justice are our starting tears to be intercepted, and sprinkled over the grave of Cain's wife?

Of all the minor poets of Greece, none appears to have possessed more genius or a finer style of writing than Simonides; nor do we know of any poem, in any language, more pathetic and interesting than his beautiful fragment, the Complaint of Danaë. Jortin's spirited translation of it into Latin is well known. The late Dr Warton gave circulation to a still more charming paraphrase, by the present venerable Archbishop of York, by inserting it in the 89th paper of the Adventurer; and it will be found in the second volume of the Musæ Etonenses, admirably executed in hendecasyllables. The work before us contains

contains the only attempt we have ever seen to render it into English verse; and we cannot say that it conveys an adequate idea of the extreme tenderness and delicacy of the original. That closeness of translation, which has been generally aimed at throughout this volume, is violated without necessity in one sentence.

> ει δε τοι δεινον τογε δεινον ην,
> και κεν εμων ρηματων λεπτον
> υπειχες ουας· κελομαι ευδε βρεφος.

There can be no doubt that the above is the true reading, and the proper punctuation. The sense is, 'If thou knewest the extent of our calamity, thou wouldest have at least inclined thine ear to my lamentations—I command thee sleep, my child.'—which has very little resemblance to the slovenly couplet—

> 'But could'st thou feel *what I deplore*
> Then would I bid thee sleep *the more*.'

The translation of Simonides's noble epitaph on Megistias the soothsayer, who perished with Leonidas at the pass of Thermopylæ, is in a far higher strain.

> 'This tomb records Megistias' honoured name,
> Who, boldly fighting in the ranks of Fame,
> Fell by the Persians near Sperchius' tide.
> Both past and future well the prophet knew,
> And yet, tho' death was open to his view,
> He chose to perish at his general's side.' p. 22.

The expulsion of the son of Pisistratus, and the consequent establishment of a democracy at Athens, are events so interesting in Grecian history, that we shall not scruple to insert the best of the two translations here given, of the celebrated Scholium of Callistratus.

> 'In myrtle my sword will I wreath,
> Like our patriots, the noble and brave,
> Who devoted the tyrant to death,
> And to Athens equality gave!
>
> Lov'd Harmodius, thou never shalt die!
> The poets exultingly tell
> That thine is the fulness of joy,
> Where Achilles and Diomed dwell.
>
> In myrtle my sword will I wreath,
> Like our patriots, the noble and brave,
> Who devoted Hipparchus to death,
> And buried his pride in the grave.
>
> At the altar the tyrant they seiz'd,

And

And the goddefs of wifdom was pleas'd
With the victim of Liberty's fword.

May your blifs be immortal on high,
Among men as your glory fhall be ;
Ye doom'd the ufurper to die,
And bade our dear country be free !' p. 25.

We do not see the necessity for introducing, in a note on this ode, all the foolish tales put together by the later Greek writers, and collected by Bayle, on the subject of the fabulous island of Achillea. They cannot go far to illustrate a poem composed ten centuries before they were invented. The elysium of Homer, and the νησοι μακαρων of Callistratus, are totally different from the Achillea of Maximus Tyrius and Arrian. Their bold and general sketches are disgraced by no poor *minutiæ* of enjoyment, but may be filled up by every imagination, according to its own best conceptions of future happiness. We trust the beauty of the following lines will plead our excuse for transcribing so long a passage from Pope's Odyssey. They are in the fourth book, line 760.

' But, oh beloved of Heaven ! referved to thee
A happier lot the fmiling fates decree.
Free from that law, beneath whofe mortal fway
Matter is changed, and varying forms decay,
Elyfium fhall be thine ; the blifsful plains
Of utmoft earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns.
Joys ever young, unmixed with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of the eternal year :
Stern winter fmiles on that aufpicious clime :
The fields are florid with unfading prime :
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy fnow,
But from the breezy deep the bleft inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the weftern gale.'

The beautiful idyll of Moschus, appears with great advantage in an English dress.

' O'er the fmooth main when fcarce a zephyr blows
To break the dark-blue ocean's deep repofe,
I feek the calmnefs of the breathing fhore,
Delighted with the fields and woods no more.
But when, white foaming, heave the deeps on high,
Swells the black ftorm, and mingles fea with fky,
Trembling, I fly the wild tempeftuous ftrand,
And feek the clofe receffes of the land.
Sweet are the founds that murmur thro' the wood,
While roaring ftorms upheave the dang'rous flood ;
Then, if the winds more fiercely howl, they roufe

But

But ſweeter muſic in the pine's tall boughs.
Hard is the life the weary fiſher finds
Who truſts his floating manſion to the winds,
Whoſe daily food the fickle ſea maintains,
Unchanging labour, and uncertain gains.
Be mine ſoft ſleep, beneath the ſpreading ſhade
Of ſome broad leafy plane inglorious laid,
Lull'd by a fountain's fall, that, murmuring near,
Soothes, not alarms, the toil-worn labourer's ear.' p. 36.

There is much nature and tenderness in the following stanzas, which are turned, very freely in point of language, but with perfect fidelity to the sentiment, from six lines by Antipater.

'See yonder bluſhing vine-tree grow
And claſp a dry and wither'd plane,
And round its youthful tendrils throw,
A ſhelter from the winds and rain.

That ſapleſs trunk in former time
Gave covert from the noontide blaze,
And taught the infant ſhoot to climb
That now the pious debt repays.

And thus, kind powers, a partner give
To ſhare in my proſperity;
Hang on my ſtrength while yet I live,
And do me honour when I die.' p. 42.

The following epigram was probably inscribed on some emblematical device, representing the two adverse powers to whom it is addressed.

'All hail, Remembrance and Forgetfulneſs!
Trace Memory, trace whate'er is ſweet or kind.
When friends forſake us, or misfortunes preſs,
Oblivion! raſe the record from our mind.' p. 78.

Our readers must not give all the Greek epigrammatists credit for so natural a turn of thinking as these extracts have displayed; or rather perhaps the notions of chivalrous admiration, which are not yet quite obliterated, may condemn, as too natural, the blunt memento of this inharmonious couplet.

'Virgin! we ſhall be duſt alone,
On the ſad ſhores of Acheron.'

The following hint is also somewhat too broad for the artificial manners of our times.

''Twere wiſe no more to ſeek a lover,
But think at laſt *of dying*.'

There is something singular in the phraseology, at least, in which Paul the Silentiary (who does appear to have had some poetical talent) is made to observe, that his daughter, whose death he is lamenting,

'*United*,

'*United*, in her short career,
The fruit of age, of youth the rose.'

But what will our readers think of the high spirit of the Alexandrian Palladas, who obviously suspected that the sun shone purely for the purpose of insulting him, and resents the impertinence of being so stared in the face?

'The god of radiance, from his gorgeous throne,
Cloth'd in perennial glory, pours the day;
But if insulting on our orb he shone,
May darkness hide me from his *loathsome ray*!' p. 79.

This extravagance is amply compensated by the tameness of another epigram in the same page, which is far duller than the very dull original.

'This life a theatre we well may call,
Where every actor must perform with art;
Or laugh it through, and make a farce of all,
Or learn to play with grace his tragic part.'

The translator has thought it worth his while to present us with several of the Grecian jokes upon long noses. The caricature is sometimes strong enough to excite a laugh.

'Dick cannot wipe his nostrils if he pleases;
(So long his nose is, and his arms so short;)
Nor ever cries "God bless me" when he sneezes;
—He cannot hear so *distant* a report.' p. 64.

The Emperor Trajan could indulge in these innocent absurdities, as appears from an epigram, which may be thus literally done into English. 'Placing your nose opposite to the sun, and opening your mouth, you will show the hour to all passengers;' which ingenious idea is laboriously expanded into eight lines.

'Let Dick some summer's day expose
Before the sun his monstrous nose,
And stretch his giant mouth to cause
Its shade to fall upon his jaws:
With nose so long, and mouth so wide,
And those twelve grinders side by side,
Dick, with a very little trial,
Would make an excellent sun-dial.' p. 145.

We are informed, too, without the least reason for supposing it, that the object of this imperial witticism was one of Trajan's *courtiers*. We wonder that the compliment of a poetical translation was not thought due to the best joke on the subject, in which Castor's nose is said to be in itself all the useful instruments in the affairs of life,—a spade, a trumpet, an anchor, a pothook, &c.

The curious physiological observation recorded in the verses of Democharis on the portrait of Sappho, is quite lost in the

'Bright

'Bright smiles, and lip's nectareous dews,
Trembling with *love*, and *glistening* with *the muse*.'

The original author only asserts, that the 'flesh of her moist and merry face indicates Venus mingled with the muse.' We should have been better satisfied, if these mental qualities had been more distinctly referred to their visible representatives: many interesting secrets might be unveiled, and much superfluous confession spared, if we were once enabled to ascertain whether the moisture of a lady's countenance proved her to be born a poetess, or was an evidence of her being actually in love.

Some of the other poems may perhaps be thought unworthy of a place in such a collection; and, in a very few instances, we may be inclined to doubt whether complete justice has been done to the original. Upon the whole, however, we are certain that few Greek authors have less right to complain of the mode in which their works are represented in our language; and their manes ought to feel no common gratitude for the pious care which has been bestowed upon their relics. Some additions, however, might fairly be admitted, and, as we before hinted, a far more convenient arrangement might easily be made. We would recommend, in particular, the translation of a greater number of those poems which relate to the public affairs of Greece, and a disquisition on what might be called the Political Poetry of the several states. Most of the fragments on that subject are written with very great spirit; and we are persuaded that they would throw considerable light on the history of the most important events. A more frequent resort to the Δειπνοσοφισται of Athenæus, would also be of great service in illustrating the ancient state of manners, in many points which the editor has left in want of explanation.

After the translations and the notes, a few original poems are introduced, and some translations from Horace. Some fine verses are thrown away upon the schoolboy subject of Paris and Œnone; but the longest of these productions is called 'The Abbot of Dol, a legendary tale.' We were not a little surprised at finding attached to an Attic edifice this Gothic appendage, which is not free from the puerilities which distinguish that style, though some parts are forcibly conceived and executed. The other poems have also considerable merit, and prove, that when the author has acquired that perfect facility of expression which habit never fails to confer where a talent for poetical composition really exists, his powers will be equal to higher efforts than a translation from the Greek anthology.

ART.

ART. V. *A Voyage round the World, in the years* 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, *and* 1804; *in which the Author visited the principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the English Settlements of Port Jackson and Norfolk Islands.* By John Turnbull. 3 Vol. 8vo. pp. 715. London, 1805. Phillips.

THE iſlands of the South Sea, which, ſoon after their diſcovery, and during the happily unintereſting ſtate of European affairs, excited ſo much attention, have, for many years, been almoſt altogether overlooked in this part of the world. Yet it is obvious that the diſcovery of new tribes, and the firſt accounts of manners formerly unknown, are by no means more intereſting, than the ſubſequent hiſtory of thoſe tribes, and the changes which rapidly take place in their manners. The greateſt obligations, therefore, are conferred upon us by thoſe adventurous perſons, who having viſited theſe iſlands of late years, give ſuch ſtatements of what they ſaw, as enable us to trace the progreſs of ſociety in one of its earlieſt ſtages, and to eſtimate the effects produced by the ſudden revolution in their circumſtances, which the natives have experienced from their intercourſe with Europeans. We have ſeldom been more gratified, than with the addition which theſe volumes make, in this point of view, to our knowledge of diſtant countries. Admitting, what is always to be preſumed, unleſs there is internal evidence of the contrary, that the publication is authentic, and that Mr Turnbull is, what he deſcribes himſelf, we look upon his work as one of the moſt intereſting books of travel, which have appeared for many years.

We cannot help, at the ſame time, expreſſing our ſuſpicions, that Mr Turnbull has followed a faſhion too prevalent among travellers of the preſent day; and inſtead of ſpeaking to us himſelf, employed ſome literary friend to ſpeak for him. Although this practice muſt always diminiſh the intereſt of a narrative, and may frequently affect its correctneſs, we are ſufficiently well aware of its neceſſity, in ſome caſes, to condemn it indiſcriminately; and are content, if we cannot hear an adventurer's tale from himſelf, to receive it at ſecond hand. But, then, there muſt be nothing elſe than the faireſt dealing in all this tranſaction. We muſt know the writer's name, as well as the traveller's. We muſt have the reſponſibility reſting wholly upon known perſons, and not ſhared between one who appears, and another who lurks. Above all, we muſt not ſee the writer ſo entirely confounded with the traveller, as to deceive us reſpecting their ſeparate exiſtence. Now, if, as we ſuſpect, Mr Turnbull did not compoſe his book, he ſhould have deſired his author to ſay ſo fairly,

fairly, and not allowed him to apologize (Preface p. vii.) for the faults of his style, on the score of his being a seaman. It may be asked, on what we found our suspicions of the book having been made by one man, and the voyage by another. We reply, by turning to the first sentence; which is not in the least degree written in the style of people who live by handing sails and pulling ropes.

'There are few dangers, and still fewer difficulties, which can deter men of enterprize from any pursuit which they consider as the means of independence. If the colder moralist, in his abstract reasoning, brand this desire with the name of a pernicious avidity, the practical philosopher, tempering the conclusions of his reason by the modes of life, considers it in a more favourable point of view, hailing it as the grand moving impulse of commerce, and effectually the means of improving the whole condition of life.' I. 1, 2.

Nor do sailors reflect upon trade after the following manner.

'Industry is here the certain means of fortune. There is commerce suited to every kind of capital, and a certain and profitable market for all produce and minor manufactures. Hence independence; and hence (is it not needless to mention a result so inevitable?)—cheerfulness, self-esteem, and social affection.' I. 36.

Nor yet do shipwrecked mariners, and unsuccessful dealers in piece goods, moralize in such strains as these.

'It is a precept as good in commerce, as in theoretic philosophy, to make the best of ill fortune, and, where we cannot get all that we had hoped, to spare no efforts to get all that we can. If there is seldom any good so perfect as not to have its alloy of ill, so is there as seldom any disappointment so complete as to leave no nook of hope. It is a lesson that I have learned from experience, that if half the time and natural vigour which is usually consumed in lamenting a misfortune, was more wisely employed in seeking a remedy, there are few disappointments which will not admit of alleviation.' I. 40, 41.

And we may add, as one other instance, that a sailor would certainly have compared the Otaheite streamers to an object the most familiar to him (the dog-vane), in preference to the tail of a boy's kite, which is not nearly so like, (III. 45) It is but fair to add, however, that the style of this book is, in general, extremely free from faults;—it is plain, neat, and not incorrect,—frequently so full of naïveté, as to give us an idea of the real traveller having written parts of it,—and, at all events, so perspicuous, and so little abounding in high-wrought passages, that it conveys a very favourable idea of the author's talents for this kind of writing. The foregoing remarks are made, rather with the view of fixing the credit due to the narrative, than of objecting to the execution of a book so valuable in itself. For the same reason, we must be allowed to add a wish, that the author

 had

had mentioned in what form the materials were conveyed,—whether, for example, a journal was kept, and, if kept, how it survived the loss of the vessel, and other misfortunes in Otaheite. Lastly, we have no objection to the retrenchment of log-book extracts; but we rather like to see a few longitudes, latitudes, and dates, in works of this nature, if it were merely to keep the narrator in his right course; and, on some occasions, we shall afterwards have to show, how prejudicial the plan of totally omitting such particulars has proved. Having premised these general hints, we shall now wave our suspicions, of whatever nature; and, supposing that the writer and traveller are the same person, we shall attend Mr Turnbull on his interesting and adventurous enterprize.

The two first mates of the Barwell, having observed, in 1799, how lucrative a trade was carried on by the Americans to the north-west of China, they persuaded some mercantile men in London to embark in this speculation, and were appointed to superintend its execution. They were sent out in a good ship, with considerable shares in the cargo. Mr Turnbull was second in command, and had charge of the trading part of the adventure.

The prevalence of southerly winds obliged them to bear up for St Salvador. This first voyage afforded nothing very interesting to their attention. At Madeira, indeed, Mr Turnbull's patriotic avarice, in which he rather exceeds the common run of travellers, broke out. He 'could not but indulge a wish' that this island, and the neighbouring one of Porto Santo, were made British property, should a war break out with Portugal. He adds the following very curious remarks. 'If England is in want of any colony, it is one where the industry of our countrymen might cultivate the grape. Indeed, our haughty neighbours have long observed, that, notwithstanding all our vast foreign settlements, we do not possess one island where the grape is successfully cultivated.' At Brazil he is still more anxious to see the British power established; and hints, in very intelligible language, that so fine a settlement should at all events be seized hold of.

During their stay in Bahia, they were not very courteously treated by the viceroy; and on leaving it, they were detained some time on the coast. This delay, however, gave them 'the satisfaction of making some return for the governor's incivility, by chasing as many Portugueze vessels as fell in their way;' of which satisfaction, the consequences will not be very pleasant to the next English adventurers who may touch at San Salvador. After a pleasant voyage to the Cape, and a short stay there, they proceeded to New Holland; and, steering for Bankes's Straits, arrived

arrived safely at Port Jackson, by that very unusual route. Here it was resolved, that Mr Turnbull should remain to dispose of the cargo, while the captain proceeded in the vessel on the north-west speculation. During his residence at this time, as well as afterwards, on his return from the Sandwich and Society Islands, he had an opportunity of picking up a good deal of information relative to the state of things in this new settlement. But his account does not materially augment the stock of knowledge already in circulation upon this subject. The following extract contains the substance of his observations on the change which our intercourse with the New Hollanders has produced. Though not altogether new, it is amusing.

'These aboriginal inhabitants of this distant region are indeed beyond comparison the most barbarous on the surface of the globe. The residence of Europeans has here been wholly ineffectual; the natives are still in the same state as at our first settlement. Every day are men and women to be seen in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. In vain have the more humane of the officers of the colony endeavoured to improve their condition: they still persist in the enjoyment of their ease and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice upon this subject.

'Is this to be imputed to a greater portion of natural stupidity than usually falls to the lot even of savages? By no means. If an accurate observation, and a quick perception of the ridiculous, be admitted as a proof of natural talents, the natives of New South Wales are by no means deficient. Their mimicking of the oddities, dress, walk, gait, and looks, of all the Europeans whom they have seen, from the time of governor Phillips downwards, is so exact, as to be a kind of historic register of their several actions and characters. Governor Phillips and Colonel Gross they imitate to the life. And to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, officers in the corps, or even of the convicts; any cast of the eye or hobble in the gait; any trip, or strut, stammering or thick speaking, they catch it in the moment, and represent it in a manner which renders it impossible not to recognize the original. They are, moreover, great proficients in the language and Newgate slang of the convicts; and, in case of any quarrel, are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuse.

'But this is the sum-total of their acquisitions from European intercourse. In every other respect, they appear incapable of any improvement, or even change. They are still as unprotected as ever against the inclemencies of weather, and the vicissitudes of plenty and absolute famine, the natural evils of a savage life. In their persons they are meagre to a proverb; their skins are scarified in every part with shells, and their faces besmeared with shell-lime and red gum; their hair is matted with a moss, and, what they call, ornamented with sharks' teeth; and a piece of wood, like a skewer, is fixed in the cartilages of

the nose. In a word, they compose altogether the most loathsome and disgusting tribe on the surface of the globe.' I. 62—64.

Respecting the impolicy of our economical administration, or police, in the colony, some valuable facts are stated by Mr Turnbull, whose authority is the less suspicious, that he uniformly gives them as topics of commendation, unless when the measures of government press too close on his own mercantile speculations. Our readers are probably aware, that the price of almost every article is fixed by the governor of the settlement, against whom, it is by no means foreign to the present purpose to observe, there is always a strong party in that very factious community. Mr Turnbull admits, that the best-informed inhabitants impute, to the erroneous settlement of prices, the scarcity * of animal food which prevails, in a colony so well adapted to the breeding of cattle. (I. 58.) In like manner, when the growers of provisions complained that the price fixed was too low in proportion to the rate of wages, the wisdom of the governor forthwith applied the remedy of lowering, by edict, the price of labour, both for free men and convicts; and settling, at the same time, the very hours of the day during which they were to work, or the quantity of work, if the agreement were made by the piece. The consequence of such folly has been, that the regulation is generally set at nought, and, in some instances, produces great oppression. (III. 160.)

Were the population in any degree dependent on emigration from the mother country, it would be stopped by those laws. Still more strict are the rules for *keeping down* the exorbitant profits of monopolizers and retailers; against whom, both the governor in his edicts, and Mr Turnbull in citing them, complain in a moving manner. But they are all, he says, rendered nugatory by the insatiable avarice of those men, who frequently take above 100 *per cent.* profit, while his honour the governor is denouncing vengeance against such as shall presume to take more than 20. (III. 179.) To prevent this evil, government has sent out cargoes under commissaries, who sell at a fixed rate. (III. 190.) And the probable effects of this policy are exemplified by Mr Turnbull in another part of his work, though he praises it highly in the last quoted passage; for we find him driven away from Port Jackson with his cargo, by the total stagnation of trade, which a large government investment produced in a market at any rate very dull; and on his attempting the market of Norfolk Island, he was again beaten by a part of the same investment, which was selling off at a reduced rate. (I. 88.) We presume, therefore,

* He calls it *dearth*, but evidently means scarcity; for the complaint is, that the fixed price is much too low.

therefore, that unless government intends to have all the trade of the colony, and is resolved to supply it fully and cheaply, it must leave the thing alone, otherwise it will certainly prevent the regular traffic of private adventurers. The encouragement given to the sugar cane, under all these circumstances, seems very ill placed. A cow (worth 30l.) is promised to the first settler who shall raise five cwt. of sugar. (I. 98.) From these censures, considering the peculiar character of the population, we are disposed to exempt the strict prohibition of distilleries. But if this measure is, as we apprehend must be admitted, a wise one, what shall we say of the policy of forcing the sugar culture, which, without a great distillation, never can go on; and this at the very time when the prohibition of common distilleries has raised the love of spirits, all over the settlement, to a kind of madness?

Such are the blunders of your *sound, solid, practical* men. who contemn all general principles, and either laugh at political philosophy in the mass, or still more foolishly admit, evidently without comprehending, its leading positions, and then rebel against every particular application of them. Those wise persons are the first to praise the freedom of trade. Upon all occasions, the 'celebrated Dr Adam Smith' is a term perpetually in their mouths: they will quote you whole paragraphs from 'his immortal work:' but let there occur an opportunity of applying them, as there do hourly occur many, and they make sad work indeed. Every thing is now 'an instance to which his principles, however just in the main, do not apply.' He is found out not to have had this case in his view; or he is even admitted, if the occasion requires, to have been 'an author' and 'a speculative man;' and his opinions cannot be safely 'used without modifications.' So that the rules are all excellent, but every case is an exception; and the principles, even when acknowledged in the abstract, are frittered down absolutely to nothing in the application. As Botany Bay is probably the least favourable instance which can be found for the theory, from the necessary admixture of discipline which prevails in a society so unnaturally constructed, we have thought it useful to dwell upon the foregoing particulars, longer than their real importance may seem to merit. We shall leave this part of the book, with expressing our regret at the various symptoms of bad government and false policy observable in all the best accounts of this settlement—lamenting the little care which seems to have been shown in the important matter of chusing office-bearers for an establishment on the opposite side of the globe—and mortified at the ignorance which appears in the system laid down for a colony planted towards the end of the eighteenth century.

After residing for ten months in Norfolk island, Mr Turnbull received the disagreeable intelligence that the North-West speculation had entirely failed, and that the Captain had returned to Port Jackson with the vessel, resolved to engage in the seal fishery for the Chinese market, as the East India Company's license obliged them to touch at China during their voyage. They accordingly landed a company of men skilled in the fishery, in Bass's Straits, and were then obliged to bear away for the Society Islands, in order to procure a stock of provisions, the colonies being utterly unable to furnish them with the smallest supply at any price. The melancholy employment of our adventurers, during the whole of their remaining voyages, was to seek for this supply of food; and, in the course of their wanderings, they seem to have suffered as many crosses, hardships and misfortunes, as usually befal the least fortunate navigators.

The first island that they made was Maitia, where they did not remain long, but proceeded to Otaheite. This unfortunate spot, they found involved in a most obstinate and desolating war, occasioned by the tyrannical conduct of a family which had usurped the sovereignty, by the assistance of a few English convicts. Partly from this circumstance, the stock of provisions was very scanty, and nothing could induce the natives to barter it, but the offer of arms and ammunition, now become the only objects of any exchangeable value indeed, all over this part of the South Seas. Our readers will recollect, that in the good old times of Cook and King, a few red feathers would open all the treasures, nay, buy all the crowns of these little realms. At Otaheite, the navigators were received w th great kindness by the missionaries, and by Pomarrie, the regent, or late king; who, according to the law of those parts, had retired from the sovereignty, on the birth of his son Otoo, the reigning monarch. These potentates asked many questions about their royal brother in England;—'Was he a larger man?—Had he a comely countenance?—Was his dress elegant?' The queen and her suite were equally inquisitive about her Majesty, and the ladies of our court; and being satisfied on these points, proceeded to exercise their vocation of pilfering, drinking, and intriguing with the crew. The want of hogs and breadfruit, however, drove our adventurers to other islands; and after touching in the same manner at Huaheine, they reached Ulitea. Here they encountered a great danger. Some bad subjects, whom they had hired at Botany Bay, deserted, and conspired with the natives, who are of a more treacherous and cruel disposition than those of Otaheite, to cut the ship's cables—let her drift on the reef, and then murder the crew, and plunder the vessel. This plot had almost succeeded. The cables being

cut,

cut, nothing but a very lucky calm kept the ship from being wrecked. The natives on the shore were worked up to a pitch of inconceivable fury, at seeing their project likely to miscarry, and began a terrible attack from all points, with musketry and stones. The guns of the vessel did but little execution, and she must inevitably have been taken, had not a breeze sprung up and carried her out at the moment when all hopes had been given up. We are forcibly struck, in reading all these South Sea voyages, with the difficulty of preventing desertion. The women, climate, but, above all, the indolence in which the natives live, are seductions which our seamen can scarcely be forced, by any discipline, to resist; and as they operate most peculiarly on convicts from our settlements in New Holland, no consideration should ever persuade navigators to take in recruits at those places.

After calling in vain at several other places, Mr Turnbull and his companions left the Society islands, and steered for the Sandwich islands in pursuit of salt. His account of these is peculiarly agreeable, because it furnishes the only instance in his book, of an intercourse with Europeans having contributed to the happiness of the rude natives. The particulars of this we shall afterwards state; at present, we may remark, that a very interesting account is given of the unfortunate King of Attowaie, and of his successful enemy, the King of Owhyhee. The latter, whose name is Tamahama, and who is represented as a prince of singular abilities, having overrun many of the settlements in his neighbourhood, had resolved to conquer Attowaie also; and the King of that island, who is adored by his people, and described as every way worthy of a better fate, was, at Mr Turnbull's arrival, on the eve of being attacked, without any chance of making an effectual resistance. He had resolved, in this hopeless situation, to abandon his country, and with such of his followers as could leave it also, he purposed to escape in a vessel which he had already prepared, by the aid of some Europeans settled there. His intention was to seek a new and safe retreat from the ambitious enemy; and Mr Turnbull justly remarks, that, romantic as such schemes may appear, most of the islands in the South Sea owe their population to similar enterprizes. The amiable character and misfortunes of this chief, seem to have made a lasting impression on our author; and even the sailors of his ship were greatly affected by his situation. If we had room for extracts merely entertaining to our readers, and creditable to the writer, we should willingly give a large portion of this part of the narrative.

After visiting Owhyhee, the most important of the Windward Sandwich islands, our navigators resolved to return, and for this

purpose steered towards Otaheite. In the course of the voyage, they fell in with several low islands, some of which had never before been visited by Europeans. This, we must observe, in passing, is a very unsatisfactory manner of describing a newly discovered country. In fact, no one, from reading the notices given of these islands, could possibly guess within many degrees whereabouts they are situated. They are alluded to, rather than mentioned, one after another, without longitude or latitude, or even any notice of the number of day's sailing which it took to reach them, from any known points. One of them, too, is worth knowing something about. It is inhabited, and standing in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Yet Mr Turnbull assures us, its greatest height above the level of the sea is only six feet; in which case the natives must, beyond all doubt, be considerably more amphibious than most other men, even in those parts of the world.

Several of these new islands have lagoons of some extent in the centre, communicating with the sea by very narrow necks, through which the tide ebbs and flows with prodigious force. This sight awakened the piety of our navigators, though we cannot precisely discern on what grounds. 'These lagoon islands,' Mr Turnbull observes, 'are most striking instances of the infinite power and wisdom of the Great Architect of the Universe; who has so arranged its materials that the sea should be forced from its proper bed, to make room for the elevation of a narrow barrier to enclose these portions of the deep.' And the prospect of such 'curious spots' so strongly affected our author, that 'while waiting for his people who had gone up the country,' he 'involuntarily uttered a kind of inward ejaculation,' which proves to be the celebrated exclamation of the Psalmist, on surveying the whole glories of the universe. Indeed, we may upon this occasion remark, that Mr Turnbull is by no means one of those who, 'imbued with no fear, can view the sun, and stars, and the seasons changing, at certain moments.' On the contrary, very little astonishes him. The sea, it appears, is extremely shallow near the Lagoon islands of which we have been talking. Wherefore, Mr Turnbull 'cannot but observe, that had it pleased the Great Architect of Nature, in the plan of creation, to have raised this part of the world but a *few hundred fathoms*, from its present level,'—what would have happened? Why, truly, something that a man shall guess, without sailing round the world —'we should, *most probably*, have been furnished with countries of vast extent, and islands innumerable, which at present lye below the sea.' (II. 111.) In another part of his work, Mr Turnbull's piety, though certainly very amiable, is not altogether judicious. He is speaking of the bounty of nature, and he observes,

serves, that 'nature, who is a kind parent to all her children, has in Otaheite so mingled her bitters with her sweets, that the lot of the Otaheitans is not superior to the rest of the world.' And he proceeds to show that they are most lamentably inferior to other nations in all the essentials of happiness, especially to the English. (III. 78.)

On returning to Otaheite, hogs were found to be still scarce, and it was resolved that the captain should go with the vessel to some of the other islands of the cluster, while Mr Turnbull remained to superintend the salting business. This residence gave him new occasions of studying the manners and character of the natives; for the ship, instead of three weeks (her intended absence), was missing two months; and then the crew arrived in a punt, which they had contrived to build of the ship's materials, having been wrecked about a fortnight after their departure. They had suffered greatly, both from hunger, and from the bad conduct of the natives. On their sorrowful return, their misfortunes, though extreme, had not produced any very edifying effects among them. They behaved in the most mutinous and quarrelsome manner, both to the officers and to one another. Of the whole crew, only the cook remained united to the officers, and resolved to return home if possible. His professional skill, indeed, was of very little service; for they had been so plundered, both by their own men and the natives, that they could scarcely obtain the necessaries of life; and all idea of attempting to build a raft or vessel which might facilitate their escape, was of course out of the question.

In this forlorn situation they remained for three months, when the only event happened which could give them any hopes of relief. A sail appeared. It proved to be an English vessel, and bound for Port Jackson. They obtained a passage; and, 'in their present situation, laying aside all indignation at the conduct of their shipmates, divided their little remaining property among them,' and set sail. Touching at the Friendly islands, with the natives of which they had some intercourse, they arrived in New Holland for the second time, after an absence of two years, and took a passage in a vessel bound for England, which they reached after an absence of four years and thirty-one days.

Mr Turnbull's residence among the natives of the Society islands, and his visits to the Sandwich and Friendly islands, gave him an opportunity of observing, with great advantage, the distinctive peculiarities in their character and customs, which it is the more interesting to ascertain, and to note the effects which have been produced on all of them by their intercourse with Europeans during late years. We shall therefore collect into one point

point of view the particulars illustrative of these subjects, which are scattered in considerable abundance over different parts of his work.

Of all the islands in the South Sea, the inhabitants of the Sandwich group are the most favoured in natural talents, and the most advanced in the useful arts of life. The natives of Otaheite excel the Sandwich islanders in one manufacture only, that of cloth. In every thing else, the latter are superior. Those of the Friendly islands are between the other two. The character of the natives of Otaheite is a singular mixture of the qualities inseparable from savage life; and some of the vices, as well as accomplishments hitherto deemed peculiar to more civilized society. They are fond of blood in their wars, almost to fury. In their feasts, the love of intoxicating liquors rises to a degree of insanity, and the effects of drunkenness are proportionally violent. Their chiefs and priests delight in human sacrifices. Thieving, and every other modification of cunning, is universally practised. Nay, our navigators found that faithlessness was the general characteristic of every transaction in which they were engaged. Yet their ferocity can bend to the dictates of passions, or rather feelings, little known among mere barbarians; and their cunning can assume the appearance of qualities on which polished nations pride themselves. Except in two particular instances, Mr Turnbull never saw any example of unkindness or brutality towards women in the Otaheitans, and these he imputes entirely to the effects of intoxication. (I. 160.) They are also, in their whole intercourse with Europeans, and among themselves, the most consummate flatterers of whom we have ever seen any description. Their manners are so insinuating—the thousand forms of kindness and even fondness which they employ to captivate one of whom they have a favour to ask, are so irresistible, that, Mr Turnbull asserts, only one man in his crew could keep his property from them; and he was the armourer, who had been farrier in the army, and was originally bred a blacksmith in Yorkshire. This feature in their character deserves further illustration. It was resolved that all intercourse should proceed through the abovementioned steady and prudent person.

'The natives,' says our author, 'accordingly assaulted him with all the blandishment, and natural endearment, which to minds of benevolence is the most resistless kind of flattery. It was a matter of astonishment to many of us, that the fellow could maintain his purpose. He had one answer, however, for all; that his fire-gun, as they called his bellows, could do nothing, until certain dues were paid; and these, being rather heavy, ridded him gradually of his customers. It was in vain that they made him their Tayo, enveloping him in cloth, and affecting jealousy at his preference of each other; the fellow was inexorable, and

as

as deaf as his fire-gun. Finding themselves thus disappointed, they now changed their language, calling him *ahow tata, ahow tata;* " very bad fellow, very bad fellow;" words they had picked up from former English visitors.

'With the rest of the ship's company, however, the natives had much more success, as each man had his friend or Tayo, who paid his court so assiduously and insinuatingly, as to leave the poor fellows scarcely a rag to wear. On continuing the voyage, almost the whole of our crew were thus obliged to be completely clothed anew; some of them to content themselves with the cloth of Otaheite.' I. 154, 155.

It is a more amiable quality, but still less usual in savages, which our author ascribes to them, when he says, that during his whole residence in Otaheite, he never saw one of the natives lose his temper, except in two cases of intoxication formerly alluded to, (III. 27.) Their sexual passions are extremely violent, and carry them to refinements of debaucheryscarcely known in more civilized communities. The Arreoys, so often described with wonder by former navigators, are mentioned by our author with suitable reprobation. They seem to be rather on the increase; and the system of infanticide with which they are connected, seems strangely repugnant to the gentleness of character ascribed to the Otaheitans in other respects. Our author likewise mentions the prevalence of certain propensities still less natural, but chiefly among the chiefs and men of high station. Although the weakness of the female sex does not expose them to contempt in this curious society, insomuch, that they are allowed to govern the country equally with men, (III. 38.); yet old age is, probably on this account, singularly despised. 'As worthless as an old man,' is the common expression for whatever they mean to degrade and vilify, (III. 17.) Their extreme personal cleanliness is another particular in which these islanders differ from most uncivilized tribes; and, connected with this, is their fondness for the water, in which, indeed, almost all the South Sea natives may be said to spend the greater part of their time, notwithstanding the injury that their health suffers from the indulgence, (III. 55. and *passim.*)

A considerable portion of the traits in their character and manners, on which Mr Turnbull dwells with peculiar emphasis, are perhaps not so exclusively the growth of Otaheite as he may imagine. Indeed, we fancy traces of them might be discovered in other less barbarous forms of society. It is reckoned a sort of profanation in the women to eat with the men, (III. 25.) What follows is perhaps more peculiar to Otaheite—' the women live in the most perfect harmony together,' *(Ibid.)* The women, we are told, are extremely attentive to dress, spend a great deal of time at the looking glass, are peculiarly careful in adjusting their

hair,

hair, and scarcely appear twice in the same fancy head-dress, (III. 26.) The natives, in general, are singularly partial to their own island, which they believe to be the finest spot in the habitable globe; and they conceive that foreigners only come there to get fat by its good eating, (III. 28.) They excel in mimickry, and delight in laughing at, and taking off the peculiarities of foreigners, (III. 67.) The king owes a great part of his influence to his being the head of the church, or high priest, (III. 4.) When his eldest son grows up, he shares a great part of his weight in the community, (I. 142.) The royal family generally make a practice of 'throwing their offal to their dependants,' who 'devour it like so many vultures.'—'These fellows' (says our author, in his uncourteous manner) 'possessed great influence over the king,' (III. 57.) The following passages are illustrative of the characters of ministers and courtiers in Otaheite; though we could have wished that Mr Turnbull had not made use of such strong expressions in describing persons of that eminent rank.

'There are no greater thieves in the country than Otoo's attendants. Such are the chief men in the country, and such the priests and governors. The depravity of the common people need be no subject of astonishment, when such is the example of their superiors.' III. 83.

'The common people may be said to possess little or no property; for, should they happen to possess any thing of more than ordinary value, the king seldom fails to hear of it through the medium of the miscreants by whom he is surrounded. The article is then demanded for his use, and it is prudent in the owner to submit. Reluctance is construed into an act of rebellion; and the object thenceforth marked down, and in all probability becomes the next human sacrifice; the common people complain heavily, and with great justice, of these atrocious sycophants, who plunder as often for themselves, as for their master.' III. 66.

We are moreover informed, that they are better at projecting than executing any enterprize or expedition which they undertake (III. 42), in which it must be admitted that they greatly differ from more civilized courts, who for the most part plan and execute with equal ability. We know not if there can be traced any analogy in other parts of the world to the following trait in their state policy. With them every thing is an enterprize. A journey to the Mottoes is a grand undertaking, and occupies their thoughts and conversations for many months. An embassy to the neighbouring islands had been in preparation upwards of a year, when our author was there, (III. 42.)

We conceive that Mr Turnbull is too severe in his judgments of King Otoo, whom he accuses of excessive 'stupidity.' The following is all the proof he brings of this charge.

'Very

'Very good fellow, very bad fellow, were the plaineſt words that Otoo could articulate; haremi de rum, bring hither the rum, and a very few others. He would ſometimes ſend to the miſſionaries for pen, ink and paper, but uſed them as a child, making ſcrawls and ſcratches. On ſome occaſions I have been ſent for to witneſs his proficiency; but I ever found him more attentive to a book of pictures than to his reading and writing.' III. 97.

The last particular relating to this island, which we shall mention, is the decrease of its population. It is at once melancholy and astonishing. Captain Cook rendered the number at 100,000. When the Duff arrived, they had fallen to 15,000. And now, by the best accounts of the missionaries, our author cannot estimate them at more than 5000. He asserts that there are ten males to a female; and that this is owing to the natural indolence of the inhabitants, and their practice of murdering female infants, to save the trouble of maintaining them when they grow up. Certain it is, that the unnatural habits and feelings introduced by the Arreoys, must operate greatly to the derangement of the usual structure of society in this respect: and the astonishment expressed by two Otaheitans, whom our author carried with him to New Holland, at seeing so many children in the colony, is no doubt a corroborative evidence, to what an extent infanticide and barrenness prevail in their own island, (III. 16. 125, &c.) It is evidently much more than a superstitious feeling in these islands, to ascribe all the calamities that befal them to the arrival of a European ship.

The Sandwich Islanders form, in almost every respect, a striking contrast to the Otaheitans. Without entering into the details of this difference, we shall only observe, that the intercourse with Europeans has greatly and rapidly advanced them in civilization. Instead of missionaries, who teach them little, partly from their own want of comprehension, and partly from the ignorance of their instructors—or convicts and deserters, who teach them every bad lesson—the natives of Owhyhee have had American traders residing among them for fourteen years; and they have had all the benefits which are frequently conferred on rising communities, by the appearance of one of those great men, who go before their age, and lead, rather than force onward, the progress of society; the name of this singular person is Tamahama; and our author's account of him is by much the most interesting part of his work. We have not room for a long extract; but we conceive, that the insertion of the following passage will convey a more distinct idea of the progress made in civility by those islanders, and of the character of this extraordinary person, than the most elaborate abstract.

'His

'His palace is built after the European style, of brick, and glazed windows, having European and American artificers about him of almost every description. Indeed his own subjects, from their intercourse with Europeans, have acquired a great knowledge of several of the mechanical arts, and have thus enabled him to increase his navy, a very favourite object with him. I have no doubt that, in a very few years, he will erect amongst these islands a power very far from despicable.

'The circumstances of this enterprising chief were greatly changed since the visit of Captain Vancouvre, to whom, as to the servant and representative of the King of Great Britain, with much formality and ceremony, he had made a conveyance of the sovereignty of Owhyhee, in the hopes of being thus more strongly confirmed in his authority, and supplied with the means of resisting his enemies.

'His dominion seems now to be completely established. He is not only a great warrior and politician, but a very acute trader, and a match for any European in driving a bargain. He is well acquainted with the different weights and measures, and the value which all articles ought to bear in exchange with each other; and is ever ready to take the advantage of the necessities of those who apply to him or his people for supplies.

'His subjects have already made considerable progress in civilization; but are held in the most abject submission, as Tamahama is inflexible in punishing all offences which seem to counteract his supreme command.

'It was only in 1792 that Captain Vancouvre laid down the keel of Tamahama's first vessel, or rather craft; but so assiduously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object, the establishment of a naval force, that, at the period of our arrival, he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to fifty tons; some of them were even copper-bottomed.' II. 58, 59, 60.

If we compare this with the process of civilization carrying on by the Missionaries in Otaheite, we shall at least be enabled to decide which has the greatest success, whatever may be the comparative merits of the intentions on which each plan proceeds. To promote this comparison, is the humble object of the following short extracts.

'It may be satisfactory to the friends of the missionaries to learn, that their prayer-meetings and public ordinances were constantly kept up, the morning and afternoon of every day, and, on Sundays, three times in the day. The natives, however, did not attend.' III. 5.

'The missionaries indeed neglect nothing to render their mission successful. On every Sabbath day, they range the country, two by two, in different directions. But I repeat, that I fear their efforts will, for a long period, be unsuccessful.' III. 8.

After a missionary sermon which the natives and their king Otoo had attended,

'He asked me, upon the departure of the missionaries, whether it was all true, as they had preached: I replied in the affirmative, that it was

was ftrictly fo according to my own belief, and that of all the wifer and better part of my countrymen. He demanded of me where Jehovah lived; I pointed to the heavens. He faid he did not believe it. His brother was, if poffible, ftill worfe.' III. 10.

The following is the account of the first reception given to these pious men.

'The chiefs encouraged them by faying, that their parrow, or talk, was very good. The high-prieft, however, after fome attendance, fuffered a remark to flip, which explained their fecret opinion,—that the miffionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but few axes. They, doubtlefs, thought that their conftant attendance entitled them to prefents. It appears to me, that, in this refpect, they have become very little improved.' III. 89.

After this, it must appear not a little singular that our author should recommend the method of missions to the Sandwich Islands.

ART. VI. *The Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems.* By James Montgomery. Third Edition. 12mo. pp. 175. London. 1806.

We took compassion upon Mr Montgomery on his first appearance; conceiving him to be some slender youth of seventeen, intoxicated with weak tea, and the praises of sentimental Ensigns and other provincial literati, and tempted, in that situation, to commit a feeble outrage on the public, of which the recollection would be a sufficient punishment. A third edition, however, is too alarming to be passed over in silence; and though we are perfectly persuaded, that in less than three years, nobody will know the name of the Wanderer of Switzerland, or any of the other poems in this collection, still we think ourselves called on to interfere, to prevent, as far as in us lies, the mischief that may arise from the intermediate prevalence of so distressing an epidemic. It is hard to say what numbers of ingenuous youth may be led to expose themselves in public, by the success of this performance, or what addition may be made in a few months to that great sinking fund of bad taste, which is daily wearing down the debt which we have so long owed to the classical writers of antiquity.

After all, we believe it is scarcely possible to sell three editions of a work absolutely without merit; and Mr Montgomery has the merit of smooth versification, blameless morality, and a sort of sickly affectation of delicacy and fine feelings, which is apt to impose on the amiable part of the young and the illiterate. The wonder, with us, is, how these qualities should still excite any portion

tion of admiration: for there is no mistake more gross or more palpable, than that it requires any extraordinary talents to write tolerable verses upon ordinary subjects. On the contrary, we are persuaded that this is an accomplishment which may be acquired, more certainly and more speedily, than most of those to which the studies of youth are directed, and in which mere industry will always be able to secure a certain degree of excellence. There are few young men who have the slightest tincture of literary ambition, who have not, at some time in their lives, indited middling verses; and, accordingly, in the instructed classes of society, there is nothing more nauseated than middling poetry. The truth is, however, that the diligent readers of poetry, in this country, are by no means instructed. They consist chiefly of young, half-educated women, sickly tradesmen, and enamoured apprentices. To such persons the faculty of composing in rhyme always appears little less than miraculous; and if the verses be tolerably melodious, and contain a sufficient allowance of those exaggerated phrases, with which they have become familiar at the playhouse and the circulating library, they have a fair chance of being extolled with unmeasured praises, till supplanted by some newer or more fashionable object of idolatry. These are the true poetical consumers of a community,—the persons who take off editions,—and create a demand for nonsense, which the improved ingenuity of the times can with difficulty supply. It is in the increasing number and luxury of this class of readers, that we must seek for the solution of such a phenomenon, as a third edition of the Wanderer of Switzerland, within six months from the appearance of the first. The perishable nature of the celebrity which is derived from this kind of patronage, may be accounted for as easily, from the character and condition of those who confer it. The girls grow up into women, and occupy themselves in suckling their children, or scolding their servants; the tradesmen take to drinking, or to honest industry; and the lovers, when metamorphosed into husbands, lay aside their poetical favourites, with their thin shoes and perfumed handkerchiefs. All of them grow ashamed of their admiration in a reasonably short time; and no more think of imposing the taste, than the dress of their youth, upon a succeeding generation.

Mr Montgomery is one of the most musical and melancholy fine gentlemen we have lately descried on the lower slopes of Parnassus. He is very weakly, very finical, and very affected. His affectations, too, are the most usual, and the most offensive of those that are commonly met with in the species to which he belongs: they are affectations of extreme tenderness and delicacy, and of great energy and enthusiasm. Whenever he does not whine,

whine, he must rant. The scanty stream of his genius is never allowed to steal quietly along its channel; but is either poured out in melodious tears, or thrown up to heaven in all the frothy magnificence of tiny jets and artificial commotions.

The first and the longest poem in the volume is the Wanderer of Switzerland, in which the author informs us it was his design to celebrate an *epic* subject in a *lyric* measure, and on a *dramatic* plan. It consists, accordingly, of a series of conversations between an old gentleman, who had escaped from the battle of Underwalden with a part of his family, and a hospitable and poetical shepherd, in whose cottage they had sought shelter. Of the richness of this triple essence of ode, epic, and drama, the reader may judge from the opening stanzas.

Shep. " Wanderer! whither doſt thou roam?
Weary Wanderer, old and grey!
Wherefore haſt thou left thine home
In the ſunſet of thy day?"

Wand. " In the ſunſet of my day,
Stranger! I have loſt my home:
Weary, wandering, old and grey,
Therefore, therefore, do I roam." p. 11, 12.

He then tells him in the same dancing measure, that he has just escaped from the ruin of Switzerland; and the sentimental swain immediately replies—

Shep. " Welcome, Wanderer as thou art,
All my bleſſings to partake;
Yet thrice welcome to my heart,
For thine injur'd country's ſake."

———

" Spouſe! I bring a ſuffering gueſt,
With his family of grief;
Bid the weary pilgrims reſt,
Yield, O yield them ſweet relief!"

Shep.'s Wife. " I will yield them ſweet relief:
Weary Pilgrims! welcome here;
Welcome, family of grief!
Welcome to my warmeſt cheer." p. 14, 15.

This, we own, appears to us like the singing of a bad pantomime; and is more insipid and disgusting than any tragic ballad, either ancient or modern, that we recollect to have met with. The party sup very comfortably on bread and cheese, wine, honey, and ripe fruit; and the old Swiss tells the story of the French invasion, and the death of his son-in-law in the battle. The old shepherd, in the very spirit of hospitality and lyric poetry, insists upon drinking to the memory of the departed warriors.

Shep. " Pledge the memory of the Brave,
And the ſpirits of the dead ;
Pledge the venerable Grave,
Valour's conſecrated bed. " p. 42.

The Swiss repeats the toast with great devotion.—

Wand. " Hail !—all hail ! the Patriot's grave,
Valour's venerable bed !
Hail ! the memory of the Brave,
Hail ! the ſpirits of the dead ! " p. 43.

On hearing the description of her husband's death, his widow, as was to have been expected, falls into a fit, out of which they have some difficulty in recovering her. If we may judge from the rapidity of the dialogue, and the number of interjections and points of admiration, this should be the most pathetic part of the poem.

Shep. " Man of ſuffering ! ſuch a tale
Would wring tears from marble eyes ! "
Wand. " Ha ! my daughter's cheek grows pale ; "
W.'s Wife. " Help, O help ! my daughter dies ! "

Wand. " Calm thy tranſports, O my Wife !
Peace, for theſe ſweet orphans' ſake ! "
W.'s Wife. " O my joy ! my hope ! my life !
O my child ! my child ! awake ! "

Wand. " God ! O God whoſe goodneſs gives ;
God ! whoſe wiſdom takes away ;
Spare my child ! "
Shep. ——— ——— ' She lives ! ſhe lives ! "
Wand. Lives ?—my daughter ! didſt thou ſay ?

God Almighty ! on my knees,
In the duſt will I adore
Thine unſearchable decrees ;
—She was dead !—ſhe lives once more ! " p. 47, 48.

The females then go to bed, and the old wanderer sits up over his wine with his host, and informs him that he is going to America, where he expects to be tolerably happy, in spite of a circumstance which, though very energetically expressed, we really conceive would not detract much from the happiness of the most social of mankind.

" Though the mould that wraps my clay
When this ſtorm of life is o'er,
Never—never—never lay
On a human breaſt before. " p. 65.

Towards the end of the poem, the poor man, having drank a little too freely we suppose, breaks out into a sort of raving about the restoration of Switzerland, in the course of which he draws

draws his sword, and lays about him, and is pacified by his host with no small difficulty.

Shep. " Warrior! Warrior! ftay thine arm!
Sheathe, O fheathe thy frantic fword!"
Wand. " Ah! I rave!—I faint!—the charm
Flies ——and memory is reftored!" p. 72.

Such is the outline of this lyrical epic. Its chief ornaments are ejaculations and points of admiration; and, indeed, we must do Mr Montgomery the justice to say, that he is on no occasion sparing of his ohs and ahs. In this particular poem, he frequently brings them in with great simplicity and effect in this appropriate manner.

' O! how glorioufly they fought!'
' O it was a happy fpot!'
' O 'tis venerable earth,' &c. &c.

Medical writers inform us, that spasms and convulsions are usually produced by debility; and we have generally observed, that the more feeble a writer's genius is, the more violent and terrific are the distortions into which he throws himself. There is a certain cold extravagance, which is symptomatic of extreme dulness; and wild metaphors and startling personifications indicate the natural sterility of the mind which has been forced to bear them. This volume abounds with these sallies of desperate impotence. For instance,

' Hark!—a ftrange found affrights mine ear:
My pulfe—my brain runs wild,—I rave:
—Ah! who art thou whofe voice I hear?
——" I am THE GRAVE!

" The GRAVE, that never fpake before,
Hath found at length a tongue to chide:
O liften!—I will fpeak no more:—
Be filent, Pride!" p. 74.

Again—

' My fpirit defcends where the day-fpring is born,
Where the billows are rubies on fire,
And the breezes that rock the light cradle of morn
Are fweet as the Phœnix's pyre:
O regions of beauty, of love, and defire!
O gardens of Eden! in vain
Placed far on the fathomlefs main.' p. 162.

' Ah! why hath JEHOVAH, in forming the world,
With the waters divided the land,
His ramparts of rocks round the continent hurl'd,
And cradled the deep in his hand,
If man may tranfgrefs his eternal command,
And leap o'er the bounds of his birth
To ravage the uttermoft earth?' p. 164.

Mr Montgomery's most favoured and natural style, however, is more fantastical. The following is an exquisite piece of *verbiage.*

> ' Where the roving rill meander'd
> Down the green, retiring vale,
> Poor forlorn ALCÆUS wander'd,
> Pale with thought, serenely pale:
> Hopeless Sorrow o'er his face
> Breath'd a melancholy grace,
> And fix'd on every feature there
> The mournful resignation of despair.' p. 81.

After flinging his lyre carelessly ' over his arm,' as if it had been a Spanish cloke, this interesting person goes out ' at midnight's solemn noon,' and sings this ditty to the moon and stars, ' that shed their mildest influence on his head.'

> " Lyre! O Lyre! my chosen treasure,
> " Solace of my bleeding heart!
> " Lyre! O Lyre! my only pleasure,
> " We must ever, ever part:
> " For in vain thy poet sings,
> " Wooes in vain thine heavenly strings;
> " The Muse's wretched sons are born
> " To cold neglect, and penury, and scorn." p. 82.

Even this, however, is more tolerable than the following; which is as tawdry and vile as the tarnished finery of a strolling actress.

> ' O for evening's brownest shade!
> Where the breezes play by stealth
> In the forest-cinctur'd glade,
> Round the hermitage of Health:
> While the noon-bright mountains blaze
> In the sun's tormenting rays.
>
> ' O'er the sick and sultry plains,
> Through the dim delirious air,
> Agonizing silence reigns,
> And the wanness of despair:
> Nature faints with fervent heat,
> Ah! her pulse hath ceased to beat!
>
> ' Now in deep and dreadful gloom,
> Clouds on clouds portentous spread,
> Black as if the day of doom
> Hung o'er Nature's shrinking head:
> Lo! the lightning breaks from high,
> —GOD is coming!—GOD is nigh!' p. 127, 128.

If the reader be not satisfied with this, he may solace himself with ' a song, written for a convivial meeting, whose motto was Friendship, Love, and Truth;' or with ' a Remonstrance to Winter,' beginning

Ah!

'Ah! why, *unfeeling* Winter! why
Still flags thy torpid wing!
Fly, *melancholy* ſeaſon, fly,
And yield the year to Spring.'

Or with another Lilliputian ode, in which he is equally ſevere on the same quarter of the year.

'Winter, retire!
Thy reign is paſt;
Hoary ſire!
Yield the ſceptre of thy ſway,' &c.

Or, finally, with a pathetic effuſion, entitled, 'the Joy of Grief,' in which he may find many stanzas as natural and touching as this.

'Did not grief then grow romantic,
Raving on remember'd bliſs?
Did you not, with fervour frantic,
Kiſs the lips that felt no kiſs?' p. 101.

For our own part, however, we have no longer room to commemorate more than one of those exquisite productions; and we give a decided preference to that which we can easily perceive to have been the author's own favourite. The very title, indeed, is characteristic of the tenderness of his nature, and his gentle ambition of singularity. It is called, 'THE PILLOW,' and celebrates the fate of a poetical friend of the author's, who died in his bed, because the world would not buy so much as a single edition of his verses. There is something very moving in these introductory lines.

'My friend was young, the world was new;
The world was falſe, my friend was true;
Lowly his lot, his birth obſcure,
His fortune hard, my friend was poor.' p. 113.

After mentioning the death of this amiable creature, we are surprised to find how ingeniously and easily our poet can comfort himself.

'And yet, O Pillow! yet to me,
My gentle Friend ſurvives in thee;
In thee, the partner of his bed,
In thee, the widow of the dead!' p. 114.

We then learn, that his deceased friend 'played on the brink of Helicon;' and that 'the Muse of Sorrow,' whom he elegantly terms *a gipsy*, stole him, and taught him to sing; and that he used to muse in pensive mood before falling asleep.

'O Pillow! then, when light withdrew,
To thee the fond enthuſiaſt flew;
On thee, in penſive mood reclin'd,
He pour'd his contemplative mind,

Till o'er his eyes, with mild controul,
Sleep like a soft enchantment stole.' p. 118. 119.

The crisis of his fate is thus simply narrated.

'Louder and bolder bards were crown'd,
Whose dissonance his music drown'd:
The public ear, the public voice,
Despis'd his song, denied his choice,
Denied a name—a life in death,
Denied—a bubble and a breath.
Stript of his fondest, dearest claim,
And disinherited of fame,
To thee, O Pillow! thee alone,
He made his silent anguish known;
His haughty spirit scorn'd the blow
That laid his high ambition low;
But ah! his looks assum'd in vain
A cold ineffable disdain.' p. 119. 120.

We cannot laugh at this any longer; and feel ourselves compelled to ask pardon of our readers for having detained them so long with these paltry affectations. The passages we have already exhibited will probably be sufficient to justify our estimate of the volume, and to confirm the theory by which we have attempted to account for its success. After all, however, it is still a little strange, and not a little humiliating, to think that, at a period when we have more eminent poetical writers than have appeared together for upwards of a century, such a performance as this should rise into any degree of public favour. When every day is bringing forth some new work from the pen of Scott, Campbell, Rogers, Baillie, Sotheby, Wordsworth, or Southey, it is natural to feel some disgust at the undistinguishing voracity which can swallow down three editions of songs to convivial societies, and verses to a pillow.

Art. VII. *The Science of Legislation, from the Italian of Gaetano Filangieri.* By Sir R. Clayton. London, 1806.

Gaetano Filangieri, we are told by his translator, was born in 1752, of an illustrious Neapolitan family. He chose the profession of an advocate, which, in Naples, is more respectable than in many other countries on the Continent; and, as it there leads to the first employments in the state, the younger sons of the nobility, whose patrimony is slender, often adopt it. It was while he practised in the Neapolitan courts, that the little treatise, with the title, 'Riflessioni politiche sull' ultima legge

legge sovrana chi riguarda l' amministrazione di Giustizia,' established his legal and literary reputation. This profession, however, he renounced at an early age; his uncle, the Archbishop of Naples, having bestowed upon him a rich commandery of the Constantinian order, by which he was enabled to transfer his attention to studies more enlarged than those of any particular jurisprudence. He became also gentleman of the chamber to his Sicilian Majesty, and received a commission in a royal corps of volunteers, wholly composed of the nobility, and considered as the King's select body guard.

Under such circumstances as these, far less propitious than the struggles of the most abject poverty, it is the rare praise of Filangieri to have produced, in the bosom of the court of Naples, at only thirty years of age, 'la Scienza delle Legislazione;' a work, however we may appreciate its philosophical excellence, which bears the traces of much learned research, and breathes, in every page, sentiments of the purest virtue, mingled with an undaunted spirit of liberty, and zeal for the improvement of mankind. Let it be spoken too, to the honour of Ferdinand, that he revered the character of his patriot courtier. He was raised to the post of counsellor of finance; and higher honours are said to have awaited him, when a disorder, arising from exposure to the night-air, in returning to his country house, after the fatigues of his employment, put an end to his life, and to the schemes which he had projected for the reestablishment of the finances, on the basis of national prosperity. He died in 1788, in his 36th year; and, if we could believe that a man of his enlightened virtues would long have retained the favour of a dissolute court, or withstood the necessary enmities of the nobility and priesthood, his loss must have been grievous indeed to his countrymen. 'Ho più di tutto perduto,' exclaimed the King, 'nella morte di quel digno ed illuminato vassallo.' A pension was settled on his widow, and his children were educated at the royal expense. It is recorded of Filangieri, that he possessed great personal beauty, and that gracefulness of manner which belongs rather to his rank than his pursuits; merits, which probably redeemed his philosophy at Portici. He lived as virtuously as he wrote; and his abhorrence of spiritual abuses seems (which is rare in a continental philosopher) to have stopped short of irreligion. Hence, perhaps, the zealous friends of revolution spoke of him with coldness. 'Before we read Filangieri's book,' said one of them, with the foolish intolerance so usual in that school, 'it will be necessary to determine, whether a lord of the court, and a nephew of the Archbishop of Naples, is capable of rendering any service to philosophy.'

 Such

Such a man it is impossible to venerate too much; but of his book we must judge as if it came from one unknown. Translations into German, French, and Spanish, evince the credit in which it has been held on the Continent. The first volume was translated into English by a Mr Kendal, in 1792; but its sale was probably small, as he never proceeded in the work. Sir R. Clayton says,

'I have confined the present tranflation to political and economical laws, and have not extended it to criminal legiflation, for the following reafons. Our own diftribution of public juftice is fcarcely fufceptible of amendment; and a great part of Filangieri, on this fubject, relates to the local imperfections of the continental fyftem of criminal jurifprudence, neither ufeful nor entertaining to an Englifh reader.'

Much might undoubtedly be retrenched in a translation, which related only to usages in which a British reader could take no interest, and which he could but imperfectly understand; but we cannot acquiesce in the doctrine, that the English system of criminal jurisprudence is not susceptible of amendment. Orthodox as this position may be with some English lawyers, and flattering as it is to the rooted prejudices of that country, we would appeal to none more confidently than to the enlightened members of that profession, and to those who exercise the functions of magistracy, whether either the letter of the penal code, or the course of criminal justice, or the rules of evidence admitted, or the forms of process prescribed, or the usages introduced, have nothing in them of imperfection, nothing which shelters the subtle culprit, or affects innocence with the collateral, though not the direct, consequences of guilt. It is surely no friendly office to a nation that we perform, when we encourage that blind, and, as it were, parental bias in favour of its defective institutions, which precludes any inquiry into the means of improving them. This reason, however, of Sir R. Clayton's applies only to the third book of the 'Scienza delle Legislazione:' the four last, treating of education, the rights of the church, the laws of property, and those which regard the domestic relations, must have been left untranslated for some other cause, and probably from a very reasonable doubt, whether so extensive a publication would obtain a ready sale in the shops of London.

Perhaps we may be permitted, as the original work has not been very generally read in England, to consider it as in some degree new, and dwell more upon the merits of Filangieri, than on Sir R. Clayton. The author has developed his plan in an introduction, which his translator, for no reason assigned, has thought fit to omit. Perhaps he was aware how mutilated his volumes would appear, when compared with the grand and com-

prehensive fabric which was raised by Filangieri. In the first book, he professes to discuss the general principles of legislation, as they regard *preservation* and *security*, the great objects of civil society.

'Cominciàndo dal diſtinguere la *bontà aſſoluta* delle leggi, della *bontà relativa*, determinando l' idea preciſa dell' una e dell' altra; diſtinguendo l' armonia, che deve avere la legge co' principj della natura, dal rapporto, che eſſa deve avere collo ſtato della nazione, alla quale si emana, ſviluppando i principj più generali, che dipendono da queſto doppio carattere di bonta, che deve avere ogni legge; oſſervando le conſeguenze, che ne derivano; deducendone gli errori delle leggi, la diverſità neceſſaria, l' oppoſizione anche frequente delle legiſlazioni; le vicende de' codice, la neceſſità di correggerli; gli oſtacoli che rendono difficili queſte correzioni, le precauzioni, che fanno ſvanire queſti oſtacoli: prendendo, io dico, di mira tutti queſti oggetti, noi non faremo altro, che dare un' idea generale della teoria della *bontà aſſoluta* delle leggi, e diſporie allo ſviluppo della teoria molto più complicata della lors *bontà relativa*, che e, per così dire, l' aggregate di tutto le regale generali della ſcienza della legiſlazione.

'Se queſta bontà conſiſte nel rapporto delle leggi collo ſtato della nazione, alla quale vengono emanate, biſogna vedere quali ſono i componenti di queſto ſtato. Noi li troveremo nella natura del governo, e per conſeguenza nel principio, che lo fa agire; nel genio, e nell' indole de' popoli; nel clima, forza ſempre attiva, e ſempre naſcoſta; nella natura del terreno; nella ſituazione locate; nella maggiore, e minore eſtenzione del paeſe; nell' infanzia, o nella maturità del popolo, e nella religione, in queſta forza divina, che influendo ſu i coſtumi de popoli, deve richiamore le prime cure del legiſlatore.'

These disquisitions, he allows, will lead him over the ground already trodden by Montesquieu; but their objects were not the same. The one sought, in the circumstances of nations, the spirit of laws which have been; the other, of those which ought to be. The one raised up the vail of time past; the other threw lights on futurity. The one explained how evils arose; the other endeavoured to elicit from thence their remedy. Such is the difference of the two writers, as to the scheme of their works, and the direction of their minds. But, in the execution, no comparison can, we think, be made between the labours of Montesquieu and Filangieri. The latter has brought very little original thinking into the stock of science; and his praise might perhaps be limited to an extensive, and, upon the whole, a judicious use of the researches which had been made before him.

The positive goodness of a law consists, according to Filangieri, in its conformity with the common principles of morality, and with the precepts of revelation. God and nature protect the rights of mankind, and no transitory expediency can justify their

infringement.

[illegible] The Aquiline law, which renders it no more penal to kill a slave than a horse; the law of Henry II. of France, which compels an unmarried woman to declare her pregnancy before a magistrate, on pain of death if her child perish; those of other countries, which force the testimony of a wife against her husband, and a child against its parent; violate institutions more sacred than themselves, and resist an authority paramount to that by which they are prescribed. Besides, however, these absolute distinctions in the goodness of laws, there are many others of a less general nature, deducible from the circumstances of those countries for which they are proposed. To these the chief attention of a legislator should be directed. The laws of Lycurgus were not made for Athens, and those of Athens would have ruined Lacedemon. In the constitution of their government, in their character, customs and religion, in their soil, their climate, their position, the wise politician may discover constant, and perhaps insuperable diversities between one people and another. These have been separately treated by Filangieri, and form the substance of this first book of his work.

It has sometimes struck us, that the bias which is found in some theoretical writers upon legislation in favour of established systems, and in others towards changes, may partly be accounted for, by the character of the country and government for which their labours were designed. In the ancient republics, the sovereignty was generally exercised by the whole body of the people, liable to the natural turbulence and instability of all democracies, and, in those of Greece, to a certain constitutional levity in the national character. The beautiful fabrics of civil polity might be swept away by the surge of a moment, whenever the factious, who loved sedition, or the ambitious, who aimed at tyranny, should rouse the madness of the multitude. Against these perils of innovation, it was difficult to devise a barrier, compatible with the supremacy of the public will. The legislators of antiquity were not however deficient in their endeavours to secure the stability of their institutions. The proposer of a new law among the Locrians, we are told by Demosthenes, *wore a rope about his neck*; if it failed of adoption, his life was an instant sacrifice to the sanctity of the established constitution. Less violent, yet powerful, checks were imposed by the laws of Athens and Rome. The people, jealous as they were in the extreme of their legislative rights, submitted to a previous negative in the Nomothetæ of the one, and in the Senate of the other. At Rome, indeed, this corrective of innovation was in a great degree done away by the plebiscita, which passed by a vote of the tribes, without the authority of the senate, and acquired, at

a pretty early period, the complete force of what were more strictly called laws. But there was yet another tie, by which the prudence of ancient legislators bound together the systems they had framed. This was superstition. They called in a force to which the physical power of the multitude must yield, and appealed to an authority, by which its acknowledged sovereignty might be lawfully controuled. For them the voice of the gods was raised in oracles; for them the mysterious symbols of fate were displayed in auguries; to them the divinities of woods and fountains taught more than fallible wisdom could have discovered. The worship, the ceremonies, and processions of antiquity, were mingled with the laws of civil regimen, and cast over them a veil of reverence and regard, that made innovation sacrilege. None but the patrician families could tend the sacred chickens of the augural college. The privilege may not seem invaluable. But if it was declared that these chickens refused to eat, an assembly of the people was that instant dissolved, their clamours silenced, their leaders appalled, and not a wreck left behind of the clouds that hung over the public tranquillity. And this distinction was the last to fall before the gradual progress of the plebeian claims.

In absolute monarchies, on the contrary, the genius of the constitution, and commonly the prejudices of the people, resist with a sort of inert force every species of innovation. Theoretical writers are therefore led to throw their weight into the opposite scale, and to counteract that 'froward retention of custom,' which baffles all their schemes of public improvement. The abuses likewise of such governments are commonly much more flagrant, and the grievances more substantial, than in those of a republican form; and while these naturally rouse the indignation of enlightened and patriotic men, the dangers of that turbulent fermentation, which is apt to attend political change, seem generally far less, where the prince, and not the people, administers the remedy. During part of the last century, kings aspired to be philosophers, or listened at least to those who bore the name; some looked for power, and some for reputation, in the destruction of ancient usages. The fancy of the theorist was inflamed; his projects became more extensive and less gradual, when he had but to persuade a single man of their possibility and excellence.' It may be noted, that although innovations are rare in absolute monarchies, yet when they do take place, they are likely to be almost as sweeping, and as sudden as in democracies themselves. For these forms of government, as Mr Burke has well remarked from Aristotle, have striking points of resemblance, in their arbitrary nature, and their disregard of private rights. The promulgation of a legislative code by a single edict, changing at

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once, upon however specious principles, the ancient customs of a nation, associated with all their notions of right, especially as to property;—prejudices which it is so dangerous to disturb; interwoven with the plans of so many individuals for their domestic happiness; familiar, by long habit, to the popular understanding, and accommodated, in all those petty occasions, which cannot be foreseen, to the exigencies of social life;—is a piece of infatuation and tyranny, which none, one would think, but a prince, in the barren ignorance of the purple, or a 'bookish theorique' in the presumptuousness of speculation, could approve. Yet Filangieri admires the celebrated project of Catherine, her philosophical code of Russian laws, and the absurd mockery of delegation from the dispersed and ignorant boors of her vast empire. 'She left to her kingdom the choice of its delegates, and consequently of its legislators. Under such circumstances, not a single peasant could doubt of the value of the new code, or could hesitate a moment on the preference between it and the ancient system.' The total neglect into which we understand this code to have fallen, is an answer to such an absurdity. We are far from charging Filangieri with that infatuated abhorrence of existing institutions, which distinguished the early times of the French revolution. In certain passages he appears aware, that reformations cannot be hasily taken up, or suddenly executed. But the general bias of his schemes is to make all provision against the sluggish spirit which adheres to every thing that is old, and very little against the turbulent spirit which grasps at every thing that is new. His institutions are laid out for a free government; but he lived under arbitrary power, and naturally thought most of the evils which he saw around him. From this error, and from one very common with speculative men, that of attributing more wisdom, and virtue, and influence, to the imaginary magistrate, than a real individual will ever possess, we find positions advanced, from which we shrink as wild and dangerous, and projects brought forward, which appear visionary and absurd. Let the following be a specimen.

'The first step to be taken, is to create in the public a wish for the proposed reformation. A change in the constitution of a country is not the work of a moment; and to prepare the way for it, the inclinations of the people should be gradually led towards it. They should be made fully sensible of the inefficacy of their established laws, and be convinced their hardships and oppressions are owing to them. The ablest writers should be employed to state the errors and inconveniences of the old system, and the propriety as well as the necessity of abolishing it, and adopting a more advantageous one. When these efforts are successful, and the public wish is united with the force of government, one of the greatest obstacles is surmounted, and there is no reason for any further

apprehensions

apprehensions from a passionate and ungovernable attachment of the multitude to their ancient usages. * * * * * When this first step is taken, another naturally follows. Having prejudiced the public opinion against its ancient laws, it should be inspired with a confidence in the proposed ones; and the arguments intended to produce this necessary predilection, ought to be plain and striking, and, in some degree, flowing from the public sentiments,' &c. Vol I. p. 57.

The predominant character of the British system of government, though it is essentially republican, is certainly rather adverse than favourable to innovation. It partakes, indeed, rather of the nature of an aristocracy, on a very large and liberal basis, than of any other polity; and the genius of an aristocratic commonwealth is of all others the most hostile to any change. Though the direct share of the monarch in legislation has become nominal, that of the House of Peers is very real and effective; and, on looking narrowly into the spirit which has generally actuated that assembly, we shall perceive, that new projects in legislation have encountered a very marked discouragement within its walls. But even in the more enlarged aristocracy of the Lower House, and in the tone of thinking which has been, bating a few exceptions, prevalent in the great body of the public, there is little to encourage the political theorist in his passion for experiments. The sedate temperament of the people, and their high traditional respect for the constitution, are undoubtedly powerful causes of this disposition. Another, somewhat less obvious, is the great influence of the members of the law in all political questions which involve an alteration in the national jurisprudence. By habit, by prepossession, by self-interest, lawyers are friendly to their ancient system; and the narrow way of judging, which is an unfortunate characteristic of their profession, is apt to raise, in even very able men, an excessive dislike of proffered improvements. Is it not possible, that the singular adherence of the American States to the common law of England, a system, in many points, equally repugnant to their government and their circumstances, has proceeded from the great strength of the legal phalanx in their assemblies, and its influence over the democratic mass? And even the spirit of party, which has reigned in this country till it has assumed the name of a virtue, and found a place in our national ethics, has proved hostile in fact, contrary to what might be supposed, to any substantial reformations. For the leaders of opposition are never powerful enough to carry any new project through Parliament; while, on the other hand, they may sometimes defeat, and much more often prevent, the introduction of schemes on the part of administration, which certain classes of men, who on such an occasion fall into their ranks, are interested to resist. If, however, there is more of this retention of custom among our countrymen

countrymen than the sanguine speculator would wish, let him not rashly covet the mad resolves of a multitude, or the capricious edicts of arbitrary power. It is the consciousness of great blessings, which has brought contentment to our bosoms, and taken away the craving for imagined happiness. It is the inheritance of prescriptive freedom, the pedigree of ancient rights, which has justly made sacred the laws of our forefathers. Nor, whatever may be the tendency of our constitution to resist innovation, has the actual progress of legislative improvement been trifling. The statutes of the present reign might be measured by the square yard; but without having recourse to that mode of trying the merits of legislation, it would be an interesting work to give a view of the changes which have taken place, during that period, in the civil and political jurisprudence of Great Britain.

The constitution of this country, the most celebrated instance of what is called a mixed government, is discussed in the tenth chapter of the first book. 'A mixed government,' says the author, 'may be said to be a government where the sovereign power or legislative authority is in the hands of the nation, represented by a public assembly, divided into three bodies; the representatives of the people, the nobility or patricians, and the king, *who ought to exercise it in conjunction with them*;' or rather, as the Italian imports, who are to exercise it by agreement among each other. No tolerably informed man, in this country, would speak thus of our constitution; in which neither the King nor the House of Lords represent the nation at large; nor does the sovereignty reside anywhere but where it has always been exercised, the King in Parliament. But this may pass in a Continental writer. In such a government, there are, it seems to Filangieri, three capital inherent defects: the independence of the executive power on the body which ought to be its superior; the secret and dangerous influence of the prince in the assembly *of the bodies which represent the sovereignty*, (we are compelled to copy this jargon); and the instability of the constitution. For these there can, he thinks, be no complete remedy, without totally changing the form of government, which the legislature ought not to attempt: but it may be practicable to find some correctives, after we have proved that such evils do exist.

The independence of the executive power, is the first danger of which we are warned by Filangieri. 'The king acts without present controul, without future responsibility. He wields the public force. Though he may entrust the judicial authority to magistrates of his own appointment, it is he who insures obedience to their decrees. From his injustice there is no appeal; for his malversations there is no redress. The law declares him incapable of doing

doing wrong, and is violated itself when the people vindicate the rights which he infringes.'

In this there is not much new, nor much that weighs with us. Averse to mere theory, we are content to see, in the practical spirit of our constitution, a sufficient answer to these strictures upon its form. It is of little importance whether our law-books recognize, or not, the maxim that the king can do no wrong, (though we suspect this celebrated aphorism to be rather a legal fiction, relating to the civil exercise of the prerogative, than any pledge of political impunity), so long as the precedent of 1688, and the general sentiment of Englishmen, repel the passive obedience which it seems to inculcate. This danger, indeed, our Neapolitan theorist does not apparently deem very weighty, since he is satisfied with our present provisions, the exercise of judicial functions by a magistracy independent of the Sovereign. For the second defect of our constitution, the influence of the crown over parliament, besides the common specifics, he proposes to take away from the King the power of adding to the nobility. His reasoning on this is truly curious, and reminds us of the sophisms which shone with full lustre in the constituent assembly of 1789. 'What is more extraordinary,' he says, 'in a political sense, than the right given to the King of England, of creating both the temporal and spiritual peers? They are all members of the sovereignty, and the king not being possessed of the whole sovereignty by the nature of this government, can he, without a political absurdity, communicate to others what he does not possess himself?' Against the supposed instability of the British Government, the risk of breaking in upon the fundamental laws by the legislature itself, he would guard by a singular provision,—that to alter or introduce any fundamental law, a majority should not be sufficient, but that the proposition must pass unanimously. But in what manner this very provision is to be secured against the will of a mere majority, we are not told by Filangieri.

Whether the liberties of this country are in danger of yielding to a predominant ascendancy in the crown, is a problem too interesting to have been neglected, even if party spirit had not kept up its continual discussion. Possibly, the sentiments which we entertain will not be quite in unison with those of our readers; but it is the effect of free inquiry to suggest, at least, what may lead men more happy in their speculations to useful truths. Each side, we think, those who fear nothing, and those who take alarm at all, rely rather too much on single positions, and not quite enough on the circumstances that modify them. On the one hand, we doubt how far those safeguards of our constitutional rights, which are commonly held up to view by theoretical writers, the responsibility of ministers, the power of refusing supplies, the trial

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by jury, and the liberty of the press, are, of themselves, such effectual securities as is commonly supposed.

That the King, though himself beyond controul, must act by means of ministers, over whose head the sword of public vengeance is suspended but by a hair, is a truth rather salutary to be inculcated, than capable of much practical illustration. No sober man dreams now of bringing the leaders of any administration to punishment for political errors; few prudent men think it would be expedient. The watchful dragon of parliamentary impeachment has now slept for nearly a century; and the disgrace and failure of the last instance, the prosecution of the ministers who signed the peace of Utrecht, may seem an omen, that, as to merely political misconduct, it will never be revived. To what extent does any English statesman feel himself virtually responsible for his measures? To the loss of his place and salary, and nothing more. Want of success may strip him of his majority; he falls from power; becomes a leader of opposition, and waits as patiently as he may, for some countervailing want of success in his rivals. They who succeed him have attained their aim. To visit his mal-administration with any sort of penal consequences, would be alike opposed to the true policy of their own party, and to the generosity of political warfare. Nor is it credible that such a proceeding could ever be successful, unless in a paroxysm of public rage, which would soon subside. All great measures of state, as the constitution is now exercised, receive, directly or indirectly, the sanction of Parliament; neither the same, nor even a succeeding House of Commons, could, in our opinion, without the imputation of disgraceful violence, impeach a minister for actions, which, though strictly proceeding from the executive power, had, in fact, their own recognition.

The power of refusing supplies is perhaps, in reality, not less fallacious. Under the Plantagenet and Stuart reigns, subsidies were often given for temporary purposes, for military expeditions which might well be dispensed with, or perhaps for the mere splendour and profusion of a court. The refusal of these, while it embarassed the crown, did not always affect the nation; and the controul of the purse became an effective check upon the prerogative. At present, were the House of Commons to withhold their immense annual grants for the services of the army, navy, and ordnance, it would operate like the dissolution of civil society: were this country alone in the world, the result would be inexpressible confusion; situated as it is, immediate subjugation would reward their magnanimous love of liberty. There are hardly, perhaps, any designs, however overt, which a king could manifest against the privileges of the people, that, as our relations, foreign and domestic, now stand, would justify Parliament, either in denying

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the supplies, or suspending the mutiny act.

Of trial by jury, we would always speak with respect; but an Englishman is seldom satisfied without enthusiasm. He regards this institution with an idolatry, which we would not wholly condemn; and is content to pay a greater price for it, we suspect, than distant observers are aware, in the number of unjust verdicts which are given by ignorant, perverse, or corrupted juries. Yet, it is undeniable, that this form of trial was rendered subservient to arbitrary power, at several periods of our history. Neither Henry VIII. nor Charles II. found it an impediment; and, indeed, as this institution has subsisted immemorially, unless we maintain the extravagant position, that the English government has always been substantially free, it must have proved compatible with a more oppressive system.

The liberty of the press is, indeed, the most inestimable security of that of a people, because it gives that tone to the public feelings, on which all liberty must ultimately rest. But how is it that we have learned to deem it one of our constitutional rights? A great deal is said about it in pamphlets; a great deal is said about it in essays on government; it is an acknowledged privilege everywhere, but in Westminster Hall. There, unluckily, it has neither a habitation nor a name. M. de Lolme tells us, that he was struck at not being able to hear of any law which enacted the liberty of the press, till it occurred to him that it existed, because it was not forbidden. But, with a little more inquiry, this ingenious foreigner might have found law enough against this *soi-disant* right, though none for it. The truth is, the liberty of the press does not exist, nor ever did exist in England, but by connivance. And, unless at our distance from the metropolis we are deceived as to the actual practice of the English courts, the indulgence itself has been reduced within very narrow limits. It is as difficult for the most adroit pamphleteer to arraign public measures, without blaming public men, as for Shakespeare's Jew to take his pound of flesh without a drop of blood; and if this is the fullest extent of the privilege, we may safely pronounce, that *fari quæ sentias* will be as much a phantom of right in practice, as it has always been in law.

But, from all that we have said, do we augur the extinction of public liberty? Far from it. If we think more lightly than others of some celebrated parts of our constitution, we are not less persuaded than they are of its intrinsic durability. We look less to the letter of the law, than the real spirit and force of the general system. The whole British constitution has undergone a mighty change in the last century: it has *settled,* to use the builder's phrase; it has shifted its centre of gravity; and the political theorems of past times are no longer applicable to it. *Maximus*

novator tempus. The hand of the great reformer has passed over the fabric. It is in vain that an English jurist proves, from his Glenvil and his Fleta, that our government subsisted under Henry II.; the philosophical eye perceives nothing but contrast, even in ages less remote. The revolution is the great epoch, so far as gradual alterations can relate to one epoch, from which our new constitution is dated. Not that it made much change in our laws. Our rights were, in point of legal sanction, perhaps, nearly the same before and after the bill that declared them. The fundamental principles, the skeleton of our polity, were certainly alike. But the expulsion of James II. was less important than the consequences to which it led. It introduced a new military force—a new arrangement of public burthens—a new system of public debt—a new commercial aristocracy—a new spirit of foreign policy. Toleration, the child of civil liberty, brought her filial arm to sustain her parent. She has kept up the freedom of thought, which no tyrant can restrain; the freedom of speech, which no laws can easily reach; the freedom of printing, which an enlightened government has not discouraged. From these, and from more causes than these, the nerve of public feeling has been strung. It has become virtually republican, though susceptible of much personal loyalty, and certainly of much attachment to the forms of monarchy. The names, indeed, of Tory and Whig, are sometimes, idly enough, kept up; but the former denomination is hardly acknowledged by any political disputant. The choice of ministers is undeniably in the crown. Yet it is notorious, that a majority in the houses of Parliament depose and substitute the officers of administration at their pleasure. Five times, at least, during the present reign, has this occurred, contrary to the presumed inclinations of that power from which their legal authority is derived. Is a minister defeated, or does he gain a doubtful victory, in the House of Commons? The town is busy with reports of his resignation: he cannot, it is said, carry on the public business any longer: the crown may regret, but cannot maintain him. Long usage has now fixed this in our minds, as the legitimate course of things; and it is inconceivable, that either parliament or the people, should ever resign into the hands of a master, the privileges he has let fall out of his hands. Who are the nations that have lost their liberties? Where is the parallel to our own situation? Is it in Denmark, which yielded to absolute power in 1660? or in Sweden, which underwent rather a less violation of right in 1772? These were aristocracies, the one oppressive, the other corrupt; both as much hated by the people, as the monarch in each was beloved. But no great country has ever possessed such a mass of landed and mercantile proprietors, or such a proportion of en-

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lightened citizens as our own. What lever can overturn a pyramid, which rests on such a basis as this? Not surely a king of England, with less of courtly splendour than perhaps becomes his dignity, and without the *practical* choice of even the servants who form his household.

God forbid that we should deride that active jealousy which the patriot exercises over public men. The candid will not so interpret what we have written. If less is to be feared for mere liberty than heretofore, let us not repose in sluggish confidence towards power. The wastefulness, the selfish aims, the imbecility of a minister, may justly call for indignation, though he has never dreamed of subverting the constisution. Nor do we consider arbitrary measures, and insulated acts of grievance towards individuals, as by any means impossible. Men in power have a natural hatred of the rights which thwart them; and, perhaps, those who are best persuaded of the uprightness of their own intentions, give the least quarter to their adversaries; because, like all persecutors, they think them insincere in their opposition.

The second relation under which laws, according to Filangieri, ought to be considered, is that which they bear to the active principle in different governments. The author of the Spirit of Laws has brought forward a theory upon this subject, which, though often attacked as visionary, has ever seemed to us equally just and beautiful. The principle of a republican polity, that is to say, the motive by which those who act for the public, and especially those concerned in its administration, are naturally swayed, is virtue; of a monarchy, honour; of despotism, fear. By the virtue which ought to animate republics, is not meant private morality, as the opponents of the theory have sometimes appeared to imagine; but that disinterestedness which leads men to make sacrifices for the common weal. And although it may be reasonable, as well as pleasing to believe, that bad men will not generally make good citizens; yet that a spirit of high public virtue is not quite incompatible, for a time, with dissoluteness of private life, appears from the history of the modern Italian republics, as well as those of ancient Greece. Ultimately, however, the corruption of manners seems inevitably to lead to a dissolution of republican government, by sapping the principles of disinterested exertion. The monarchy, again, intended by Montesquieu, is neither one, which comes near to a republic, as England, and formerly Sweden; nor one wholly tyrannical, as those of the East, and perhaps Russia; but such as those of modern civilized Europe, and especially France, (to which his general remarks upon monarchy usually refer), where legislation is exercised by the prince alone; but with many restrictions, both from established forms, and from the fundamental privileges of other parts of the state. To such

a government, an hereditary nobility, and certain classes of official nobility (if we may use the term), elevated by ecclesiastic, judicial, or municipal stations above the commons, seem essential; and where they exist, the peculiar moral sentiment of Europe, which we call honour, and which is the vital principle of that system of society where it sprung, must always be in full vigour. Public virtue is less necessary, and certainly less usual in such a state; the *esprit du corps* is in its nature opposed to diffusive patriotism; and the feelings of honour, in this sense, are prone to haughtiness, and contempt of the general interests of the people.

——' Rarus ferme sensus communis in illâ
Fortunâ.'

It is hardly necessary to prove, that fear is the ruling motive of mere despotism; the motive alike of the rulers and the ruled, which reacts upon those who impose it. Thus each form of government has its principle of energy, though not equally vigorous, and still less equally beneficial in all. I will undertake this service, though I think it desperate, a Roman consul exclaims, because it is for the good of the republic; I will undertake it, says a French officer, because it would be dishonourable to refuse; I will undertake it, because the bow-string is more certain death, —is the sentiment of a Turkish aga.

To this theory it has been objected by Helvetius, that virtue, honour, and fear, are not the ultimate principles of action: they may be resolved, all of them, into the love of power; as that again may be reduced to the love of pleasure. Our readers are well acquainted with the simplifying spirit of some modern metaphysics; and the predominant love of explaining all phenomena by any single cause—except the Deity. It is very needless, however, in our opinion, to examine this position, which, true or false, need have no place in a political disquisition. Why are the metaphysicians, upon all occasions, to drive us out of the common use of words, and the maxims of practical experience, by their subtle analysis of moral powers and passions? Is it forbidden to the mathematician to speak of the six mechanical powers, because the laws of matter and motion, on which they depend, are fewer and more simple? This, however, is the hypothesis which Filangieri has adopted from Helvetius: the love of power is alike, he thinks, the ruling principle in every one; and to render this subservient to the public good, consistently with the fundamental laws of each government, is the province of legislative sagacity. Though we prefer the system of Montesquieu, of course we do not deny that regard should be had to the ambitious passions of mankind, in the constitution of their laws. They exist undoubtedly under every regimen, conjointly, as we conceive, with what

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we deem the natural principle of each, and in some degree under its controul.

The means proposed by Filangieri for guiding ambition to noble ends, are the following. In a democracy, let the magistrates be elected by the whole people: an entire nation seldom errs, or is corrupted,—whilst a senate is exposed to both dangers. Let every individual, unless disqualified by misconduct, be eligible to public trust. These, however, are regulations which seem rather calculated to excite, than to purify ambition; and, totally denying that an entire nation, by which is meant, in fact, the majority of a nation, *seldom errs*, we are more anxious to see how he provides against the excess of ambition in the leaders of a democratic state. For this we have the old recipes; limitation of time as to public offices; regular ascent and gradation by intervals; courts open for the impeachment of magistrates;—means, which will never secure a republic from tyranny, unless the animating principles of public virtue be very widely diffused. In an aristocratic, or monarchical government, it is more difficult to make the love of power subservient to public purposes, consistently with the stability of such a constitution. He would give, in an aristocracy, to every citizen a right of admission into the class of nobles, wherever he should unite the merit and qualifications recognized and directed by the laws. This is compatible with most of those systems which bore the name of aristocracy among the ancients; but, where the power is attached, as in some modern states, to hereditary descent, the free admission of all citizens, qualified by wealth, to their privileges, seems one of those transgressions of fundamental laws, which, we are told by Filangieri, no legislator should attempt. For a monarchy, he has no other method of making ambition useful, than that of allotting, as in China, specific employments to those possessed of peculiar qualifications.

The next relative object of legislation is the genius of the people; whether it be that, which belongs to almost all nations at the same period, though changing according to the progress of society; or that peculiar character, which distinguishes one people from another. Frugality, simplicity of manners, military renown kept up by habits of hardihood, were the aim of ancient states: they proscribed luxury; they looked with jealousy upon art. Wealth is the aim of modern policy, because a different epoch in civilization has given power to the wealthy, which formerly belonged to the poor. The care of a legislator ought to be then, at present, to make a people rich, rather than robust and intrepid. There is too much in this of the mere political economist, who is ever disposed to 'sell for gold what gold can never buy,'—the generous feelings of

 patriotism,

patriotism, and the stern virtues of frugal manners. The regard which should be had by the lawgiver to peculiar national characters, is illustrated by those of France and Spain.

In the ensuing chapter, Filangieri treats of the adaptation of laws to climate. To this he thinks Montesquieu has attributed too much, and Hume too little. There is nothing very striking in his observations on this trite subject.

The four remaining relations of laws, to the fertility or barrenness of the soil, to the local situation and extent of the country, to the religious opinions of the people, and to their infancy or maturity, as a philosophical body, are despatched shortly, and with little interesting matter. The outline indeed of Filangieri's work is exceedingly bold and comprehensive; but he seems to have wanted either information or invention for completing his design. A chapter, which announces the most interesting topics in this branch of philosophy, mocks us, not unfrequently, with common-place facts, and fruitless declamation.

We have so greatly expanded our discussions on the first book of our author, that we have little space left for the second, which treats the important heads of Population and Finance. Upon the former of these, his remarks have little of novelty, and not much more perhaps of truth. The subject of population has been placed in so new a light by Sir James Stewart, and still more by Mr Malthus, that it is time to discard the positions, which, though long received as unquestionable, cannot be made compatible with their more accurate theory. Of its leading principle, indeed, Filangieri seems aware. 'The most certain evidence of the state of population in a country, is the state of its agriculture.' This is indeed the simplest of truisms. Whatever is the produce of the earth, must be consumed; and no more. No political institutions, no physical circumstances, can permanently affect population, unless they tend either to lessen, or to waste the productions of the earth. The great numbers of regular clergy in some states, and of the military class in others, may take away useful labourers from agricultural improvement; but their celibacy cannot, as Filangieri conceives it may, directly keep down the population of the country to which they belong.

There is a good deal of declamation upon the inequality of property, and its effects on the numbers of a people. But this inequality does not seem, of necessity, to discourage agriculture. Great capitals, on the contrary, are required, in circumstances not peculiarly favourable, both to cultivate fresh land at all, and to improve the old to the utmost. There is much, however, in the character of the class to which the great prizes of wealth happen to fall. The commercial spirit of modern times has extended itself to agricul-

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ture; and, in commerce, it is generally true, that the richer the individual, the better for the state. But the wealth of a feudal baron, or of the vast capitalists of ancient Italy, was a public curse; it engendered a laziness that neglected agriculture, or an arrogance that despised it; and to these we must attribute that decline of population during the periods in question, which the mere inequality of property has no essential tendency to produce.'

Nor is the poverty of the labouring classes a real check to population, though lamented with much benevolent feeling by Filangieri. It was poverty, the parent of labour, the *duris urgens in rebus egestas*, which first tamed the habitable earth; and still, though more slowly, encroaches on the swamp and the thicket, to augment the sustenance of mankind. But food may not only be augmented; it may be economized. It may seem at first that the cravings of hunger must be nearly the same in all men, and require nearly an equal portion of food to allay them. But some are fed with less, and some are fed with more, than nature would mete out. What a difference between the consumption of a Bedouin Arab and an English farmer! Perhaps Mr Malthus has not sufficiently taken notice of this key to some of the phenomena of population. There seems no mode of accounting for the well attested populousness of some nations, but their extreme thrift and temperance. If we may put any faith in the early books of Livy, nearly 200,000 citizens were included in the Census, soon after the expulsion of the kings, when the territory of Rome was less than Rutlandshire. The book of Chronicles bears testimony to the astonishing population of the Hebrews; who united, with the common frugality and temperance of the East, institutions more favourable to agriculture, than have commonly existed. In modern Palestine, the sensible Volney gives credit to a population of 40,000 fighting men among the barren mountains of the Druses. This would give 150,000 persons for a district of 110 square leagues, or about 150 for each square mile; which approaches to the populousness of France or England. Volney ascribes this to their liberty. But free men must eat as well as slaves; and though a bad government will make a fruitful land desert, yet the best cannot turn barrenness into fertility. It is only their frugal style of life, and especially their abstinence from animal food, which can explain it. Poverty, then, which puts men upon short allowance, makes the same quantity feed more than if they were at ease; and thus the inequality of property, whatever may be its evils, has a tendency to help forward population; because it stimulates to the production of more, and checks the consumption of what there is.

We like no parts of this work less than what relates to Finance.

 After

After inveighing against customs, excises, and the like, with reasons which it is impossible to refute, because it is impossible to disprove the evils of taxation, he comes at last to the favourite substitute of the economists,—the territorial impost. As to this, he is, we think, more confident than clear in his notions, and contradicts himself in the most essential point,—the effect of such an imposition on the price of territorial produce.

'If the whole taxes were transferred directly to the land-owners, they would, to repay themselves, regulate the price of the produce of land by the taxes on it. The necessity of furnishing the produce being always greater than that of selling it, would oblige the public to take their share of the burthen on their own shoulders; and this subdivision of the tax would be made without difficulty or hesitation; because, in that case, it would be the most powerful part of the community that demanded justice from the weakest.' p. 199.

'The belief that, by a suppression of all other taxes, and an increase of that upon land, the price of the produce of land would rise in proportion to the tax, is founded on a false idea, which appears to give the objection all the force of truth. If such a tax were laid on land, without the suppression of all the other taxes, it is not to be doubted that the land owners would raise the price of its produce. But this is not the present case. Here, the land is only intended to be taxed after every other tax is abolished; and the land-owners could not then have any motive to raise the produce of their land.' p. 208.

At p. 201. is the following note.

'I have been lately informed, from very good authority, that, in Great Britain, twelve shillings and a fragment of each pound Sterling, raised on the people, are only received by government. The rest is swallowed up in the collection and its frauds.'

Political misrepresentation is so common in England, that we cannot wonder at a foreigner hearing this, on what he might deem very good authority. The fact however is, that the excise revenue, which is the largest branch, is collected at an expense, if we remember right, of about 9d. in the pound; and that of the other departments at very little more.

We have no commendations in store for Sir R. Clayton. The language of Filangieri, though not without that feebleness which seems hardly separable from Italian prose, is elegant, and sometimes eloquent; that of his translator loose and slovenly to the utmost degree. What is worse still, he is very unfaithful. To say nothing of omissions and interpolations, we have remarked, upon a cursory comparison, many passages which give a false notion of the original; but the two following will be sufficient evidence of our charge. In the chapter on the British constitution, we read—'Let it (the Parliament) have the right of expelling its suspected members, and let the expulsion exclude them from

from their country's service, and any office under the prince. *Let the number of the members be limited by law as much as possible.*' (vol. I. p. 131.) We thought this a strange proposition; but, on turning to the work itself, found the sense quite different. 'Che questa espulsione renda per sempre colui, che l' he meritata, indegno di servir la patria, e che l' esclude anche da quelle cariche, che potreble ottenere dal prencipe; che il *numero di queste* sia ristretto, quanto si può, dalle leggi.' The other instance we shall give is really ludicrous. 'When the northern nations inundated the south, and stripped *a dying emperor* of the most beautiful part of *his* dominions, they could not forget their former habits,' &c. (vol. II. p. 40.) Who was this unlucky emperor, who was so cruelly disturbed in his last hours? We run over the list hastily in our minds, but could not fix on the person. None was, however, alluded to by Filangieri; he says only, 'Quando strapparono all' *Impero* moribondo le sue più belle provincie;' and Sir R. Clayton has, in unpardonable haste, changed this plain meaning into an absurdity. We conclude, by advising such of our readers as have leisure, to read Filangieri in the original; but, if they should not happen to have leisure, their regret need not, in our opinion, be excessive.

ART. VIII. *Base du Systéme Métrique Décimal, ou Mésure de l'Arc du Méridien entre les parallèles de Dunkerque & Barcelone.* Exécutée par MM. Mechain et Delambre. Tome Premier. Paris. 4to. 1806.

It is remarkable that some of the clearest of our ideas are incapable of being accurately expressed by means of language, or of any arbitrary symbols whatsoever. This happens with respect to certain ideas of quantity, while, with respect to others not more clear or definite, the contrary takes place. Of the magnitude of a line, for instance, no precise notion can be conveyed in words from one man to another, except by comparing it with a line already known to them both; and if such a standard of comparison is wanting, the ordinary means of information fail entirely, and there is no resource but in the actual exhibition of the line itself. It is quite otherwise, again, where either the ratio or the angular position of magnitudes are concerned: these can be fully explained by verbal communication, and never require the production of the objects themselves. We know what a Greek geometer meant by a right angle, or by an angle of one degree, just as well as if we had before our eyes a circle divided by some

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artist of Athens or Alexandria. We understand, too, what he means when he speaks of the ratio of two to one, or of the ratio of the diagonal of a square to its side; but if he specifies some individual length, of a foot, for example, a spithame, or a stadium, we comprehend nothing of the matter, unless he has made a reference to some common standard, that is, to some magnitude which remains the same now as when he wrote.

So also, when Eratasthenes tells us that the distance between Alexandria and Syene subtends, at the earth's centre, an which is the fiftieth part of four right angles, we are at no loss to comprehend what is meant; but when he says that the distance between the two places is 5000 stadia, we receive no accurate information; and much critical discussion has been required to extract even a very uncertain meaning from his words.

This imperfection of language is founded in the nature of things, and is impossible to be removed. The inconveniences arising from it have been felt not only by the learned and scientific, but by all who have been concerned about measuring, weighing, or computing, even in the most imperfect state of the arts. In the measures of every country, we may perceive attempts to obviate the difficulties which have just been mentioned, and must feel some interest in remarking the expedients adopted for that purpose by rude and unenlightened men. The *foot* which we recognize among the measures of almost all nations, was taken from the standard of the human foot, and varies, accordingly, within limits of no very considerable extent. Other standards, supposed more precise, were sometimes had recourse to. Among agricultural nations, the inch has been determined by the length of three barley corns; and to the equestrian tribes of Arabia, the breadth of a certain number of hairs from a horse's tail afforded a standard of the same kind. In weights, a drop of water appears to have been regarded as a unit, according to some methods of reckoning; and, according to others, a grain of wheat stood for the weight which still takes its name from that origin. Some authors would have us believe that the ancients, in their attempts to form a standard measure, had proceeded very far beyond these rude essays. Paucton, in his *Metrologie*, will have it, that the circumference, or the diameter of the earth, was the standard to which they referred in their measures of length. Bailly has supported the same opinion, with the ingenuity and learning displayed in all his speculations; and he endeavours to prove, that the stadium was always taken for an aliquot part of the earth's circumference, that part being different with different nations, and with different authors. No ingenuity, however, can render this supposition probable.

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The ancients had no means of determining, with any tolerable precision, the magnitude of that great unit to which their measures are supposed to refer. Besides, if such a reference had been intended, it could not surely have been unknown to themselves; yet we are well assured that neither Aristotle, nor Possidonius, nor Pliny, nor any other ancient author who lays down the dimensions of the globe, conceived that the difference between him and other writers was only apparent, or that he agreed with them about the magnitude of the earth, and differed only about the length of the measure in which he chose that its dimensions should be expressed.

The first attempt at fixing such a standard of measure as should be accurate, and universal, both as to place and time, is due to the inventive genius of the celebrated Huygens. That philosopher demonstrated that the times of vibrations of pendulums depend on their length only; and, whatever be their structure, that a certain point may be found, which in pendulums that vibrate in the same time, is constantly at the same distance from the centre of suspension. Hence he conceived that the pendulum might afford a standard, or unit, for measures of length; and though a correction would be necessary, because the intensity of gravitation was not the same in all latitudes, he believed that science furnished the means of determining this correction with sufficient accuracy. Picard laid hold of the same notion, and Cassini, in his book *de la Grandeur de la Terre*, proposed another unit, taken also from Nature, though not so easily obtained, *viz.* the six thousandth part of a minute of a degree of a great circle of the earth. A similar idea had even earlier occurred to *Mouton.* No attempt, however, was made to raise, upon any of these standards, a regular system of measures, adapted either to the purposes of science or of ordinary life. Among the measures and weights that actually prevailed throughout Europe, the utmost confusion and perplexity continued to take place. In each sort of measure units of different magnitudes were admitted. These were inaccurately divided, and variously reckoned, to the disgrace of the economical arrangements of every country where they were found. The inconveniences which arose from thence, were generally felt, and complained of. Remedies were every where proposed, but no serious attempt was made to apply them. France was, in these respects, in the same condition with other nations. A system, however, that had nothing to support it but the authority of the past time, and the inactivity of the present, was not likely to maintain itself long against the spirit of reform which became so general in that country at the commencement of the Revolution. This system, too, beside the other

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objections to it, had the misfortune to appear connected with all the abominations of the feudal times. The abolition of it, therefore, was resolved on; and it would have been happy for France and for Europe, if every thing which was then destroyed had been replaced by as solid and useful a structure as that which we are going to describe. In the reformation proposed, two principal objects were kept in view. The first was the establishment of a natural standard for the measures of linear extension, and of course for the measure of all other quantities. The second was, to render the computation of those measures subject to the same arithmetical system that is used in other calculations. For this purpose, the unit of measure was to be divided decimally, and to be multiplied decimally, in order to constitute the other measures which it might be necessary to employ. No fractions but decimal were to be used in expressing quantities of any sort; and the great improvement of having but one arithmetical scale for reckoning integers and fractions of every kind, was in this way to be introduced;—an improvement so obvious, and, withal so little difficult, that it is matter of surprise that it should not have been attempted till near a thousand years after decimal arithmetic itself was first introduced into Europe.

In treating of this reform, however, we cannot help remarking, that the French academicians, though freed at themoment we now speak of, like the rest of their countrymen, from the dominion of that *inertia* which reigns so powerfully both in the natural and moral world, and gives the time that is past such influence over that which is to come; though delivered from the action of this force, in a degree that was perhaps never before exemplified, they may be accused, at least in one instance, of having innovated too little, and of having been too cautious about departing from an established practice, though reason was by no means on its side. What we allude to, is the system of arithmetical computation, in which they resolve to adhere to the decimal scale, instead of adopting the duodecimal, which, from the nature of number is so evidently preferable. This preference, we believe, is generally admitted in theory; and there can be no doubt, that a rational being, conversant with the nature of number, if called on to choose his own arithmetical system, and having no bias from custom, prejudice, or authority, would not hesitate a moment about adopting the duodecimal system in preference to the decimal, and, as we think, in preference to all other systems whatsoever. The property of the number twelve, which recommends it so strongly for the purpose we are now considering, is its divisibility into so many more aliquot parts than ten, or any other number that is not much greater than itself. Twelve is divisible by

by 2, by 3, by 4, and by 6; and this circumstance fits it so well for the purposes of arithmetical computation, that it has been resorted to, in all times, as the most convenient number into which any unit either of weight or of measure could be divided.

The divisions of the *As*, the *Libra*, the *Jugerum*, the *Foot*, are all proofs of what is here asserted; and this advantage, which was perceived in rude and early times, would have been found of great value in the most improved state of mathematical science. Ten has indeed no advantage as the radix of numerical computation; and has been raised to the dignity which it now holds, merely by the circumstance of its expressing the number of a man's fingers. They who regard science as the creature of pure reason, must feel somewhat indignant, that a consideration so foreign and mechanical should have determined the form and order of one of the most intellectual and abstract of all the sciences.

The duodecimal scale would no where have been found of greater use than when applied to the circle, the case in which the decimal division is liable to the strongest objections. The number by which the circumference of the circle is expressed, ought not only to be divisible into four integer parts, (as in the French system), but also into six; for the sixth part of the circumference, having its chord equal to the radius, naturally falls, in the construction of instruments, and in the computations of trigonometry, to be expressed by an integer number. According to the decimal division of the quadrant, the sixth part of the circumference not only is without an integer expression, but the decimal fraction by which it is measured is one that runs on continually without any termination. This is at least a deformity that arises from the rigid adherence to the decimal division; and it is probably the main cause why that division has been found so difficult to introduce into trigonometrical and astronomical calculation. In astronomical tables, we believe it has never been adopted. *

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* Supposing the decimal division to be extended to the circle, instead of dividing the quadrant into 100, and the circumference into 400 as the French have done, it would have been better, perhaps, to have divided the sixth part of the circumference into 100, the quadrant of course into 150, and the whole circumference into 600. This would have given an easy expression for the three great *natural* divisions of the circumference into 6, 4, and 2; and would have denoted the whole by a number (600), which does not violate the strict rule of dividing by the powers of 10, any more than 400 does. The advantages of the decimal and sexagesimal systems would by this means have been in a great measure united.

The adopting of twelve for the radix of the arithmetical scale, would have obviated all these difficulties; it could have been extended with equal ease to quantities of every kind; and the introduction of it would not have been accompanied with any present inconvenience, of such magnitude as should have deterred geometers from making the attempt. We have lately seen a manuscript containing the system of duodecimal arithmetic pursued into all its detail. Two new names are necessary for the numbers eleven and twelve; and the whole arithmetical language for the numbers above ten, is consequently changed, but in a manner so analogical, as to remove all difficulty, whether in the contrivance or in the acquisition of this new vocabulary. The arithmetical characters must also undergo an entire change; the first eleven letters of the Greek alphabet are adopted in the scheme to which we refer; and by means of them and the cypher, which is still retained, the notation proceeds by rules that are easy, and well known.

We regret, therefore, that the experiment of this new arithmetic was not attempted. Another opportunity of trying it is not likely to occur soon. In the ordinary course of human affairs, such improvements are not thought of; and the moment may never again present itself, when the wisdom or delirium of a nation shall come up to the level of this species of reform.

But, to return to what respects the natural and universal standard of measure, we must remark, that the fixing on such a standard, and the abolition of the present diversity of weights and measures, was an object that very early drew the attention of the Constituent Assembly. It was proposed in that assembly by M. de Talleyrand, and decreed accordingly, that the King should be intreated to write to his Britannic Majesty, to engage the Parliament of England to concur with the National Assembly in fixing a natural unit of weights and measures; that, under the auspices of the two nations, an equal number of Commissioners from the Academy of Sciences and the royal Society of London, might unite in order to determine the length of the pendulum in the latitude of 45°, or in any other latitude that might be thought preferable, and to deduce from thence an invariable standard of measures and of weights. This decree passed in August 1790. The Academy named a Commission composed of Borda, Lagrange, Laplace, Monge and Condorcet; and their report is printed in the memoirs of the Academy for 1788. * Three different units fell under the consideration of these philosophers; to wit, the length of the pendulum, the quadrant of the meridian,

* Published 1791.

dian, and the quadrant of the equator. If the first of these was to be adopted, the commissioners were of opinion, that the pendulum vibrating seconds in the parallel of 45° deserved the preference, because it is the arithmetical mean between the like pendulums in all other latitudes. They observed, however, that the pendulum involves one element which is heterogeneous, to wit, *time*; and another, which is arbitrary, to wit, the division of the day into 86,400 seconds. It seemed to them better that the unit of length should not depend on a quantity, of a kind different from itself, nor on any thing that was arbitrarily assumed.

The commissioners, therefore, were brought to deliberate between the quadrant of the equator, and the quadrant of the meridian; and they were determined to fix on the latter, because it is most accessible, and because it can be ascertained with most precision. The quadrant of the meridian then was to be taken as the real unit; and the ten-millionth part of it, being thought of a convenient length, was to be taken, in practice, for the unit of linear extension. At the same time, the ordinary division of the circle into 360° was to be abandoned, and the decimal division introduced; the fourth part of the circumference being divided, not into 90, but into 100 equal parts; these parts into ten, and so on. With regard to the above determination, we must be permitted to remark, that the reasons for rejecting the pendulum are by no means completely satisfactory. The consideration, that time is a heterogeneous element, is too abstract and metaphysical to influence one's choice in a matter that is merely practical. The arbitrary element introduced by the division of the day into seconds, is perhaps an objection of more weight, were it not balanced by an equal objection in the case of the standard which has been actually adopted. That standard, in effect, is not the quadrant of the meridian, but the ten-millionth part of that quadrant; and ten million is without doubt a number just as arbitrary, and as far from being suggested by any natural appearance, as 86,400, the number of seconds into which the day is divided. It is impossible, indeed, whatever standard be adopted, to proceed without the use of some arbitrary division that must be determined by our conveniency, and not at all by the nature of the thing itself. Whether we take the quadrant of the meridian, or the radius of the globe, as Cassini long ago proposed, for the unit with which all measures are to be compared, the portion of that standard which we can convert into a rod of brass or platina, to be preserved in our museums, or to be employed in actual mensuration, must be a matter of arbitrary determination. The real unit or standard that is used in practice, must always involve

in it a similar assumption; and its doing so can never afford a good reason for rejecting one standard, and preferring another.

It may be further alleged against the choice of the French Commissioners, that there is in the unit which they have fixed on, something that is even worse than an arbitrary element, one which is hypothetical, and accompanied with some degree of uncertainty. The quadrant of the meridian itself is not the immediate object of mensuration, at least in its whole length. That length is concluded from the mensuration of a part, on the supposition that the meridian is an ellipsis, and that the ratio of its axes to one another is known. It is supposed, too, that the meridians are similar and equal curves; so that, in whatever place of the world an arch of the meridian is measured, the quadrant deduced from it will be of the same magnitude. It is well known that these suppositions are not rigorously true, and, what is most material of all, that a very large arch, or several different arches of the meridian, must be measured, before the length of the whole can be determined with tolerable exactness. In all these respects, the pendulum, in the latitude of 45°, seems to us to have the decided preference above all others. The determination of it involves no theory, at least none about the conclusions of which the slightest doubt is entertained: it is at all times easily examined; and nature constantly holds out the prototype with which our standard may be compared, and from which, if lost, the knowledge of it may easily be recovered.

For these reasons, notwithstanding our profound respect for the genius and talents of the five academicians above named, we acknowledge that we are unable to acquiesce in the arguments by which they appear to have been determined.

But however this be, it cannot be questioned that after the French academicians had laid down their plan, their method of carrying it into execution was most expeditious and accurate. They did not wait for the determination of the English government; and we are not informed what steps were taken in consequence of the decree of the Convention which has already been mentioned. Indeed, though none of those events had taken place which have since alienated the two nations so entirely from one another, the slow proceedings of an old government like ours, could never have kept pace with the ardour of reform by which at that moment the whole of the French nation seemed to be animated. The first step of the Commissioners was to set about the measurement of the largest arch of the meridian, which the extent of the dominions of France, or of its allies, rendered accessible to them. This arch, extending from Dunkirk to Barcelona, contains something more than nine degrees and a half, six of

of them to the north, and three and a half to the south, of the mean parallel of 45°.

The greater part of this arch had been already measured more than once, and the length of it was now to be determined for the third time. Picard had measured the degree between Paris and Amiens in the year 1670; and this arch was continued to Dunkirk on the north, and Collioure on the south, by Cassini and Lahire in the beginning of the last century, and in the end of that which preceded it. Doubts having arisen concerning the accuracy of this measurement, Cassini de Thury, and Lacaille, were charged with the verification of it in 1739. The measurement of these mathematicians, conducted with great skill and attention, was as correct, as the construction of mathematical instruments, at the time when it was made, would permit; and from it, no doubt, the length of the quadrant of the meridian might have been computed. The improvements however that had been made in the construction of instruments, gave reason to hope that a degree of accuracy considerably greater might now be attained.

Six different commissions for carrying all the parts of the plan into execution, that is, for ascertaining the unit of weight, the length of the pendulum, &c. &c. were appointed; and the principal part, to wit, the measurement of the arch just mentioned, was committed to Mechain and Delambre, who began their operations in summer 1792. The instruments which these mathematicians were to employ, both in their astronomical and geodetical observations, were the repeating circles of Borda, which had been so successfully used by the French astronomers in their operations for connecting the observatories of Greenwich and Paris in 1787. Four new instruments of that kind, and of somewhat larger dimensions, were executed by Lenoir, a very skilful artist, and put into the hands of Mechain and Delambre; the former of whom was to measure the part of the arch between Barcelona and Rhodez, about 170,000 toises in length, while the latter measured the remaining arch of 380,000 toises, between Rhodez and Dunkirk.

The reason of this unequal partition of the labour was, that the southern or Spanish part of the line was entirely new, and therefore seemed likely to present more difficulty than the northern part, which had been already measured twice, and where the time taken up in selecting stations, and laying the general plan of the survey was likely to be spared. It was soon found, however, that the difficulties which obstructed the work in the north, arising from very different causes from any which

had been hitherto experienced, were much greater than in the south; and that, in those moments of popular ferment and agitation, the neighbourhood of the metropolis was the place where vexation, and even danger, were most likely to be encountered. The work, indeed, was undertaken at a time singularly unpropitious to the tranquil pursuits of science. The people, in the heat of the revolutionary proceedings, jealous of whatever they did not understand, saw, in the astronomers and their apparatus, nothing but causes of alarm. When they observed men professing to be employed in a service which they could not comprehend, and accompanied with instruments of so mysterious a form, they thought the whole was a pretence under which the enemies of the people concealed their machinations. Delambre was more than once obliged to stop in the towns and villages, and to read a lecture to the incredulous multitude on the nature of his astronomical apparatus, and the purposes to which it was to be applied. The magistrates afforded him all the protection in their power; but at that moment their power was of slow and precarious operation. The coolness and intrepidity of the French astronomer, added to unexampled patience, were the principal means of extricating him from his difficulties; but his danger was often imminent; and he appears sometimes to have heard the dreadful words, which, as an eloquent author has expressed it, 'were the last sounds that vibrated in the ear of many an unhappy victim.'

Mechain was more fortunate. He was once stopped in the vicinity of Paris; but having got to a distance from the capital, he met with no further disturbance. Both astronomers suffered much inconvenience in the prosecution of their work, from the depreciation of the assignats, in consequence of which they were often reduced to great necessity, and were deserted by most of their assistants. Delambre also met with persecutions from the tribunal at that time so formidable to worth and innocence, wherever they were found. The following is an extract from the register of the Committee of Public Safety; and in the censure which it pronounces on Delambre and his associates, posterity will never fail to recognize the most honourable testimony in their favour.

'The Committee of Public Safety, considering how much it imports to the amelioration of the public mind, that those who are charged with the government do not delegate any function, or give any commission, but to men worthy of confidence, from their republican virtues, and their hatred of kings, after having consulted with the members of the Committee of Public Instruction, particularly occupied about the operation of weights and measures, decrees, that Borda, Lavoisier, Laplace, Coulomb, Brisson, and Delambre, shall cease from this day to be members

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of the Commission of Weights and Measures, and shall immediately lodge, in the hands of the remaining members of the said Commission, their instruments, calculations, notes, &c. together with an inventory.'

To this extract are annexed the names of Barrere, Robespierre, Billaud-Varrennes, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, &c. To have fallen under the displeasure of such men, will be allowed matter of no ordinary praise, when it is considered how deadly their hatred was. We are glad to think, that at least four of those who merited this praise, have lived to see the time when its true value could be safely acknowledged. The preceding decree is dated in the third year of the republic; and, happily for France, the power of the Committee of Public Safety did not extend far beyond that period. The operations concerning the measurement, though discontinued for some time, were afterwards resumed and completed, and the one end of the arch connected with the other by a series of triangles.

Two bases were also measured, one at Melun by Delambre, of 6075.9 toises, another at Perpignan, by Mechain, of 6006.248 toises. It appears, from Delambre's account, that when the second of these bases was inferred from the first, it was found only about ten or eleven inches shorter than it turned out to be by actual measurement. When it is considered that the distance between them is about 360330 toises, or something more than 436 English miles, it will be admitted that this coincidence is a proof of extreme accuracy. At the same time, we should have expected, that, in the extent of so long a line, one or two more bases should have been measured. Colonel Mudge, in the conduct of his survey, though the angles of the triangles are taken with an exactness that cannot be exceeded, seems to think, that the mensuration of a base for every hundred miles, if not absolutely necessary, is at least extremely desirable.

The observations, when finished, were laid before a Commission formed of members of the National Institute, and a great number of learned and scientific men from Germany, Denmark, Holland, Italy, &c. who had accepted the invitation given them to assist in the solution of this great problem. The manner of proceeding before this Commission was such, as to give the utmost degree of authenticity and correctness to all the parts of the work. The three angles of every triangle were separately examined; and after comparing the different observations of each angle, with all the circumstances entered into the original notebooks and registers, and attending to all the explanations furnished by the two observers themselves, the commissioners drew up the table of triangles, such as it is given at the end of this volume, and such as was to be used in all the subsequent calculations.

These calculations were all separately carried on by four different persons, Tralles, Van Swinden, Legendre, and Delambre himself. Each gave in his own calculations; and their differences, if there were any, being again examined, the result was finally agreed on. The observations for the azimuth were subjected to the like examination; and, from all these combined, the length of the arch of the meridian was inferred. The observation for the latitude made at Dunkirk, Paris, Evaux, Carcasonne and Montjouy, were also produced; so that the celestial arch became known. The comparison of the two gave, for the compression of the earth $\frac{1}{334}$; for the quadrant of the meridian 5130740 toises; and, consequently, for the metre, 443.295936 lines.

During this interval, Mechain and Delambre had each fixed the latitude of his observatory by no less than 1800 observations, in order to determine from thence the latitude of the Pantheon, which was a little to the westward of the meridian, and the vertex of four of the triangles. These observations agreed with one another to the sixth part of a second.

The special commission for determining the length of the metre, consisted, at this time, of Van Swinden, Tralles, Laplace, Legendre, Siscar, Mechain, and Delambre. Their report, drawn up by Van Swinden, is dated the sixth of Floreal, in the year VII, that is, 1799. The present work, though begun in the year following, did not make its appearance till six years afterwards, having been interrupted or delayed by various circumstances, and particularly by Mechain's journey into Spain for the purpose of continuing the meridian through the Balearic isles. After suffering many hardships and disappointments, this excellent astronomer had nearly brought the work to a conclusion, when an epidemical fever, added to the fatigue he had endured, carried him off at Castellan de la Plana in Valencia, in the year 1805.*

Such

* This part of the work, we are enabled to state, though not on the authority of the volume before us, has not been abandoned. During the late negotiation at Paris, a passport was granted by the British government, at the request of the French minister, to M. Biot, charged with the operation of extending the meridian of Paris to the Balearic isles. The whole arch, if it be continued to Majorca, will then amount to about twelve degrees, bisected nearly by the parallel of 45. This is by much the longest arch yet measured on the surface of the earth; it is situated most favourably for the exact determination of the quadrantal arch; and as part of it is across the sea, it may bring into view some important facts concerning the effect of difference of density in disturbing the direction of the plumb-line.

Such is the historical notice prefixed to this work; and the remainder of the preliminary discourse is chiefly taken up in explaining the formulas and tables employed in the reduction and correction of the observations. These formulas deserve to be studied with attention by all concerned in similar operations, to whom also we would take the liberty of recommending a smaller tract by Delambre, entitled, *Methodes Analytiques pour la determination d'un Arc du Méridien*, where the principles of these reductions are explained in a manner that renders it one of the most useful books, on the higher parts of practical geometry, which has yet appeared.

We have already remarked, that the repeating circle of Borda was the instrument with which all the angles were observed in the course of this work. That instrument, though of no greater radius than seven inches, by the facility which it affords of measuring any proposed multiple of the angle observed, is capable of giving a mean result of much greater exactness than could be expected from its dimensions. To give an idea of the manner in which these results were obtained, we may take for an example, the angle between Watten and Cassel, observed at Dunkirk. The quadruple of that angle was found to be 187.147 gr., from which the angle itself was deduced, 46.78655 gr. The divisions here, we must remark, are decimal, the quadrant being divided into 100, which are called *grades*. The same angle, multiplied ten times, was found = 467.868 gr., from which the angle itself appeared = 46.7868 gr. The multiplication was then carried to twelve, fourteen, &c. as far as twenty times the angle, which last was 935.731 gr., and the angle itself therefore = 46.78655 gr. It is very remarkable how near all these determinations come to one another; and the same is true of several more given by Delambre, but omitted here. From the mean of all these results, the true value of the angle is finally determined. It is the peculiar advantage of the instrument, that it allows these repetitions, or multiplications of an angle, to be made easily, and in a very short space of time. In the circle which Delambre used, he tells us that he could only read off from the *vernier* directly as far as hundredths of a decimal degree, the third decimal being set down by estimation. The instrument, therefore, did not go to less than 32″ of the common division, which is no very great degree of exactness, and is much exceeded by many of the sextants made in London for the ordinary purposes of navigation. Notwithstanding this, in consequence of the repeated multiplications of the angle, we find a series of results obtained that do not differ by more than a second from one another.

The repeating circle has, however, some disadvantages, at least when compared with certain other instruments, to which it may be proper to advert. Like our ordinary sextants, when an observation is made with it, it is placed, not horizontally, but in the plane of the three objects of which the bearings are to be ascertained; and, therefore, the altitude of each of these objects, or its zenith distance, must be observed, in order that the angle may be reduced to the plane of the horizon. The determination of every horizontal angle, therefore, requires that of three different angles; which, no doubt, must be accounted an imperfection in this method of surveying, compared with that which places the instrument immediately in the plane of the horizon, and so gives the result directly, and without any reduction whatsoever.

Besides a reduction to the plane of the horizon, another reduction is necessary to bring the observed angles to the true angles, at the centres of the signals. For this reduction, as well as for the preceding, Delambre has given rules and formulæ, by which they may be calculated with great accuracy, and with all the expedition that the nature of the thing will admit. It were, nevertheless, very desirable, that these reductions, as well as the former, should be avoided, by placing the instrument with which the angles are taken exactly at the angular point. This method has been generally followed in the trigonometrical survey of England, where no pains have been spared to place the theodolite in the same spot that was occupied by the centre of the signal; and from thence results great additional accuracy, as well as additional simplicity, in conducting the calculations. It is the same with respect to the reduction to the horizontal plane. The great theodolite first employed by General Roy, and now in the hands of Colonel Mudge, is always placed horizontally; and hence a great deal of labour in calculation is saved, and many sources of inaccuracy are entirely avoided. In no other survey, we believe, has the work in the field been conducted so much with a view to save that in the closet, and at the same time to avoid all those causes of error, however minute, that are not essentially involved in the nature of the problem. The French mathematicians trust to the correction of those errors; the English endeavour to cut them off entirely; and it can hardly be doubted that the latter, though perhaps the slowest and most expensive, is by far the safest proceeding.

The principal defect of the reflecting circle, we believe to consist in the small power of the telescope which it bears; an imperfection inseparable from an instrument of such a size as can

be held in the hand. The accuracy of the observations is necessarily limited, by the imperfections of the telescope, to whatever degree of minuteness the divisions on the limb of the instrument may be carried. If an object that subtends an angle of 3 or 4 seconds is the least that is distinctly visible through the telescope, an angle can never be measured nearer than 3 or 4 seconds, even if you can read off to a single second. The want of sufficient light also in the field of vision, seems to have occasioned considerable difficulty, and may have produced some inaccuracy in the observations. The signals, when the distance was considerable, were not always distinctly seen; and the construction of them became, on that account, an object of very great attention. Delambre made his signals in the form of a pyramid, truncated at the top, of the height of nearly $\frac{1}{7000}$ of the distance; so that they subtended an angle of about 30″. They were built of wood, and the base was a third part of the height. The powerful telescopes used by General Roy and Colonel Mudge in the trigonometrical survey of England, relieved them from all difficulties of this kind; as a simple mast or staff, as it is called, with the ordinary illumination of a clear day, can be seen distinctly through the telescope of the great theodolite, at the distance of 15 or 16 miles. The advantage of these large glasses was experienced by the French academicians, when they met with the committee of the Royal Society of London in order to unite the surveys made in France and in England, for the purpose of ascertaining the relative position of the observatories of Greenwich and Paris, as we had occasion to remark in our review of the trigonometrical survey.

It probably arose from the same cause, in some measure, that the signals made by lamps in the night, were not found to answer with the French astronomers. The difficulty of illuminating the hairs in the focus of the telescope, is the impediment chiefly complained of. Such signals, however, were sometimes employed; and Delambre mentions a curious phenomenon which he observed, more than once, to accompany them. This was a kind of undulation, which made the apparent place of the light oscillate very sensibly about the true, as was particularly remarked at Mont-Martre, on the 15th of August 1792. Something similar to this, he says, he had met with in the case of the ordinary signals viewed during the day.

'These oscillations,' says he, 'I have sometimes thought, would remain suspended for a few minutes, when the apparent object was at its greatest distance from the real. I will not, however, answer for this fact, which I have not been able to investigate sufficiently. I have also been disposed to think that there existed a lateral refraction. The only way

to guard against the effects of such illusions, is to wait the arrival of fine weather, and to repeat the observations in circumstances as unlike as possible.'

The confidence which the French astronomers place in the repeating circle, is such, that they have not, in the course of this work, had recourse to a zenith sector, or any of the more delicate instruments of astronomy, for the purpose of determining the differences of latitude, or the amplitudes of the celestial arches, corresponding to the lines measured on the surface of the earth. This, we confess, appears to us not a little extraordinary, though we must, at the same time, remark, that this reliance on the repeating circle is confirmed by the opinion of the Swedish astronomers, who have lately measured the degree in Lapland anew. They used no other instrument but the repeating circle; and La Lande says, in his sketch of the history of astronomy for 1805, that they thought that instrument less liable to error than a zenith sector of nine feet radius, such as was used by Maupertuis and his colleagues.

On the whole, when we compare the methods and instruments used in the French and in the British survey, though we see many circumstances that would induce us to give a preference to the latter; yet, when we consider the results of each, they seem in exactness and consistency, to approach very near to an equality. We are not sure to what this should be ascribed; nor can we form a decided opinion till the reductions of the distances to the meridian are given. It may be, that the great expedition with which the repeating circle is used, and the vast number of observations which it admits of being made in a short space of time, may balance the greater size and more exquisite division of the theodolite and the sector employed by our observers; instruments which, in themselves, are perhaps the most perfect that have ever been constructed. Indeed, the expedition with which the repeating circle can be used, is one of its greatest advantages. It is such, that in the space of five years, two observers, with very few assistants; * and in the midst of innumerable interruptions and vexations, completed a survey of 181 triangles, extending along a line more than 600 miles in length, and this, together with

* Delambre was assisted by *Bellet*, an astronomical instrument maker of great zeal and intelligence, who adhered to him in all his difficulties, and remained, when the smallness of the allowance from government deprived him of all his other assistants. Francis La Lande also shared with him in the labour of the survey for a considerable time. In the southern section, *Mechain* was assisted by M. Tranchot, an engineer of great ability and experience.

with the measurement of two bases, and a vast number of observations for determining azimuths, and the latitudes of five different stations.

The volume before us is far from completing the account of these operations, or at least of the conclusions deduced from them. The part we have already considered, which forms the preliminary discourse, is followed by 510 pages, in which a detailed account is given of the observations made at each station, and of all the circumstances by which their accuracy can be affected. The triangles included in these observations consist of 115 principal, and 66 subsidiary triangles. At the end of the detailed account just mentioned, these triangles are reduced into a table, that exhibits, at one view, every thing concerning their angles, and the necessary reductions. The first column of this table contains the angles of every triangle as observed and reduced to the horizon; the numbers here given being the means that were struck by the commissioners in the manner already described. The second column contains the spherical excess for each angle, by comparing which with the sum of the three angles of the triangle, we have a measure of the error committed in the measurement of the three angles, which rarely amounts to 1″ or 1″½. In the third column are given the true spherical angles corrected for the error of observation, according to a principle previously explained. In the fourth column, these are reduced to the rectilineal angles contained by the chords of the arches, or of the sides of the spherical triangles. The last column of all contains the mean angles, as they are here called, that is, the observed angles first corrected for the error of observation, and afterwards diminished each by one third of the spherical excess, so that those of each triangle amount precisely to 180 degrees, and are thus prepared for computation, according to the theorem of Legendre that was mentioned in our account of the trigonometrical survey of England. Delambre has gone through the great labour of calculating the sides of these triangles, and also their reduction to the meridian, by the three different methods that correspond to the nature of the three last columns. These results, however, are not given in the volume before us. They are reserved for that which is to follow; and we have no doubt, when they shall appear, will give us new reasons to applaud the skill, the accuracy, and the patience of Delambre and his associates.

Though the formation of the above table, and the arrangement of the whole volume are the work of Delambre, yet a large part of it, containing the observations of Mechain, is given in the words of that astronomer.

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The preſent volume does not enable us to ſtate any thing with reſpect to the length of the ſegments into which the arch of the meridian was divided. Some of theſe reſults, however we have learnt from the memoirs that have been publiſhed on the ſame ſubject in the volumes of the National Inſtitute. They appear to be curious; and we take notice of them here as indicating irregularities very ſimilar to thoſe that Colonel Mudge met with in the meridional arch which he meaſured between the Iſle of Wight and Clifton in Yorkſhire.

In the courſe of their ſurvey, the French aſtronomers determined the latitudes of five different points of the meridional arch with great exactneſs, viz. Dunkirk, 51° 2′ 10″; Paris, at the Pantheon, 48° 50′ 49″¾; Steeple of Evaux, 46° 10′ 42″; Tower of St Vincent at Carcaſſonne, 43° 12′ 54″; Tower of Montjouy at Barcelona, 41° 21′ 45″. The amplitudes of the arches thus found, being compared with the terreſtrial meaſurements, led to ſome reſults that were unexpected, and that are certainly highly deſerving of attention. It appears that the length of the degree of the meridian, though it decreaſe conſtantly on going from the north to the ſouth, as it ought to do, does in fact decreaſe very irregularly. Toward the northern extremity of the arch the decreaſe is ſlow, and at the rate of not more than four toiſes in the degrees that lye between Dunkirk and Evaux. From Evaux to Carcaſſonne the degrees diminiſh rapidly, at the rate of 30 or 31 toiſes; and from Carcaſſonne to Barcelona the diminution becomes again much ſlower, and is about 14 toiſes to a degree.

This irregularity in the differences of the degrees, does not ariſe from a cauſe that is apparent on the ſurface. It very much reſembles that which was experienced by Colonel Mudge as he went northward from the coaſt of the channel, when he found that the degrees, inſtead of increaſing, came to diminiſh about the middle of the arch. In both caſes, we may ſuſpect the effect to have ariſen, partly from the vicinity of the ſea, partly perhaps from inequalities of denſity under the ſurface, or other irregularities in the ſuperficial part of the globe. From whatever cauſes they ariſe, the repetition of operations, ſuch as thoſe we are now treating of, is what alone can be expected to throw new light upon the ſubject. Additional experiments on the attraction of mountains would probably tend to the ſame object, and might lead to other valuable concluſions.

We cannot finiſh our account of theſe ſcientific operations, without expreſſing our wiſhes that the uniformity of meaſures and of weights were introduced into our own, and into every other civilized country. The difficulty is not ſo great as we are apt to think, when we conſider the matter at a diſtance; and to effect

fect it requires, in reality, nothing but for the legislature to say, it shall be done. As to the standard to be adopted, though we think the pendulum would have afforded the most convenient, yet when one has been actually fixed on and determined, that circumstance must greatly outweigh every other consideration. The system adopted by the French, if not absolutely the best, is so very near it, that the difference is of no account. In one point it is very unexceptionable; it involves nothing that savours of the peculiarities of any country; insomuch, as the Commissioners observe, that if all the history which we have been considering were forgotten, and the results of the operations only preserved, it would be impossible to tell with what nation this system had originated. The wisest measure, therefore, for the other nations of Europe, is certainly to adopt the metrical system of the French, with the exception perhaps of the division of the circle, where the number 600, as mentioned above, might be conveniently substituted for 400. It would not be necessary to adopt their names, which might not assort very well with the sounds that compose the languages of other nations. But the *metre*, by whatever name it may be called, ought to be adopted as the unit of length, and all the other measures of linear extension derived from it by decimal multiplication and division. It is true that this cannot be done, especially in our own case, without a certain sacrifice of national vanity; and the times do not give much encouragement to hope that such a sacrifice will be made. The calamities which the power and ambition of the French government have brought on Europe, induce us to look with jealousy and suspicion on their most innocent and laudable exertions. We ought not, however, to yield to such prejudices, where good sense and argument are so obviously against them. In a matter that concerns the arts and sciences only, the maxim may be safely admitted, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

ART. IX. *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan; from the year* 1759. *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's Trade, at Broach and Surat; and a general idea of the Government and People of Indostan.* By Robert Orme, Esq. F. A. S. To which is prefixed, an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author. 1 Vol. 4to. London. Wingrave. 1805.

THE British nation might say, in reference to its own dominions, what has been said of human knowledge in general; "Maxima pars eorum quæ scimus, est minima pars eorum quæ

quæ nescimus;" What we know bears, in magnitude at least, no proportion to that of which we are ignorant. Our Asiatic possessions far exceed the mother country in size and population: even since this could be predicated of them, they have received accessions which might, in both respects, successfully rival England. Their destinies involve the welfare of many millions of mankind; yet among us they are little known, and seldom thought of, excepting by those who claim with them a more or less direct connexion. As for the bulk of our countrymen, India, we should conjecture, occupies nearly an equal portion of their thoughts, and strikes them much in the same light with the ring of Saturn; they consider it as something very large, very curious, very distant, and inexpressibly unimportant to themselves and all their families.

This apathy and lack of knowledge we have heard attributed to the want of some standard book, which, in a popular and attractive style, should aim at making the English reader comprehensively acquainted with the scene, the nature, and the history of the British power in the East. The fact, that no such *India-Guide* exists, must be admitted; but, surely, rather in evidence, than in explanation, of the darkness which this circumstance is supposed to have occasioned. It explains indeed nothing. Where there is no physical obstacle to the supply of instruction, to say that it is not to be had, or, in other words, that there has not been an effectual demand for it, is to advance but a very small way in accounting for ignorance. Possibly such a book, if once produced, might gradually provoke the public curiosity on the subject which it treated; but it is much more certain, that a due measure of such curiosity would long ago have provoked the production of the book. In truth, we are ignorant, only because we are incurious; and the real and the sole question becomes, Whence this defect of curiosity?

The distance of our Indian dependencies may perhaps be thought by some to account for the phenomenon in question. But here, again, although we were to admit that, if they were nearer home, we should probably know them better, it hardly follows, that the intervention of waves and mountains should entirely estrange them from our thoughts. To an ocular observation of them, indeed, few of us are admitted; still there are frequent, numerous, and authenticated means of intercourse, and why have not these been more generally improved? This, at least, is evident, that, when we are once reduced to testimony, it can make little difference how far that testimony has travelled, provided its original quality were good. Surely it may *keep* as perfectly through a voyage of eighteen or twenty weeks, as during a run of an equal number of hours.

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The true solution of this difficulty will be found, we suspect, by attending to some points, in which the situation of the East Indies materially differs from that of our Cis-Atlantic possessions. A variety of conspiring circumstances have so firmly secured to us our Eastern territories, that they may now be considered as almost *hors du combat* in our continental wars; nor have we, for years, stumbled on an European enemy of any note throughout Asia, or even heard of one, excepting in the despatches and manifestoes of the Wellesleian government. Of the circumstances that have produced this state of things, one certainly is the *distance* of British India; its distance, however, not from Britain, but from France. But the result has been, that the public mind is not strongly directed to that country, as to a part of our debateable frontier,—of the ground about which we think, inquire, hope, fear, grieve, or rejoice, from day to day; and, whatever may be the case with professed students, the public was never yet known to study a subject in cool blood. This, however, is not all. By the peculiar constitution of our Indian government, the cares and the responsibility attending it are not centered in the cabinet-council for the time being, but divided between that body and another, formed on different principles, and moving in a different plane. Of consequence, the details of Indian affairs cannot enter into that regular and recognized routine of questions, on which issue is ordinarily joined by the parties struggling for political ascendancy in this country, and which, therefore, deeply interest the political world at large. The war may indeed wander to that quarter; but it cannot, in common cases, arrive there without wandering. That this statement is correct, we cannot have a stronger proof, than in the profound indifference, with which, one or two signal cases excepted, all matters connected with the subject alluded to, have been treated by the country gentlemen in Parliament for a series of years.

To this twofold cause, then—that Indian politics do not *follow the same law* with our politics in general, whether foreign or domestic—we principally attribute the very slight attention usually bestowed upon them. Accordingly, whenever there has been a temporary suspension of the cause, the effect also has intermitted. When the Directory of France seriously menaced India by the way of Egypt, or whenever the Directory of Leadenhall Street have appeared to declare a war of extirpation against his Majesty's ministers, it has been instantly found, that, however distant the contested ground, and however slender in appearance the bands by which it is connected with our sympathy, the public attention could 'feel in each thread,' and literally

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rally 'live along the *line.*' But a vast and complicated subject cannot be understood at one or two sittings. The stimulus, in these cases, acted only transiently, and the old apathy succeeded. At present, Indian politics form but a small part of the bill-of-fare of our coffee-house politicians; they seldom appear upon 'Change; they are not *smattered about;* and until we have a swarm of smatterers who talk of a science, it is vain to expect many adepts in it.

Yet it were to be much wished, for many reasons, that the world were in possession of some summary and able account of British India and its various concerns. In the entire absence, however, of such a work, we must make the best of our actual means of information; and, in a relative view at least, if in no other, those writers become of great value, who have confined themselves to subordinate departments of the extensive subject in question. Of these writers, Mr Orme, whose life and a portion of whose works are now before us, is one; and he is the best of them. His, indeed, is not a song which owes all its sweetness to the night; he has positive merits of no mean order; and we are pleased with the opportunity of paying them our tribute of commendation.

The principal production of this author (as most of our readers do *not* know), is his narrative of the wars, waged in the Carnatic, between the French and the English, for the dominion of India; a work, of which perhaps we cannot better strike off the *fort* and the *foible* in a single sentence, than by saying, that it is successfully formed on the historic model of antiquity. Ancient history, it is well known, was, in the earliest times, poetry; and poetry in some sense, but very good poetry certainly, it seems to have continued to the last. It delighted in *the picturesque,* and in brilliant delineations, rather than curious dissections, of its subject. It could hardly assume the name of 'Philosophy teaching by examples;' tracing from stage to stage the *mental* career of a people; measuring the mutual and ever-varying action of laws, arts, and manners; of national circumstances, fortunes, and character; and combining particular details with that tacit, but constant and learned reference to general truths, which converts a local narrative into a chapter in the natural history of the species;—as a local map, if scientifically constructed, may be immediately referred in our minds to its place on the globe. All this has been better understood by more recent artists. The great Roman annalist has, indeed, received the surname of the Father of Philosophical History; and the title is well bestowed, if it be considered as confined to his acute and forcible criticisms on individual character, and to the moral dignity and pathos of his manner:

manner: but of *political* philosophy, we discover in this excellent writer but few traces. To this department of wisdom, the times—both those which Tacitus saw, and those of which his fathers could tell him—were fatally unpropitious. They exhibited a frame of society (if we may disgrace that expression by so applying it), suffering a course of experiments too frightfully violent to issue in fine results—*Sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute.* In a nation thus tried with extremes, we could hardly expect to meet with the refinements of political science; and supposing them there to exist, a historical account of such a nation affords little scope for a display of them.

Epic poetry has been considered by critics as a sort of poetical *pancratium*,—as singly requiring an assemblage of all the powers respectively adapted to every other species of verse. In this sentiment there is general truth; and, with about an equal sacrifice of accuracy to round numbers, we may perhaps give history, according to the modern conception of it, a similar preeminence in prose. It is concerned with whatever illustrates the human genius or character, and consequently touches on every description of liberal and practical knowledge. It must draw its stores out of every mine that will *pay for the working.* It embraces also almost every variety of style and manner; to the exclusion, however, in a great degree, (and this exception belongs also to epic poetry), of all that is ludicrous or farcical. But the triumph of the historian consists, not so much in the possession, as in the graceful union and easy exhibition of these various virtues. His materials are less conspicuous, than his disposition of them. Nor can we here forbear stopping to remark, how censurable, on this as well as on other accounts, is the plan of those writers who decomposed history after the manner of Dr Henry, and devoted distinct and concurrent columns of narration to almost all the various arts, pursuits, trades, and crafts respectively that divide mankind. The productions of these gentlemen, although some of them are highly valuable, must not be considered as models. The privilege, indeed, of substituting compilation for composition, is the undoubted birthright of every British subject: but, to call a bundle of synchronous narratives *a history*, is almost to mistake a gallery of portraits for a historic picture, or a bale of cotton for a wardrobe.

Mr Orme, as we have already intimated, philosophizes neither more nor less than the old historic school; a circumstance for which, in a measure at least, his subject is answerable. It is really very difficult to be philosophical about the details of warfare,—about marches and sieges, howitzers and Lieutenant-Colonels,

nels, ſtratagems, alarms, manœuvrings, fightings, and runnings-away. Beſides which, it muſt be remembered, that the ſcene of the Carnatic wars was laid in Hindoſtan; and that, too, when the comparatively refined empire of the Mogul had given place to a number of ſtates diſtinguiſhed by a policy little better than barbarous: when the concerns of war and peace were managed, with a few exceptions, by victorious aſſaſſins, conſummate traitors, and experienced robbers; by diplomatiſts leſs ſkilful at making than at breaking treaties; and by generals whoſe daggers were more formidable than their ſwords. To watch through all its ſteps the breaking-up of a great and civilized empire, to trace the proceſs by which order terminates in anarchy, is indeed important and uſeful; but the anarchy itſelf, when once triumphant, is exactly like all other anarchy. As a ſpectacle, it muſt intereſt us; but it furniſhes little political inſtruction, beyond the ſimple leſſon, that good government is a great good to mankind.

The field, therefore, of general or ſcientific remark, which lay before Mr Orme, was certainly ſmall; but, this point being admitted, it muſt be acknowledged, on the other ſide, that he does not appear to have been particularly anxious for its extenſion, or extremely careful to improve the ſpace which he really commanded. Rarely indulging himſelf in conjectures, reaſonings, or comprehenſive deductions from his facts, he ſeems content to write like a man of buſineſs, excepting that he is more impaſſioned. In adopting, however, this plan, he has declined, if the more illuſtrious, yet ſurely the more dangerous ground, while at the ſame time he has produced a work, in its own ſtyle, of uncommon merit. In the main, it is a clear, manly, ſenſible, ſpirited, and intereſting narrative. It is but a trifling abatement of this praiſe to add, that, on a very few occaſions, the author is tediouſly minute in recording military operations little attractive to the general reader.

Without that exceſſive fondneſs for portrait-painting, which has actuated ſome of our beſt hiſtorians, and has often induced them to do more juſtice to their art than to their ſubject, Mr Orme was completely awake to all the varieties of character which came before him, and has delineated them with conſiderable ſkill. The haughty and unprincipled ambition of Dupleix, which deluged Hindoſtan with blood, and, at the ſame time, the peculiarity of his conſtitutional temperament, combining great political courage and counſel with a ſingular unfitneſs for the buſineſs of the field, appear in excellent contraſt with the ſteady wiſdom and practical vigour of Buſſy, and the buſtling, but volatile and ſhortſighted, activity of the unfortunate Lally. Still more intereſting is it to an Engliſh reader, to obſerve the gradual

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development of those eminent talents, which upheld the British cause against these dangerous enemies, and at length established it for ever on their ruin. The oriental worthies who variously distinguished themselves in the conflict; the Chunda-sahebs, the Monackjees, and the Issoofs, are sketched with spirit, but without any extravagance of colouring; and the barbaric splendour that invests them, forms a fine variety amidst the more useful and lasting brilliancy of European greatness. On the whole, it is surprising that a theatre, in many respects so confined, should have afforded such abilities, such opportunities for the display of them, and such a historian to make them known to posterity.

No sensible man ever read the history of the Carnatic wars, without feeling a tolerable assurance of its general fidelity; and, indeed, we believe it to contain very few, and those very venial, inaccuracies. The only serious exception, of which we have heard, to this remark, concerns Lord Clive; between whom and Mr Orme some coolness took place, in the interval from the publication of the first volume of the Carnatic wars to that of the two last, (an interval of many years); and this circumstance, it has been said, may be traced in the altered tone which, in his latter volumes, the historian adopts with respect to the hero. It does not however appear, that this unfortunate incident, which we state merely on report, led Mr Orme in any degree to falsify facts; although it is evident, we think, that, in the latter part of his work, he no longer mentions Clive with that favour and kindness which he discovers towards him in the former. Should he be censured for this treatment of his countryman, let us make him some amends, by celebrating a singular instance of his liberality towards an enemy.* We record it in the words of his biographer.

'In order, however, to obtain all possible information respecting the operations of the French in the Carnatic, he applied to Lieutenant-General Bussy, who had borne so considerable a part in them; and that officer thought himself under such obligations to Mr Orme, for the precision and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in the first volume, that, upon his going to France in 1773, the General invited him to his country seat, where he treated him with elegant hospitality, and furnished him with several authentic documents; among which were, a curious narrative of his own transactions, and a draught of the route of his various marches about Golcondah, Hyderabad, and in the northern provinces; the latter of which is inserted in the present volume.' p. xxxiii, xxxiv.

In reviewing the memoirs of an author, it was natural for us to discuss a little the merits of that work which constitutes his principal title to the public regard; but we now return to the

matter more immediately before us. The account of Mr Orme's life is a neat, plain piece of biography, composed with a proper degree of interest in the subject, but without an enthusiastic spirit of panegyric. We know not that it is necessary for us to give an abstract of it, or that the reader would be much benefited by our drily detailing the dates of a long life, spent chiefly in the service of the East India Company, and latterly in literary retirement. The impression resulting from the whole is, that Mr Orme discharged his public duties with much zeal and ability, and that in private life he was respectable and amiable. Some pleasing extracts are made from his correspondence with his friends, particularly with his brother-historian Dr Robertson, with whom, as well as with most of the eminent literary characters of his day, he was in habits of acquaintance, and by whom he appears to have been held in great esteem. There are also some few specimens of his talent for poetry.

The most conspicuous part of this volume is the "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire," written by Mr Orme. It is a republication, having originally appeared in the year 1782; and must, unquestionably, be deemed a performance of much labour and merit. We cannot help remarking, although the comparison may be thought somewhat fanciful, that this work seems to us to bear nearly the same relation, in length and merit, to Mr Orme's greater history, with that of the Paradise Regained to its immortal predecessor. It strikes us instantly as the production of the same author turned older. It is distinguished by a more frugal use of the ornamental appendages of good writing, if not, to a certain extent, by a designed abstinence from them. The air and general manner are less free and interesting, and, if we may use the expression, less *flexible*; so that we almost feel as if we had met with a *petrifaction* of the substance with which we were before acquainted.

The style of the "Historical Fragments," although not what we could properly call *affected*, is yet, on many occasions, strangely latinized, and bears the appearance of coming from a man, who, having late in life cultivated a closer intimacy with the classical writers than his youth had allowed him the opportunity of forming, was unreasonably anxious to profit by his enlarged knowledge, and to adapt himself to the admired model newly set before him. We do not mean that he affects hard words, elaborate inversions, or *tri-brach* sentences, like Dr Parr; but he is fond of attempting the flowing or complicated period, which Lord Monboddo is at full liberty to admire in the ancients, but of which the English language, principally from its poverty of inflexions and want of genders, is not very patient. The reader will ask for an instance, and we give him one.

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'Their first marriages were with natives of India, and afterwards among their own families; which preserving the nationality, in time formed a numerous community, distinct in figure, colour, and character, from all the other races of Mahomedans; which nevertheless could not have subsisted, if the body of the people amongst whom they had intruded, had been, as themselves, Mahomedans, instead of Hindoos, indifferent to the distinctions of extraneous despots they equally abhorred.' p. 56. Again,

'Reverence to the higher family, and to the Mogul's choice, had given the preeminence of command to Siddee Sambole: but the other captains preserved the distinct command over their own crews and dependants, and an aristocratical council determined the general welfare of this singular republic; in which the lowest orders, from their skill and utility, maintained some influence; and, proud of their importance, merited it, by the alacrity of their service, insomuch, that they excelled all the navigators of India, and even rated themselves equal to Europeans; and indeed the onset of their sword was formidable in boarding, and on shore.' p. 57.

The work is extremely valuable, as acquainting us with the circumstances which attended the first establishment of the Mahratta power under the auspices of its champion Sevajee. The detail of these circumstances is, we believe, generally allowed the merit of correctness; with the exception, perhaps, of the story of Sevajee's having commenced his carreer of exploits with the assassination of a general employed against him by the king of Viziapour; at least, this story has been strongly contradicted by subsequent writers. This is indeed well for the fame of Sevajee; but we can hardly believe that a Mahratta would make much scruple of employing a dagger, to effect the important object of completely disjointing and confounding a hostile army. The character indeed of the great founder of the Mahratta empire is one of that description, which, happily for the oppressed, the very severity of despotism frequently forces into existence. He was rich in all those resources of mind and body which his situation both required and assisted to form; bold, inventive, patient, ardent, indefatigable, and untameable. Nor can we more highly eulogize this fierce and active adventurer, than by the simple statement, that, starting almost alone, he founded an independent empire, under the eyes, and in spite of the incessant opposition, of so able and enlightened a tyrant as Aurengzebe.

The following seems to us a good specimen of the execution of this part of the history. After mentioning his seizure of Surat, Mr Orme proceeds,

'Aurengzebe felt the disgrace, as well as the detriment of the insult, and foresaw it might be repeated, until the city were better fortified; which required time; unless Segavi were coerced by the strongest ne-

ceſſity of ſelf-defence. The whole army of the Decan invaded his territory. The conduct of the war was committed to Jyſing, the Rajah of Abnir, who had a ſecret inſtruction to entice Sevagi to Delhi, but preferred the nobler exerciſe of the ſword, until the active and obſtinate reſiſtance of Sevagi produced a ſolemn aſſurance of ſafety from Aurengzebe himſelf; on which he ſet out for Delhi, accompanied by a decent retinue, and his eldeſt ſon. He had formed ſeveral excellent officers, worthy of truſt, and ordered them to keep up his whole force, under the uſual ſtrictneſs, and ready to move at his call; but forbade them to truſt any letters from himſelf, unleſs confirmed by the verbal meſſages of particular perſons whom he took with him, in appearance as menial ſervants. He was received by Aurengzebe with much courteſy, which continued, until the ladies of the ſeraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeſt Khan, in revenge for the death of her ſon, and the diſgrace of her huſband, ſolicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to deſtroy him. But the high Omrahs ſaid they had no other ſecurity for their own lives than the word of the king, and that the Hindoo Rajahs would revolt at ſuch a breach of faith to one of their own condition. Sevagi, at the public audience, upbraided Aurengzebe with the intention, and ſaid that he thought Chaeſt Khan and Surat had taught him better the value of ſuch a ſervant; then drew his dagger to ſtab himſelf, but his arm was ſtopt. Aurengzebe condeſcended to ſooth him, repeated his firſt aſſurance of ſafety, and requeſted his ſervice in the expedition he was preparing againſt Candahar. Sevagi replied, he could command no troops but his own, and was permitted to ſend for them. Nevertheleſs his dwelling and all his doings were narrowly watched. He ſent his letters by his truſty meſſengers, who carried orders very different from the letters. His army moved into Guzerat, on the road to Delhi; and ſmall parties, too ſmall to create ſuſpicion, were ſent forward, one beyond another, with the fleeteſt horſes. When the foremoſt reached its ſtation, Sevagi and his ſon were carried out of their dwelling at night in covered baſkets, ſuch as fruits and repaſts are ſent in from perſons of diſtinction to one another; and a boat, as for common paſſengers, was waiting at the extremity of the city. They paſſed the river unſuſpected; when Sevagi, giving the boat-man money, bid him go and tell Aurengzebe, that he had carried Sevagi and his ſon acroſs the Jumna; then mounting with the firſt party, they ſet off at ſpeed, and recroſſed the river at a ford lower down; after which their track and ſtations were through an unfrequented circuit to the weſt of the great cities, and amongſt the mountains. The ſon, who had not yet reached his growth, emulating his father, ſunk and died in the way, of fatigue; and the father, leaving attendants to perform the obſequies of his funeral pile, puſhed on until he joined his army in Guzerat; which he turned with burning vengeance againſt the Mogul's lands, whereſoever they were not appeaſed by money, or oppoſed by ſtrong ſituations. Surat, as the moſt ſcornful defiance, Sevagi reſerved to himſelf. A new wall was begun, but far from finiſhed; and the inhabitants, to prevent his troops from entering

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the city, as well as to remove them from the manufacturing villages a-round, capitulated with him in his camp for a ranfom, which he did not raife to excefs, as he intended to come again for more. The Rajah Jyfing was again employed to oppofe him, and, as before, with inftructions to perfuade his return to Delhi; to which Sevagi replied, that he did not think Aurengzebe fuch a fool, as to think him fuch a one, to truft himfelf a fecond time to the man who had once deceived him.' p. 13-15.

Before we dismiss this work, we shall venture to make some very commonplace reflections on the history which it exhibits to us. They are indeed such as will immediately fly in the face of every reader, who does not read from mere want of thought; but still they must be reiterated, till they shall have made some greater impression, than yet seems to have been produced by them, on the public mind. It is impossible to contemplate those countries which once constituted the theatre of Mogul greatness, and have since witnessed its utter destruction, without speculating in some degree on the probable fate of their present connexion with Great Britain. This, indeed, looks somewhat like *moralizing*; but as most men are forgiven for moralizing a little, where their interests and their morality clearly go together, we may be indulged in a small degree of anxiety on subjects in which the future welfare of this country seems to be considerably involved. We, like Aurengzebe, have had our Mahratta wars; and Aurengzebe, like us, had his friends that were dependent, his enemies that were independent, and his allies that were neither the one nor the other. We would not push the parallel to invidious lengths, or into every minute particular; but, undoudtedly, the system on which this celebrated oppressor acted, of universal ascendancy throughout the States of Hindostan, bears, in its broad outline, no slight similarity to those plans of foreign policy which have been sometimes recommended for the direction of our governments in India, and sometimes, we are sorry to add it, carried into partial execution. The grand scheme, for example, of persuading all the native sovereignties to '*exchange territory for protection*,' or (as some ill-natured persons might express it) to buy the loss of their liberty with the loss of their property, is one, which, had it occurred to Aurengzebe, would have been adopted with the utmost eagerness. This, however, though the principal, is not the only, feature of the system of government, to which we allude; but, as we cannot here enter into minute details, we must trust to the reader's general acquaintance with that system, while we make a very few comments on its nature, and on the arguments which have been employed in its favour. We know not indeed that we ever let slip an opportunity of de-

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claring our aversion to it, and we therefore cannot see, why so favourable an occasion as the present should be lost.

We have no objection to begin with making a concession, and that perhaps of some value. Whatever may be thought of the measures of those who have of late so immensely extended the British empire, at the expense of the states allied with us in the East, it never can be denied that, relatively to those states, they stood, as our Indian governments have long stood, in a situation of considerable difficulty. In fact, our system of alliances in that quarter, has, for a course of years, subjected all parties to those inconveniences and embarrassments, which are the usual companions of an unequal union. Of that system, (we speak of it as it existed previously to the late changes), it was the ruling principle, though a principle very variously modified, that the native sovereigns included in it, should, in their foreign relations, be at once under the controul of British protection, and yet remain absolute masters of their own subjects. Thus, secure of supreme power at home, but yet held in a state of political vassalage, they felt almost all the vanity, with scarcely any thing of the pride, of independence. They became indolent, luxurious, inattentive to their regal duties, and perhaps tyrannical. Whenever they were permitted to retain a military force of their own, (an indulgence not always granted), their armies were ill paid and mutinous; and, being clearly unnecessary to courts safe under English protection, soon became inefficient also, except in alarming their own leaders, and extorting the revenues from their own countrymen. Even the British troops subsidized by these princes, were sometimes left in arrear; an inconvenience which was severely felt during war. Our governors in the East were eye-witnesses of these disorders, and found it painful to prosecute the system in which they had obviously originated, while they could scarcely abandon it without some sacrifice of power and consequence. They filled the despatches they addressed to their employers in England, with complaints of the complicated miseries resulting from a *divided government*, and took steps, more or less justifiable, to establish more firmly the authority of the British counsels over those of their allies. Some employed the method of persuasion; others mixed persuasion with implied threats; and indeed it required some patience to maintain an uniform tone of conciliation, in pressing measures of evident expediency on those who were as hard to persuade as they were easy to compel. Under these circumstances, it was really difficult to act; for not merely the passions of the bad, but even the feelings of the good, experienced a strong temptation to commit occasional irregularities

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in the exercise of power; and many things might be done, which the acutest casuist would be obliged to pronounce completely *ambiguous*.

But having stated, in fairness, these considerations, we are under the necessity of denying that they afford a vindication to the cabinet which kindled the late wars, and effected the late mighty revolutions in Hindostan. The actions of this cabinet are certainly not very ambiguous. It appears to us that timid delinquency never so laboured to force its acts within the shelter, or even the *second shadow* of a legal excuse, as the government alluded to strove to be indefensible. Where many plans of policy might have been adopted, that incurred some risk of being wrong, they adopted one which could by no chance be right. Did we cast our eyes merely on the extent of the ground which they have covered with their pacific victories, and observe only the number of the states which, under the influence of their diplomatic dexterity, have been disfranchised of similar rights by nearly similar steps,—even this view, unconnected with any further research, might warrant a strong suspicion of the precipitancy, at least, of those counsels by which such things were so quickly brought to pass. That six or seven Indian princes should, in the course of four or five years, forfeit some of their most important privileges to the British government,—that they should abandon, some the whole, others the wreck, of their independence, almost at the same period,—and, as if by consent, that they should form a dark and deep-laid conspiracy to become slaves,—is beyond our utmost dreams of credulity. On the principle that *numerus auget suspicionem*, we must be permitted our doubts and our conjectures on surveying such a spectacle.

But the case allows of something much more determinate than surmises and suspicion, although, from the necessity of economizing our space, we can do little else than allude to the principles on which its merits are to be tried. The strange and awkward nature, such it was at all times, of our connexion with the native powers of Hindostan has already been described, as rendering the British governments in that quarter obnoxious to peculiar difficulties; but it is now time to observe, that the same state of things imposed on them very peculiar and imperious duties. They should have recollected that they were not the only sufferers under the embarrassments issuing from the alliance in question; and that indulgence which they might have occasion to claim, they should also have been prepared to give. The Nabobs or Rajahs, who may be parties to an alliance with the British government are surely rather the victims than the authors of the evil consequences to which it leads, even although one of those

evils be a depravation of their own character. It follows that, in interpreting their conduct, the most liberal rules of construction should be adopted; and even a little occasional petulance and fretfulness under their leading-strings may be forgiven them. Happily, we are enabled exactly to illustrate our ideas on this subject, by pointing out a living and a direct contrast to the line of forbearance and moderation which we have here recommended; and this will be found in the whole foreign policy of the Bengal government, between the years 1797 and 1805. In the various negotiations which made up that policy, little indeed have we been fortunate enough to discover of tenderness and indulgence on the part of the British, except always, that the names of those qualities were incessantly repeated. The minutest flaws, as they seem to us, and sometimes only supposed flaws, in the habitual obedience paid us by the native princes concerned, were instantly noted down as indicating hereditary enmity, systematic contempt, or Asiatic perfidy; and the rights conceived to accrue to us upon the occasion, were generally enforced with unpitying rigour. A Roman plan of conquest appears to have been formed by our government; and certainly none but Roman virtues were displayed in carrying it into accomplishment.

To exemplify these remarks particularly, is here impracticable. It will be enough, by way of specimen, to glance at our late proceedings in the Carnatic. Mahommed Alli, the old nabob of that country, and his son Omdut ul Omrah, both lived, reigned, and died, in the closest ostensible alliance with Great Britain. Previously, however, to the death of the latter, the archives of the house of Mysore, which were laid open to us by the fall of Seringapatam, had discovered a secret and somewhat mysterious correspondence to have, at one period, subsisted between Tippoo and the two nabobs already mentioned.

This correspondence the Bengal government immediately pronounced to be of a nature the most perfidious and hostile to the English nation. Now let us accept the facts as they are given us; and, although a candid examination of the papers in question will leave us much more than doubtful respecting the fault of the persons accused, let them be supposed guilty. What was, on this emergency, the conduct of our government?—we mean as to its general features only, for otherwise our strictures would never end. The detection of the clandestine correspondence was, for whatever reasons, not announced till Omdut ul Omrah, who could best explain his own conduct in prosecuting it, had actually expired, and till his only son Hussein Alli, was brought forward as the undoubted heir to the vacant musnud. The British government now struck in with their proofs and their vouchers; they commented

ed with great severity on the characters of the two last nabobs; they denounced those princes as having invariably nourished a spirit of secret but active enmity towards the English: for overt acts of such enmity, they quoted their tardiness in furnishing with supplies the subsidiary British force which had been employed in the Carnatic; and thus referred the evils that had long been prevalent in that country, to a secret defection from the British alliance, although from that alliance itself, those evils had evidently flowed: next they denounced the young prince himself as a public enemy, because, through public enemies alone he claimed the succession: and, lastly, they proceeded to the necessary work of *effectually securing* the British rights and interests at this tremendous crisis. They declared themselves under an imperious obligation to *appropriate to themselves the whole of the Carnatic*, leaving, however, the grandson of Mahommed Alli the nominal sovereignty of his paternal dominions, and the undisputed nabobship of his own gardens. Hussein Alli, probably not believing these menaces (which even now appear to us hardly credible) refused for two or three days to acquiesce in the arrangement proposed to him. In consequence of this obstinacy, in which a little of the old leaven of *hereditary enmity* was forthwith perceived, this unfortunate prince was entirely set aside, and his cousin elevated in his room, to the shadow of a throne.

Such was the punishment inflicted on the innocent family of a supposed offender; a punishment, which, had it been awarded to the reputed delinquent himself, and this not on suspicion, but on conviction of enmity, not timorous and reserved, but open and frontless,—which, had it overtaken him after repeated sins against repeated lenity, and after he had notoriously sworn, like Tippoo, to annihilate the English name in the East,—which, even under these circumstances, would have been considered, by every good mind, as a tremendous sacrifice to the vengeance of insulted justice.

We have only one further observation to offer on this affair; we mean, that it was begun, continued, and concluded, with a rapidity, which is observable in all the foreign transactions of the Bengal Government during the period under our review, and which is a common feature of despotism. The ascertaining of a village-boundary could hardly cost less time than was bestowed on the usurpation of the Carnatic. When the charges against the deceased Nabob were first developed to the guardians of his son, these personages pressed only for a full investigation of the matter, and pledged themselves, if they were allowed but a short time for the purpose, to vindicate the innocence of their late sove-

reign. The reader will perhaps have guessed, that this request, with which mere decency would have enjoined a compliance, was rejected; but, we believe, he will not easily guess the reason assigned for its rejection. It amounted to this, that independent states cannot pretend to erect themselves into a tribunal of judicature over each other; that therefore the British Government would not undertake formally to make themselves judges of the late nabobs of the Carnatic; that they would only act for the best, and throw themselves on the opinion of the world. The sequel proved, that the only part of the judicial functions to which the moderation of the British Government found itself unequal, was the conduct of an elaborate *trial*, and that it did not shrink from the plainer business of *passing sentence*.

Having submitted to the reader our general view of this question, we cannot leave unnoticed the arguments most commonly employed on the other side. The ground of them is, the supposed benefit which must accrue to the interests, both of British and of Asiatic India, from the policy that we have been condemning. How can that be blamed, for which all parties are the better? It is indeed, true, that this argument, from the utility of the system, has not always been stated in its full latitude. The measures which that system has dictated, which have been admitted to be *strong*, have yet been affirmed to be perfectly consistent with the provisions of treaties, and the letter of national law; and not vindicated from the simple consideration of their practical expediency. But this salvo, though it makes the defence a better one, does not substantially alter it. A *strong* measure is one, which in ordinary circumstances would be thought *too* strong, that is, arbitrary or unjust, and therefore culpable. We come back, therefore, to this point, that considerations of utility made that conduct right in a particular case, which at other times would have been wrong. This is the plea, and it proceeds on this position, that, by acting as we did, we were both doing and getting infinite good. But we will, on the contrary, dare to assert, and endeavour to show, first, that the plea is not good, and then, that the position is not true.

In the *first* place, it can never be seriously affirmed, that the prospect of advantage to ourselves, can sanctify either a legal or an equitable offence against the rights of nations. If, indeed, the maintainers of the plea intend to say, that interested motives were the real instigators of the system which they would justify, we will not be very obstinate in contradicting them; but let them at least permit us to dispute the legitimacy of such motives. On this point, however, all further argument must either be unnecessary or useless; and the only inquiry that can be endured, is, whether, in

in order to promote the welfare of the Asiatic provinces themselves, we were warranted either in transgressing the boundaries of what is usually right, or at least in *cutting so fine* along those of wrong. Here we need not stop to examine, how far views of ultimate expediency are true criteria of political justice; a field of investigation sacred to metaphysical philosophers. This, however, shall be suggested, and we hold it to be unanswerable, that only views of *general* expediency, not expediency in *particular* instances, can, on any suppostion, be made the guides of individual or national conduct. We have been surprised at the extraordinary manner in which this distinction, so obvious in the case of individuals, is sometimes overlooked with respect to communities. The abolition of the slave trade, for example, has been opposed on the alleged ground, that an abolition of it on the part of Great Britain alone, would be productive of no benefit to Africa. It would be just as reasonable to defend an assassin, on the ground that the individual who had fallen a victim to his stilletto, was a mere incumbrance to society. Let us remember, that when great nations act, *they set a precedent* to all nations and all ages. They may do particular good, when their example shall do incredible harm. Their ambition, their injustice, their cruelty, may compass partial and temporary objects of utility, but their recorded iniquities, will only create future oppressors, and multiply the scourges of the earth. And what can be of worse example, than the rapacious policy, the systematic encroachments, the *terrorism*, which have stained the reputation of this country in the East? The question is not, What is the true object of all this?—but this, What will the world, what will posterity think of it? We can answer that question. We pledge ourselves, that out of our own confines and times, the magnificent professions of humanity which formed a part of the system alluded to, *however sincere*, will not be credited, no, not for an hour, even by dotage itself, in its most dotish moments. Those only may possibly pretend to believe them, who shall find it useful, in their day, to adopt the professions of the system together. The rest will ask, why we could not mend the fortunes of our allies, without taking the opportunity of mending our own? They will distrust the disinterestedness of favours which 'bless him that gives,' still more than 'him that takes.' They will insinuate, with some plausibility, that the least we can expect of a self-constituted reformer, is, that his services shall be gratuitous.

But we have now to ask, is it true that the interests, both of British India, and of its allies, would be promoted by the system of British ascendancy? Although this inquiry involves the interests of two distinct parties, yet there is, in reality, no *duplicity*

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in the subject. The English could not long be safe in India, if the attainment of universal ascendancy did not succeed in promoting a general spirit of tranquillity and contentment throughout that continent. The matter at issue, therefore, is, whether the system so often mentioned is likely, either while it is undergoing the process of establishment, or after it has been established, to diffuse general satisfaction, and consequently to strengthen the authority and influence of the British nation in Hindostan.

We must, it is said, make ourselves paramount in India, in order to be secure. Now, in this sentiment, we profess not to know which is the more absurd; the feverish anxiety which it bespeaks for security, or the methods which it recommends for the attainment of it. There is but a given degree of safety to be acquired in the world, and that degree seldom but by fair means. As we never can entirely shut out danger, the best policy is to provide ourselves with friends against the hour of alarm; the worst, surely, to attempt to increase our own portion of security at the expense of the common stock. This, indeed, we presume to be the essence of tyranny. A tyrant is a man, whose principle it is, to make himself safe by putting every body else in danger; but, since the rest of mankind love danger as little as he does, he thus only provokes them to conspire against a welfare inconsistent with their own. Not that this odious system invariably fails; but certainly it has not succeeded a hundredth part so often as the good old rule of doing as you would be done by. To inspire many with a will to befriend us, is an infinitely more promising speculation, as to an unvitiated taste it is a much more agreeable task, than to take, from all, the power of doing us injury.

Whoever will duly examine the extent and populousness of Hindostan, the physical force of Great Britain, and the relative situation of the two countries, will perceive it to be impossible that we should long continue to act with effect on a surface as large as that of Europe, at the distance of nearly a hemisphere, in the maintenance of a system which can be upheld only by the influence of intrigues and terror. For, surely, it will not be seriously maintained that, if the scheme of universal and despotic ascendancy had been completely realized, we could have calculated on the *affection* of the native powers. The most ridiculous of all inconsistencies, (although our own times have furnished more than one instance of it), is that of a despot grasping at popularity. That the British ascendancy would, in its immediate operation at least, be favourable to the lower classes of the Asiatic population, and might therefore have some claim on their gratitude, we admit with eagerness; and to admit this, is to pay a high tribute to that excellent constitution, which, even when darkened by

by the fearful eclipse that has perplexed all the sovereigns of India 'with fear of change,' cannot be entirely shorn of the beams of its beneficence. But, to say nothing else on this point, until these lower classes acquire much more of character and of political weight than they have at present, or are likely to have, under any circumstances, for centuries,—any reliance on their attachment will inevitably end in more than disappointment. In the interim, our domineering friendship must excite the enmity of all in that quarter of the world, whose enmity is to be deprecated;—of whatever is noble, wealthy, powerful, or warlike. We might be boasting of the utter exclusion of French influence from the neighbourhood of our Indian dominions; but we should know that, if any untoward accident conveyed a French army thither, they might reckon upon as many friends as we had allies, and increase their own retinue by the whole number of our dependants. We might be receiving, as even now we too much receive, a forced echo to our professions of paternal benevolence and inflexible disinterestedness: but the farce would be perfectly understood on all hands; neither the giver nor the taker of the allegiance could be deceived. It is indeed a miserable symptom of the condition of a government, when it is compelled to expend its strength in conciliating, not esteem, but compliments; when expressions of regard that are notoriously dissembled acquire a real and a necessary value in its eyes; when it can find its account in *levying* that homage which it has neither the wisdom nor the virtue to deserve.

Of the drain of blood, treasure, and character, to which this system has already subjected us, it is unnecessary particularly to speak; but let us deduce from the fact the obvious corollary;—*in has clades incidimus, dum metui, quam cari esse ac diligi, maluimus.* It is indeed a more splendid and captivating employment to be parcelling out ceded countries, marching subsidiary troops to inspect every court in Hindostan, and controuling princes by means of military residents, than to be less bustling and more useful. We have an inherent love of the magnificent, no less than of the marvellous.

> 'Who that from Alpine heights his lab'ring eye
> Shoots round the wide horizon to survey
> Nilus or Ganges rolling his bright wave
> Through mountains, plains, through empires black
> with shade,
> Or continents of sand, will turn his gaze
> To mark the windings of a scanty rill
> That murmurs at his feet?'

But perhaps our particular concern is with this 'scanty rill;'

and

and its waters, if carefully diffused, will make 'glad the city.' It is in politics as in conversation. He is not the best member of the social circle who talks the most, but who succeeds the best in promoting general conversation; and he is not the best statesman who is *the greatest doer*, but he who *sets others doing* with the greatest success.

When the magnitude of the subject that has just occupied our attention is considered, we shall not, we trust, be accused of having wantonly digressed to discuss it. We have, however, reduced to narrower bounds, the space which we intended for direct strictures on the author before us. Besides the Historical Fragments, this volume contains an unfinished tract by Mr Orme on the establishment of the English trade at Surat; a dissertation on the government and people of Hindostan; and a short paper on the characteristic effeminacy of the Hindoos.

The first of these performances is extremely valuable, and we must greatly regret its incomplete state. It bears the marks of the author's usual style, as also of his indefatigable industry in research. The tract breaks off, like the stories of the Sultana in the Arabian Nights. For the amusement of our readers, we are tempted to extract the latter part, which, if not the most important, is the most interesting; it gives the account of two English adventurers, who obtained high distinction in the East, although probably our readers have never heard of them.

'These travellers passing by Candahar, arrived at Ispahan on the 18th of September, where they found Sir Robert Shirley on departure to execute another commission from the Sophy.

'The means by which the two extraordinary adventurers of that name obtained such important employment from the ablest and fiercest sovereign of the East, would not have borne much respect in our times, which permit no enthusiasms to cover or consecrate the latent views of luxurious ambition. ANTHONY SHIRLEY, the elder brother of Robert, was a dependant on the Earl of Essex, who sent him, in 1598, with some soldiers to fight for the Duke of Ferrara against the Pope; but, by the time they arrived in Italy, the quarrel was reconciled. Essex nevertheless, unwilling that his knight should return to England with the derision of having done nothing, not only consented to his proposal of proceeding to Persia with offer of service to Shah Abbas, whose fame had spread with much renown throughout Europe; but also furnished him with money and bills for the journey. Shirley embarked from Venice in May 1599, with twenty-five followers, some of education, all of resolution, and amongst them his brother Robert, at that time a youth. After various escapes by sea and land, they arrived at Aleppo, where, getting money for their bills, they proceeded in the company of a large caravan to Bagdad, Shirley professing himself a merchant, who expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the

the number of his retinue, excited suspicions, and all he brought was seized at the custom-house; which reduced them to live on the piece-meal sale of the clothes they wore: his anxiety in this situation was observed by a Florentine named Victorio Spiciera, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark for China, and had frequently conversed with Shirley during the journey from Aleppo. He tried by repeated questions to discover his real condition and purpose, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended some signal mischief either against the Turkish empire, or the sovereignty of the Portuguese in India, of which the one was as detestable to his piety, as the other to his traffic: from these motives, mixed perhaps with admiration of a character, *which knew to personate romantic dignity*, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his present situation, but enable him to prosecute his views, whatsoever they might be. The emergency pressed: for the second caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiciera knew, that when the goods which Shirley had pretended to expect, should not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to imprisonment, if not worse. Fortunately, a caravan returning from Mecca to Persia arrived at this time, and encamped under the walls. Spiciera hired amongst them camels, horses, with all other necessaries of travel, and when the caravan was ready to depart, revealed to Shirley the dangers which awaited him, and the measures he had taken for his preservation and success, confirming these assurances by the delivery of a great sum in gold, and many rarities of great value; so much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, because he says it would not be believed. The Florentine left it to his honour to repay him when he could; and, for five days after the departure of the caravan, diverted suspicions of his escape by living in Shirley's house, to whom he pretended to have lent his own, that he might recover in more quiet from a fit of illness; he even requested the governor for his physician, knowing he had none; but was afterwards fined severely for these generous collusions.

'Fifty Janisaries were sent in pursuit of Shirley, but missed the caravan; which employed fifty days on the march to Casbin; where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himself and followers in sumptuous array, to live splendidly, and to make presents; which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Casbin a month after, and was saluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city, when the king distinguished him with the most honourable notice. The next day Shirley sent the king a present of jewels and Italian rarities, which were not only curious, but costly beyond the expectation of homage; and the more he professed that he had come to offer his service on his own account, and at his own expense, the more the king inclined to believe, that the denial was intended, by concealing, to heighten the elegant compliment of his monarch; and at all events, could not resist the complacence of regarding the resort of this band of strangers as a signal proof of the great extent of his own fame; which Shirley took care on all occasions to inculcate.

'It

'It was the way of Shah Abbas, to discern those he employed by familiarities. Shirley was solemn in behaviour, pompous in elocution, quick in apprehension, and guarded in argument; and having served both at land and sea, was capable of suggesting the military ideas of Europe; which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whose ruling passion was the fame of war: he even visited Shirley in his house, to examine a book of fortifications; and having, during a daily converse of six weeks, treated him more with the respect of a guest than the distance of a solicitor, on the very day before his departure to Cassan, declared him a *Mirza* or lord in his service, and referred him to the treasurer; who, as soon as the king was gone, sent to Shirley a present, which consisted of money to the amount of sixteen thousand ducats, forty horses, all accoutred; two, intended for his brother and himself, with saddles plated with gold, and set with rubies and torquoises; the others, with silver and embroidered velvet; twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his house in Casbin, which likewise was bestowed on him: he was ordered to follow the king to Cassan, from whence he accompanied him to Ispahan, and was treated by him with the same deference as before he had accepted his service.

'Daily and artful suggestions prepared the way to the advice which Shirley had long premeditated, that the king should renew the war against the Turks, and depute an ambassador to excite the princes of Christendom to cooperate by land and sea from the west, whilst Persia invaded the Turkish territories on the east: this commission Shirley designed for himself, but avoided the mention. Nevertheless this intention was penetrated by the vizir, and several other of the principal noblemen, who said that the proposal was the artful scheme of a needy adventurer, seeking the sumptuous enjoyment of exalted fortune at the risk of an empire: but the king inclined to the war, which he regarded as inevitable; and reasoned, that if the mission of Shirley should be ineffectual, the detriment would be no more than the loss of the expense, which he foresaw would, even in this event, increase the reputation of his magnificence, without diminishing the solid estimation of his abilities.

'The next morning the king went to Shirley's house, and entered fully into the discussion of the war and embassy to Europe, affecting to expect little hope from it, but to comply merely as a testimony of his extreme regard to Shirley, from whom he had received such undoubted proof of his own, by the fatigue and expense of his journey to Persia, and the risks to which he now offered to expose himself for his service. Shirley, in a very long discourse, explained all the probabilities of his plan:—that the emperor of Germany was already at war with the Turks; that the Pope would excite all the other catholic princes; that the king of Spain was at continual enmity with the government of Algiers, which was subservient to the Turkish empire; that the invitations of the king would attract merchants, and christians of all other arts, trades,

trades, and occupations, who would not only increase the commerce of his country, but introduce new methods and inventions of great utility, especially to the improvement of his warfare; and that the liberal schism of religion, which the king wished to promote as a descendant of Sefi, between his own subjects and the Turks, would be encouraged by the intercourse of christians, whom they would be accustomed to see drinking wine, and exercising other tolerances, which the Turks held in detestation.

'The king still cautiously avoided any expressions which might indicate much expectation, or any solicitude of assistance from the christian princes; in which he properly maintained his own dignity, by not trusting to the report of a stranger such a confession of the hopes or wishes he might entertain; but appeared much content with the probability of drawing European merchants to his country; for the increase of its trade had long been a principal attention of his government. On this ground he consented to the embassy, and required Shirley to undertake it; who, after many apologies of his insufficiency, accepted the commission with as much satisfaction as he had pretended diffidence. Shirley requested, that a young nobleman of distinction, named Assan Cawn, might accompany him, to be the witness of his conduct; which was granted, but soon after revoked by reason of his marriage with an aunt of the king; when Shirley, to conciliate the vizir, and other ministers, accepted Cuchin Allabi, a man of ordinary rank, and suspected character. As Shirley could not pass through the Turkish dominions to Aleppo, excepting in disguise, it was resolved that he should proceed through Russia; which at this time was so little frequented by travellers, and so suspicious of them, that the king sent forward one of his officers as an ambassador to the Czar, in order to announce his mission, and to procure him good reception through the country.

'The day before the day appointed for his departure, the king visited him, as if to recapitulate all the points of the various negociations which he had entrusted to his conduct; and now, with his usual foresight and sagacity, broke his last proposal, which, although dictated by warrantable suspicion, he clothed with the garb of elegant compliment. It was, that Robert Shirley should remain at his court during his brother's absence. Robert was present; and, without waiting his brother's answer, proffered himself to remain. This resolution produced a new arrangement in the retinue of Anthony; and several of his English followers were left with Robert. The king, as the last compliment, according to Shirley's relation, rode with him, when he set out, six miles on the way from Ispahan; and then, he says, took leave of him, not without tears; although they had never spoke to one another, but through an interpreter.

'The travellers were two months, not without evil chances, before they had passed the Caspian to Astrachan, where they found the ambassador sent to the Czar.' p. 381—390.

The tracts on the people of Hindostan contain much information, and are drawn up with great clearness. The author justly

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observes, that 'all general ideas are subject to exception;' and, in fact, we do not always agree with him; but we have not time to enter into any detailed exposition of our ideas on the points of difference. Certainly a very unfavourable impression of the Indian character will be produced on the minds of his readers; although, we fear, an impression but too just. The following are the author's concluding reflections on this subject, reflections less remarkable for originality than for truth.

'Having brought to a conclusion this essay on the government and people of Indostan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

'Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life: I mean poisonings, treachery, and assassinations, in the sons of ambition; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

'I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their religion and their God.

'The sons of liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject; the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear; the body tortured and tormented by punishments inflicted without justice and without measure: such a contrast to the blessings of liberty, heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it.' p. 454.

We could much wish, however, that the writer had entered a little more deeply into an examination of the causes of those evils which he here deplores, and, above all, into the means of remedying them. The legislators of India are under imperious obligations to bestow far greater attention, than they have yet thought proper to allot for that end, on the condition of their Asiatic subjects. It is a condition, in many respects, degraded and deplorable. The Hindoo character seems deficient both in energy and in principle; while all that the Mahomedan possesses of the former is employed in showing his contempt for the latter. To improve the state of these men, to exalt them in the scale of rational beings, to give them knowledge and morals, is therefore an object highly to be desired. We know, indeed, that some persons are for cutting very short all the niceties of this subject, by imputing all the misfortunes of Asia to its connexion with Europe, and by maintaining that one grand revolution in the whole system of our management in India, is the only event from which that quarter of the world can expect any relief. A country governed by a nation of foreigners at a distance of twelve thousand miles, is certainly not in circumstances the most favourable that can be conceived; but, without entering far into the subject,

subject, we will venture here to lay down this canon, that, if we expect any great improvement of the condition of our Asiatic subjects, within any reasonable time, from regulations simply political, we mournfully deceive ourselves. No repeals, no enactments of a political nature will effect this mighty object. Nothing will do, but the direct importation of that knowledge and those arts, which India so much wants, and so little desires.

It will be understood that, in somewhat expanding this sentiment, we are in no way committing ourselves on the important question, by what constitution we may best govern our dependencies in Hindostan. We have by nature, or by second nature, a sore antipathy against all *exclusive companies*, in themselves, whether they are social, commercial, or political; yet we know that these are sometimes necessary plagues, and that a discussion respecting them, especially when they are once established, involves a vast variety of considerations. With respect to our Indian system, on a slight review of it, we should be apt to say, that, on the whole, commercial reasons seem to be against it; and political reasons in its favour. But there are some vulgar misconceptions with regard to the influence of this system on the native population of British India, to which we cannot but advert. This influence is supposed to embody itself in two crying evils; the oppression of our Asiatic subjects during the residence of the British among that body, and the drain of Asiatic wealth at their departure.

That the charge of oppression against the Anglo-Indian residents, had at one time more foundation, cannot be questioned. The representations indeed of this matter were much exaggerated; but, after the average allowance for parallax and refraction, differed from the truth by no considerable error. At present, the increased light that has for some time prevailed through the various departments of the Company's governments; the reforms that have taken place in them; and, much more than all; the state of the judicial department, have materially altered the case. To enlarge here on the items of this statement, even were it possible, is not requisite. It is enough to say, that to suppose the existence of such monstrous abuses as are frequently charged on the constitution of the government alluded to; under the very eye of a pure and efficient system of judicature, is against all reason. The calamities which afflict our fellow-subjects in Hindostan, are of another kind, and have another origin.

On this topic there is much misconception of facts; on the other subject of charge, we mean, the drain of wealth which India sustains by her dependence on this country, there is equal absurdity of reasoning. The true *nidus* of the erroneous senti-

ments that have so often been delivered on this point, and delivered too occasionally in Parliament, we take to be an old pithy saying, with which the echoes of Change-Alley are familiar; namely, that *money should be spent where it is made.* This sapient adage we shall leave unmolested, except by humbly intimating, that there is some little inaccuracy in calling the mere *removal* of wealth, which has been fairly earned, so much clear *loss*; since the very circumstance of its being *earned* implies, that, when first appropriated by an individual, it was replaced by some equivalent, either in labour, or in a more tangible shape. A similar remark applies to this supposed drain of the resources of Hindostan. The fortunes acquired in that country, are ultimately remitted home in the shape of commodities; and if not remitted home, they would be expended in the purchase of commodities on the spot. What difference then can it make, whether an unproductive labourer, (for such, commercially speaking, is a wealthy retired gentleman), having once purchased a given quantity of the raw or worked produce of a country, consumes it in one place or in another, if, in both cases, it be consumed by himself? None, evidently, as to the effect produced, excepting that the scene of consumption gains a clear addition to its stock in his old clothes, and the refuse of his table. It is true, that the kind of commodities which his wealth is expended in purchasing, is not in both cases the same. If he remits his gains home in the form of mercantile articles, his fortune must have, in the first instance, found its way into the hands of the Asiatic artisan; if he lives abroad, it is, in the first instance, employed in buying palaces and bungalows, and maintaining grooms and elephant-drivers. The question which we are considering cannot fail to mind the reader of the absurd lamentations, which we not commonly hear, on the calamities sustained by the Irish exch from the remittances of wealth to Irish absentees in Engl Still we do not deny, that the perpetual efflux of men of wealth and influence from Hindostan, is, in many respects, a real evil; as the absence of great landed proprietors from their estates is a real evil. All we contend for, is, that of these evils the positive diminution, and the ultimate failure of the means and produce of British India, cannot form a part.

British India, therefore, has no reason to look with particular jealousy on the mother country: we wish that her inhabitants experienced as little unkindness from themselves, as they receive at the hands of their British masters. The ignorance and the vices now habitual to that class of men, must be removed before we can hope to make them happier; and these, we repeat it, will never be removed, by regulations of a nature simply political, whether

whether these regulations immediately affect the Company's servants or their Asiatic subjects. England ought, we are satisfied, to make strenuous and *direct* efforts to instruct the native population within her dominions, to enlarge their minds, and to refine their morals. Not a single effort of this kind has hitherto been made; none, at least, worthy of notice.

A state of society is, perhaps, conceivable, in which more, or, at least, not less, may be effected, by diffusing the light of knowledge and morals by political provisions, which, gradually introducing the forms of free government and refinement, and scooping out all the channels of improvement, may induce the latent energies of a people tacitly to develop themselves, than by *immediate* attempts to disseminate knowledge and to create a spirit of improvement. A savage may, in some cases, be more manageable by discipline than by doctrine; and this certainly is the condition of infants, who may be regarded as savages in epitome. The first division of the common lands of a rude tribe into separate portions, though a measure adopted perhaps capriciously, and without any distinct prospect of the advantages likely to come from it, would produce the most important effects on the manners and habits of the uncivilized proprietors. But when a community is already organized, when customs have long been fixed, to readjust or remodel existing institutions, requires great delicacy of hand; for this is to repair a machine in motion. Sudden alterations, could they be made safely, would be made in a great measure fruitlessly; society, however changed, by a sort of *imperfect elasticity*, reverts part of the way to its ancient position; and it is only by a tedious succession of short movements, a small portion of every successive impulse being sacrificed, that any great and permanent revolution can be effected. Besides this, the experiment is doubtful; evils, by the lapse of time, become squared and adapted to each other, and acquire a kind of practical fitness; so that, to remove an evil, is not always to mend matters. Surely, in such a case, the most eligible course is, to transfuse through the mass of the people the *vis vivax* of knowledge and virtue, which will far more quickly and completely bring to pass the desired improvement, than all the municipal regulations in the world. Forms (we say with Mr Hume) are not indifferent; but then their use is, not so much to rouse a dormant, as to enshrine and perpetuate an existing, spirit of moral and intellectual improvement. They must preserve it, rather than create it; they must follow, not lead.

The propositions we have enunciated, are not new; but they apply most emphatically to the question before us. The calmly obstinate attachment of the Hindoos to their usages and institu-

 tions,

tions, has passed into a proverb; and though perhaps somewhat shaken, it is still strong. Every thing among that people is regulated by the *mos majorum* and the book of precedents. With respect to the majority of them, this prejudice, we may observe, is not, like that of the Bramins, a prejudice founded on a clear conviction that their institutions are indissolubly connected with their own interest. It is a mere *animal* affection, not a sentiment; it is not the force of gravitation, but that of *inertia*. Now, such a prejudice as this, at once sturdy and irrational, is of a sort to combine in itself, in the highest possible ratios, the two properties of resisting a direct, and of yielding to a circuitous, attack. It cannot be forced, but it may be cheated. The institution of *castes*, for example, which so preposterously graduates the whole Hindoo community, could not perhaps be effectually destroyed by a series of merely political contrivances, in some centuries; but when once a large quantity of knowledge and moral feeling can be communicated to those that grovel at the foot of the scale, their frightful and fantastic distinctions will quickly and silently disappear; for a people worthy of freedom can never remain slaves.

Of considerations so obvious as these, it may be inquired,—an inquiry certainly at least as useful as it curious,—whence it happens that they have not more imperiously forced themselves on the notice of the legislators of British India? Without declaiming on the defect of foresight and the scantiness of principle too frequent among rulers, topics which yet might afford room for something more solid than declamation, we shall notice one circumstance that may, in the present instance, have tended to throw into the shade the momentous truths, of which we have attempted so rude a delineation. It has been the fortune, perhaps in some respects the *good* fortune of India, to receive laws from a nation infinitely superior to herself in knowledge and in social morality; and hence her internal constitution has acquired some improvements which, by the mere development of its own energies, it could not very speedily have received. Of the advantages thus obtained, the greatest is evidently the upright administration of public justice; for although, in this department, much may be effected by the vigour of an enlightened despot, yet, in the natural order of things, the jurisprudence of a country can never be secured in its purity, until the judicial power be laid at the feet of public opinion. India, however, has derived her judges and her counsellors from the West, men, not only furnished with those ideas and feelings which can by matured only among a free and enlightened people, but also exercising their functions, though at the distance of so many hundred leagues, under

under the eyes of their countrymen at home. In this manner she has received some warmth of light from the very reflexion of British liberty; and the populace of England may be said, unconsciously, to have become guarantees for the rights of their fellow-subjects in the East. But it should never be forgotten, that the benefits thus circuitously conveyed, are necessarily of limited extent; the pure administration of justice, though a good thing, is not every thing; in the civil constitution of that country, a hundred evils remain unremedied, and perhaps by any political provisions irremediable; nor is it unimportant to remark, that the very circumstance of the governors of India being foreigners, must necessarily render them singularly tender and scrupulous in endeavouring to organize afresh that distorted frame of society, which has so thoroughly warped and choked her natural capabilities.

We have now taken a rapid view of this subject, and can only leave it to the consideration of those who have a proper feeling of its importance. Whether our sentiments are just or not, of this we feel confident, that we do not overrate the magnitude of the questions at issue. India has long been considered by all well-informed men, a vital member of the British empire; as a brilliant theatre for our prowess, and an efficient source of our wealth. How ardently is it to be wished that the time may arrive, when it shall be rather quoted as a scene of more solid glory, as distinguished by our paternal government, and our triumphs over ignorance and barbarism!

ART. X. *Observations upon the Marine Barometer made during the Examination of the Coasts of New Holland and New South Wales, in the Years* 1801, 1802, *and* 1803. By Mathew Flinders, Esq. Commander of his Majesty's Ship Investigator, in a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. F. R. S. &c. &c. &c. (*From Phil. Trans. Pt. II. for* 1806.)

THESE observations are of considerable importance, both to meteorological science, and to the practice of navigation. In the former point of view, we look upon them with peculiar satisfaction, as tending to remove the stigma so long attached to meteorology,—that it is wholly conversant in details, and unconnected with general principles. These observations of Captain Flinders, are by no means liable to such an imputation. He kept a regular journal of the weather by three daily notices; but he has selected from his diary only such parts as can be

compared and classified, and as lead, of consequence, to some general conclusions. The value of his remarks to the practical navigator is equally apparent; for the rough statement of his general inference is, that he furnishes a kind of test, whereby the neighbourhood of land may be ascertained in unknown seas, and gives us a new means of correcting some former criteria of changes in the weather. Captain Flinders collected his observations during a voyage of discovery in which he was engaged. After bringing it to as satisfactory a conclusion as certain untoward circumstances would permit, he was most unfortunately captured, and carried into the Isle of France, from whence the interesting communication before us is dated. It gives us real satisfaction to think, that, after so many hardships, his long captivity is now likely to be ended, in consequence of the good understanding which, so much to the honour of both parties, has not ceased to subsist between the Royal Society and the National Institute. The marine barometer, with which these observations were made, was one that had been used in Captain Cook's voyages. Its height was regularly taken at day-break, noon, and eight in the evening; as was also the height of the thermometer.

The most important inference to which Captain Flinders has been led by his observations, relates to a connexion between the rise or fall of the barometer, and the direction of the wind in respect of sea or land. He has found, almost universally, during his examination of the New Holland coasts, that for some time previous to the wind shifting, the barometer was affected; that when the wind blowing from the land veered round and came from the sea, the mercury rose; that a contrary change of wind sunk it; and that, although these changes of the barometer did not always arrive at their *maximum* until the corresponding changes in the direction had taken place, yet the approaching change of wind might be in general predicted from an incipient rise or fall of the mercury. In proof of these conclusions, he has rather given us specimens of his most decisive observations, than a display of the whole evidence by which he was led to them; for, indeed, this would be equivalent to a copy of his journals. And among the specimens which he has selected, we shall mention one or two of the most striking, in order to show on what kind of proofs his inferences rest.

We consider the two observations which follow as peculiarly conclusive. They are taken from the navigation of the south coast. Three degrees to the E. of Entrecasteaux's Archipelago, the wind blowing from E. S. E., the mercury fell to 29.65; and, in two hours after, the wind came from W. N. W. very light. The

wind

wind then veered round to S. S. W. clear of the land, and the mercury rose to 29.95, though the wind was strong and the weather thick. As the wind shifted round to S. E. it rose to 30.16, and the weather became clear. This was altogether a sea wind; but, though the fine weather continued, the mercury fell again to 29.73, on the wind passing round to N. N. E., which was off the land. The wind then shifted once more to S. W.; and though it blew fresh, with thick weather, the mercury began to ascend, and performed the same revolutions of rise and fall, on the wind and weather going again through the same routine.

In going up one of the inlets on the southern coast, they had fresh breezes from S. S. W. to S. S. E., with both clear and thick weather; but the mercury rose gradually from 30.08 to 30.22. A land wind, with finer weather, sunk it to below 30; and it fell to 29.56 when the wind became variable. The wind then blew steadily from the S.; and this was preceded by a rise of the mercury to 29.94; it continued rising to 30.28, and fell to 29.90 on the wind becoming variable, and then falling altogether. After this calm, the mercury began to rise, and a gale came on. The gale began in the N. W., but shifted suddenly to S. S. W., where it continued with much violence, and the mercury rose to 30.25.

From such observations as these, it appears that a land wind on the south coast made the mercury fall, and a sea wind caused it to rise, without any reference to the thickness or clearness of the weather. So satisfied was Captain Flinders of this position, that on one occasion he seems to have regulated his conclusions respecting the direction of the coast according to his barometrical observations. For, on the coast of the Isle of St Francis of Nuyts, finding the mercury standing much lower than it ever had done before with easterly, and chiefly S. E. winds, he concluded that the land must trend more to the southward than had been supposed. The coast was then unknown to him; but his subsequent navigation proved that the conjecture was well founded.

In case the foregoing inferences, drawn from observations on the south coast, should be affected by the direction of the winds, and not by their reference to the land or sea, Captain Flinders proceeds to give us the result of his observations on the east coast of New Holland. The evidence afforded by his barometrical journal, during a stay of ten weeks at Port Jackson, is peculiarly conclusive in favour of the inferences afforded by the navigation of the south coast. Easterly winds, almost always accompanied with rainy and squally weather, were foretold and

accompanied

accompanied by a rise of the barometer. The mercury generally stood, during their continuance, at 30.20; higher if the wind came from south of E. S. E.; lower if it came from the north of that point. Settled winds from W. N. W. and S. W. with fine weather, made the mercury fall, and during their continuance it stood at 29.60; and Colonel Paterson, commander of the troops at Port Jackson, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, has, it seems, adopted a rule of foretelling changes of weather the very reverse of the common one. He always expects bad weather when the mercury rises, and fine weather, with westerly winds, when it falls. It is to be remarked, that the very winds which raised the barometer on the south coast, viz. W. S. W. and S. W., caused it here to fall; and those which lowered the barometer on the south coast, viz. N. E., caused it here to rise. On both coasts, winds from S. S. W., S. E., and round to E., raised the mercury, being in both cases sea winds. While winds from N. round to W. N. W. being land winds in both cases, made the mercury fall on both coasts.

On the results of these observations, and of the foregoing comparison between the journals of the barometer on the two coasts, Captain Flinders justly placed great reliance. He seemed to have established it as a general fact, that in those seas the rise of the mercury was an indication of an approaching sea wind, and its fall of a wind from the shore. It is very easy for us, speculating in our closet upon the theory of winds and their connexion with the barometer, to talk of drawing a general inference on this subject *with confidence*. But when the philosopher chances to be a seaman on a very dangerous coast, it will be admitted that the strength of this confidence is put to a test somewhat more severe; and we find, nevertheless, that Captain Flinders staked the safety of his ship, and the existence of himself and his crew on the truth of the above proposition. We formerly (No. IV. Art. *American Transactions*) gave a remarkable instance of the prompt and successful application of scientific inquiries to a practical purpose, in our account of Mr Strickland's admirable remarks upon the use of the thermometer to navigators in the gulf stream. The following passage, which we extract from the paper of Captain Flinders, is equally interesting in the same point of view.

'The barometer was of great service to me in the investigation of this dangerous part of the east coast, where the ship was commonly surrounded with rocks, shoals, islands, or coral reefs. Near the main land, if the sea breeze was dying off at night, and the mercury descending, I made no scruple of anchoring near the shore, knowing that it would either be a calm, or a wind would come off the land; but if the

mercury

mercury kept up, I ſtretched off, in the expectation that it would freſhen up again in a few hours. Amongſt the barrier reefs, when the wind was dying away, the barometer told me, almoſt certainly, from what quarter it would next ſpring up. If the mercury ſtood at 30.15, or near it, and was riſing, I expected the proper trade wind; and if higher, that it would be well from the ſouthward, or would blow freſh; and if it was up to 30.30, both. The falling of the mercury to 30.10 was an indication of a breeze from the north-eaſtward; and its deſcent below 30 inches, that it would ſpring up, or ſhift round to the weſtward. This regularity of connexion between the barometer and the direction of the wind, is perhaps too great to be expected at a different time of the year; and it is probable, that we ſhould not have found it continue ſo ſtrictly, had our ſtay amongſt the barrier reefs been much prolonged.' p. 251, 252.

During Captain Flinders's navigation on the north side of New Holland, the state of the ship, which was disabled, or rather worn out by hard service, obliged him to return before he had nearly completed his examination of that coast. His observations on the barometer, therefore, are much less perfect in this branch of his voyage, and are, besides, less satisfactory from the smallness of its variations in that low latitude. One general conclusion was, however, pretty uniformly presented by them. Winds from N. and N. W., which made the mercury stand lower than any other on the south and east coasts, raised it on the outer part of the north coast even with worse weather: while winds from S. E., which made the mercury stand highest on the south and east coasts, depressed it on the north. It appears likewise, that the S. W. wind raises the mercury on the south and west coasts, depresses it on the east, and makes it fall lower than any other on the north. Captain Flinders observes, very justly, that in considering these general facts, we should keep in view the different effects which different winds produce on the barometer at sea in the southern hemisphere, when no land is near enough to affect their course. It is known that a south wind, in such circumstances, tends to raise the mercury, and a north wind to depress it, probably from the greater density of the air carried by the former; and, in like manner, an east wind raises, and a west depresses the mercury, from what cause it is not so easy to discovery. These circumstances must be kept in view, as modifying the conclusions which we may draw from barometrical observations, where the vicinity of land interferes. Thus, when a south wind appears on the north coast to depress the mercury somewhat, and a north wind to raise it, we must consider that the *real* effect of the land is much greater than this difference; because, were there no land in the neighbourhood, the south wind would raise the mercury, and the north would depress it.

Captain

Captain Flinders gives an ingenious and very sensible theory to explain these effects of land and sea winds. He thinks the first portion of air brought in from the sea is forced upwards by the land which it encounters, but in a slanting direction along the inclined plane of the land: the next portion is stopt and pushed upwards in like manner; but has a shorter space to pass through, inasmuch as the former portion goes along the two sides, and the latter along the third side of an obtuse angled triangle: the succeeding portions of air, in this manner, meet the summit of the land before the first portions, and cause the latter to eddy and stagnate; therefore, a stream of air in blowing above this portion in a slanting direction, and compressing it to a great degree, its density is thus increased. Captain Flinders has not given us any means of bringing this explanation to the test, by observations on two points, which would nearly decide the matter; *first*, the effects of distance from the shore; *secondly*, the effects of various kinds of coast. If his theory is just, the sea wind cannot raise the mercury at any great distance from the shore, and must raise it to different heights at different distances; and this range must be affected by the height of the land against which the wind blows. It is needless to add, that both Captain Flinders's theory, and this remark on the means of proving or disproving it, apply conversely to the effects of land winds in depressing the mercury.

This interesting paper concludes with some general remarks, calculated to assist practical navigators in the judgments which they may form of the approaching changes of weather, or of wind, by consulting the barometer. Of these it is not necessary to make any abridgement. But we cannot close this article, without expressing our sincere regret at the confinement which Captain Flinders has already undergone, in addition to the necessary hardships of his undertaking, and our hopes that a speedy release may restore him to this country, and to the republic of science, which he is so well qualified to serve with distinction.

Art. XI. *Reasons for not making Peace with Buonoparte.* By William Hunter, Esq. 8vo. pp. 78. London. Stockdale. 1806.

This is indeed but a middling pamphlet; and we admit that an apology is due to our readers for inserting an account of it in this Journal. This apology, however, is very easily found, in the nature of the subject, and the lamentable extent to which the

prejudices

prejudices of the author prevail. It is too true, that the bulk of the people in this country hold the same opinions which Mr Hunter has very unnecessarily recommended, by wrapping them up in a great deal of indifferent eloquence. The cry which he makes against peace, is, we fear, still the war-hoop of a vast proportion of our countrymen. No doubt they will open their eyes, in the course of time, to the folly of such sentiments; but much, perhaps irreparable, mischief may be done both to this country and to the continent, while the delusion lasts; and it is the duty of all good citizens, who do not suffer under the same malady, to contribute their endeavours towards accelerating the cure of their less fortunate brethren.

As to Mr Hunter, we believe he is, like many of the partizans of eternal war, a perfectly well-meaning man. From a retrospect of his former pamphlets, we find him also to be a consistent one. We respect him as such; and our respect is proportioned to the value of honesty and consistency in political writers, and to the rarity of such qualities in the present times. We differ, however, with him in every one sentiment which he expresses on this grave subject; and we have the additional misfortune of not admiring the manner in which he brings forward his opinions. If we enter a little into the question, (and we shall touch upon it at no great length on the present occasion), let it not be said that we are devoting the pages of a literary journal to discussions of party politics, and to the shortlived topics of the day. The question at issue is one of universal occurrence in the affairs of nations, as it is one of paramount importance; for there is nothing in Mr Hunter's *arguments* (may we call them?) against peace, which will not apply to every war as well as the present; and if we are to blame with him the late attempt at negociation, we see no grounds upon which any effort to rescue mankind from the first of all evils, can ever be defended.

Mr Hunter's leading position is, that peace with France must not be thought of while her present chief magistrate has any influence in her affairs. After stating this generally, and exhorting the country 'to throw away a useless scabbard, since we can only sheathe the sword to our shame or our destruction,' he suspends the reasonings 'on which he has founded an *unalterable judgment*,' in order to insert a laboured panegyric upon the third coalition. Into this field we have no mind to follow him. In truth, we find ourselves bewildered at the outset; for if that league 'was the most formidable that ever sprang up in the European commonwealth'—if it was 'of all leagues the one which appeared best calculated to insure a successful issue'—if 'every thing was done

done towards its success which depended on England'—if 'no precaution on our part was overlooked—no arrangement or combination wanting—nothing omitted which political sagacity could accomplish or devise,' we are altogether at a loss to fancy how it could have failed. Mr Hunter, indeed, gives us a long harangue against success, which, it would appear, is a matter of no importance in politics; and he adds the following sentence, in which we entirely concur, so far as we we comprehend it. 'All that depends on man,' says he, 'in speculating on the contingency of future events, is, to *deliberate coolly*, to resolve firmly, to rouse inactivity, to *repress rashness*, to *weigh times and circumstances*, to quadrate *ends with means.*' (p. 8.) This contains, we believe, the whole secret of our failures in continental affairs; and we find, at least, as good a reason for the ruin of the third coalition, in the above description of how it should have been formed, as in our author's subsequent commentaries upon the history of its fate. According to him, this best of possible plans miscarried from the unlucky concurrence of *seven* impossible events, together with the 'total absence of common sense' on the part of the enemy. Now, as this account of the matter is extremely ingenious, and as our readers may probably think it impossible for any man to print such a thing, we shall extract the following passage, to convince them of its existence.

'Had even one of those chances which followed each other with such rapidity, and which no human foresight could imagine, failed, Buonaparte was undone. The defection of the elector of Bavaria; the premature movements of Austria, both in point of distance and time; the cowardice or treachery of Mack; the hesitation of the King of Prussia; the stupidity of the prince of Auersberg; the indiscretion of the Emperor of Russia; and, lastly, the treaty of Presburg;—such was the development of events, which, before they happened, appeared placed beyond the verge of possibility, and which yet were all indispensably necessary to Buonaparte's success. Is then Mr Pitt, who had so little to do with the execution, to be made responsible for such disasters; or can they, on any just grounds, be ascribed to the ascendancy of Buonaparte's genius? Allowing him, as I readily do, every credit for his celerity and decision, I cannot but think that his conduct, in other respects, was strongly illustrative of a total absence, not only of political sagacity, but of common sense. People say—he was still successful. He certainly was—But how often is success a false criterion to judge by? and, in this instance, it does not in the least exonerate him from the charge of the most irrational temerity. I say, and I ever will say, that Buonaparte,' &c. &c. (p. 10, 11.)

Now we conceive that Mr Hunter, and the large body of the people whose sentiments he speaks, are reduced to a very troublesome dilemma, when they at once extol the wisdom of the third coalition,

coalition, and cry out for more wars. If that scheme was perfect in itself, and yet entirely failed, what hope can we entertain of any other succeeding? Do not these well-meaning and high spirited persons admit that peace is worth a trial, when they argue that all the genius and wisdom of man have been exhausted in vain upon plans of war? Really they must not expect to maintain in security incompatible positions, to feed the country with new hopes from new coalitions, and to cram it at the same time with the paradox, that the former leagues were faultless. But then, it will be said, this is no answer to those who, upon the principle of Demosthenes, would raise the spirits of the people for new attempts, by proving that the failure hitherto has been their own fault; and those who expose the errors of the third coalition, may be called upon to admit the possibility of trying a fourth under the influence of wiser principles. The answer is very simple and short. If the third coalition failed, chiefly because it was premature, a fourth was not likely to succeed nine months after Austria had been ruined. And where are we now, a few weeks after the annihilation of Prussia? If, unhappily, we must continue to wage war until Mr Hunter's *sine quâ non* is obtained, viz. the political death of the French ruler, or, '*at least*, a material diminution of his power and success, the dissolution of all his dependent governments, and the deposition of all his mushroom kings;' let us open our eyes to the kind of hostility which we must expect, and not for the fifth time expect, what is a thousand times more chimerical than ever, the liberation of the continent by any efforts of ours. Let us fairly look at our case, and not talk of war as the means of humbling our enemy. If we must make war, let us deplore the hard necessity; but if we wish to avoid disappointment, and indeed disgrace too, it will be prudent not to conceive the least hopes of bettering our condition by it. To hear such men as Mr Hunter talk of freeing Europe, and humbling France, one would really think that ships could sail by land, and take strong places among hills and woods. That our enemy, having almost all Europe at his feet, and reducing to act on the defensive the little which remains unconquered, should be subdued in Tobago or Pondicherry, and compelled to receive terms from us, in virtue of the number of sugar canes which we hold, is among the less revolting positions of the party for whom Mr Hunter speaks.

But this enemy of ours,—it is not very easy to perceive why, whether that he wished for repose, or had thoughts of gaining a colonial and commercial superiority, or from whatever motive,—offered to treat for peace. The bare idea of negociating with him, shocks our warlike politician. He is perfidious and cruel,

and full of ambition, and a tyrant both at home and abroad. In short, Mr Hunter makes him out to be worse than the worst of mankind. But he is not content with this, and he will have him also to be a very little genius. On this subject he is, he tells us, very sore, whether from any personal rivalry, he does not say. 'When I hear people prostituting the epithet of *great*, in its application to Buonaparte, I confess that I feel a mixture of horror and indignation which no language can communicate.' And then we have the old school-boy story, of true greatness being this and that; and, in short, whatever excludes from all title to the name, all the men who have ever been admired for their talents and fortunes. In this, as in other parts of his tract, our author introduces personal anecdotes, without quoting any authority; and though we have no doubt he believes them himself, yet we cannot help remarking that they are mere common stories, which may be either true or false. The worst of these anecdotes is, that some of them tend manifestly to keep up the vain hopes of the people of this country, and will therefore be credited upon the slightest authority. Such are the stories of the army at Boulogne having treated 'his gasconades against England with becoming levity and ridicule,' (which Mr Hunter thinks was the cause of the war against Austria) p. 12.—of Bonaparte *never daring* to enter Vienna while he was near it, (p. 14.); of the *most mournful silence* which prevailed at his coronation, and all but the lowest rabble refusing to go to the theatres, though these were thrown open at the public expense, (p. 29.); of every one in France praying for his defeat, and lamenting his victories, (ibid.); of the audience in the theatres shewing the most *sarcastic contempt* when any allusions were made to his triumphs, (ibid.); of his not only cutting the tables and breaking the windows in the Tuilleries (which may be true, though it is not proved by merely going there and seeing the tables cut and windows broken, p. 24.); but tearing to pieces the treaty made by Lord Lauderdale, when it only wanted the signatures, (p. 66)., which we know cannot be true, in as much as no treaty ever was written. All these stories have a very bad effect; and he who nourishes the people's prejudices by retailing them on light grounds, is greatly deceived if he thinks himself a more true friend to his country, or a more formidable enemy to Bonaparte, than he who tries to open the eyes of the multitude and promote sentiments of a conciliatory nature; or, if peace be hopeless, to prepare them for a generous and dignified warfare.

After declaiming at great length, and we really believe with much honest zeal, against a character, certainly not too much beloved in this country, Mr Hunter alludes, with very just indignation,

nation, to his usurpations all over Europe; to the unparalleled success, in short, which has attended his arms and his politics, partly owing to his own talents, partly to the follies of his enemies, and to those of England more than any other;—a subject, we are ready to admit, of very deep regret, and to us of salutary repentance. But our author views it with less temper. He asks,

'Is the public law of Europe to be annulled by the mere mandates of this turbulent upstart? Is the dismissal of hereditary kings from their thrones, and the elevation of base-born scoundrels to their stations, to be regarded as occurrences no longer entitled to resistance, and even unworthy of notice? Are the dissolutions of old governments to be supplanted by the daily innovations of caprice, and the continent of Europe to be bound in the fetters of military despotism, without remonstrance or murmur? Is every corner of the earth to be ransacked for proscribed individuals to feed the voracity, and, as far as human life can effect it, to glut the base revenge and sanguinary cruelty of this barbarous assassin? The question is—Is all this to be tamely endured, or valiantly resisted?' p. 22.

Now, with much deference to Mr Hunter, we conceive that this is not at all to the purpose, because there is a previous question to be put—'*Can* all this be resisted with the least prospect of success? What will our *valiantly* talking work against all these great evils? Will such valour cost us less than war after war, or buy us more than defeat after defeat?' And this previous question we must put upon every one of Mr Hunter's and Mr Gentz's, and every other writer's motions for new coalitions. To argue the point is quite needless. They never have looked at it. They run heedlong to the opposite side of the post, and think that they have arrived at the conclusion in favour of *more wars*, when they have only told us that we are greatly in want of more victories. In truth, it is a pity to see so much talent and zeal thrown away. To prove that France is a great deal too powerful—that the rest of Europe is in a sorry condition—that it would be desirable to undo every thing which the enemy has done for the last fifteen years—and that the world would greatly benefit by the restoration of a better order of things than he has established, is an attempt somewhat too easy for the aspiring authors of the present age. We venture to point out a theme for them, of more use, at least of much more difficulty. Let them fairly and calmly discuss the question, 'Whether shall we lose or gain most by continuing the present contest, admitting always that we have the choice; and whether the continuance of it is most likely to injure the enemy, or ourselves and our allies?' No war ought ever to be entered upon, nor ought any attempts for peace to be reprobated, without a previous discussion of this great question, with all the calmness which its mighty import renders decent, and in all its

various bearings and branches. The occasion for entering upon this question has too often occurred of late years, and has now once more arrived. We do not, however, purpose at present to undertake so large a discussion. We shall content ourselves with pointing out a few considerations, which ought to be kept in view by those who wish to make up their minds upon the subject.

First of all, they ought to give over that unmanly abuse of a powerful enemy, which Mr Burke so eloquently reprobated in his earlier writings; and which, even in his latter days, he cannot justly be accused of patronizing, because there was then some danger of men running into the opposite extreme. If we are to negotiate, let it be in the spirit of peace; and when peace shall be made, let it not be that kind of accommodation between the two governments which did not prevent the two nations from being at war, after the treaty of Amiens. If unhappily we must still wage war, let us, as Mr Burke phrased it, 'fight against Philip, and not rail at him.'* For surely the end of hostility is peace; and unless your abuse can overcome the enemy, it is better not to use a weapon which removes that desirable object to a greater distance.

Next, we must deprecate the modern practice of going to battle blindfolded. It is not enough that we should call our enemy names, in order to increase our hatred of him; it seems we must underrate his force, in order to keep up our courage. The custom, some years ago, was to think that France would not face regular armies. This being unhappily disproved by the fact of her beating them, we still thought the thing impossible, but were obliged to believe it. Then she was in the gulf of bankruptcy, and must disband her forces for want of pay before next campaign. The pleasant invention of '*Recettes Exterieures*' delayed for a while the exposition of this mockery; and to the present day there are many who build castles both in Spain and France, upon no better foundation. The ruin of her colonies and navigation was the next thing that hoodwinked us; and how imperfectly we have recovered our sight in this quarter, may be learnt from the prospects still painted by such writers as Mr Gentz and Mr Hunter, and especially the latter, who gravely assures us that France is utterly ruined for want of money, though she 'has corn, wine and oil in abundance.' p. 32. Then came the solid argument, that France, being thus half ruined, only exhibiting a factitious appearance of wealth, a new war would ruin her entirely. Austria, however, was ruined in her stead. But Prussia was not Austria, and a number of proofs were soon found out that the French army

* European Settlements.

army had hitherto not met the proper match. This was indeed true; but it did not follow that Prussia should be more strong than her neighbours. And now that she has been torn from the European body, another illusion is not wanting. We must needs feed upon new hopes from Muscovy. Now, what we pretend to maintain is, that we should once for all give up every expectation of conquering France, or of seeing her exhausted by the war, or of enjoying the spectacle of a restoration of the old government by our fighting at sea, and our allies trying to defend themselves on shore, or of witnessing the political humiliation of that powerful and military people by any commercial difficulties whatever. If we are to fight, let us know the length of our weapon and the distance of our adversary. To talk of beating some millions of soldiers, by campaigning on the sea, is about as wise as to brandish a sword in the air when your adversary is two swords' lengths off.

Akin to these follies, or perhaps the apology for them, is that cry, so constantly set up, about the necessity of keeping the people in spirits; and this might really have some meaning, if our defence were entrusted to volunteers or a levy *en masse*—if our revenue was raised by voluntary contributions—if our seamen were obtained by the operations of patriotism, or fought without discipline. In that case, it might be worth considering, whether self-defence did not authorise some *trick* for the purpose of animating the country, even although that deception might in the end spread to the rulers who used it, and encourage the people who were duped by it, in their lust for war. But it is quite fair to consider these natural evils of the self-deceiving system, when we are wisely improving our regular forces, as our only chance of being defended—when our revenue is raised, certainly not by voluntary donation, unless, indeed, people are supposed to buy lottery tickets and drink spirits on public principles—when our sailors are not hurried into ships by their patriotic feelings, but by the more sure operation of press-gangs.

Now, these general considerations, we think, ought to regulate the examination of the great question relative to peace and war; and if they produce their full effect upon the mind of the inquirer, we have very little doubt respecting the issue of the discussion. To apply them in this manner, is not our present intention. We must however observe, that if we only open our eyes to the relative situation of French and English influence on the Continent, we shall be convinced how much less chimerical the idea of conquering France was in 1793, than the dream of delivering Germany is in 1807. Our views of success will then be confined to maritime and colonial affairs; and we shall probably perceive how much more excuseable the hopes of ruining the

French resources, by capturing ships and sugar islands, were in those days, when St Domingo had not been lost, and the French navy, both military and commercial, was entire. Extending the same survey, we may possibly discover the difference between hampering our enemy's trade, which is possible, and entirely preventing him from importing and exporting, which no naval superiority can effect. We may also learn, how easy it is to injure a number of individuals without ruining a nation; and how great a difference there is between hurting a nation in its trade, and destroying, or even materially affecting, its military power. From such considerations as these, will arise a suspicion, that there are certain limits to a maritime warfare, carried on against commerce, as long as any nations remain neuter in the contest—that those limits are nearly reached, when one of the belligerent powers has attained a great superiority—that, beyond them, all is tear and wear, and manifold expense with little gain. It will likewise occur, that, for political purposes, naval power is in its own nature defensive; while military greatness is calculated for attack, and meets with no limits until it has overrun the world. And thus, the inquirer may be led to a very uncomfortable prospect, if he should chance to be resolved against making peace; for, upon comparing the gain of the two belligerent powers by a maritime warfare, he will probably find, that the one pays just as much for defending itself, as the other does for conquering on all hands. If he then turns his view to colonial projects, he will find some little relief; but, even here, he may be disposed to guess, that colonies, like gold, may be bought too dear; and, considering how general the restoration of these distant settlements is at a peace, and, indeed, how well supplied we already are with them, a doubt may arise, whether it be not as wise to make peace now, instead of carrying on the war in order to lose some possessions, and gain some equivalents which may buy them back. As money is always the last consideration in this generous and wealthy age, our inquirer will only, in the last place, come to think of the cost. But it will be far wiser to think of it *before* a few years of the most glorious and successful war have brought this part of the question home to him, through the medium of stamps and schedules, and perhaps commissions of bankruptcy, if he be a holder of stock.* Certain other views we leave entirely out of the question; for no man can be so romantic as to expect, that any person, now-a-days, will think about

* Such things, indeed, do not alarm reasoners like Mr Hunter, who gravely talks of the cheerfulness with which he would pay *ten* times the present taxes, which is unfortunately quite impossible.

about the lives and limbs which a war costs; or the people whom it beggars, when they can no longer pay taxes; or the vineyards and fields, and happy villages which it lays waste. All these things, happening many whole leagues from this country, or affecting only the middling orders of the people, are a great way distant from, or far beneath the consideration of our lovers of war. But if they will contemplate the chance of all such evils reaching even to this country, and the certainty of some of them spreading upwards in society, they may possibly add one to the foregoing reasons for excusing all attempts to obtain peace on tolerably good terms for ourselves and our allies. They may rise from the inquiry which we have ventured to recommend, somewhat less delighted with the failure of such wise and virtuous efforts; and, if this good end should not have been gained, they will at least look, with less hazard of being disappointed, towards the prospects which a perpetual war holds out.

Art. XII. *Mercurio Peruano de Historia, Literatura y Noticias publicas.* 12 vol. Lima, 1791—1794.

The *Mercurio Peruano* was a periodical paper published at Lima in 1791 and the following years. It was the production of a private society associated for that purpose, under the name of *Amantes de Lima.* This society was composed of persons of some consequence and consideration in the place, and of various descriptions and situations in life. Several of its members held offices in the government, which gave them access to the best sources of information on many subjects; and the rest of them were respectable ecclesiastics, lawyers and physicians. The plan of their miscellany was comprehensive. Its chief object was to illustrate the topography and local history of Peru, and to give an account of the arts, agriculture, mines, commerce and navigation of that kingdom: but it also admitted pieces of poetry and criticism; observations on the character, manners, education and public amusements of the people of Lima; and dissertations on natural history, mineralogy, chemistry, and medicine. The first number made its appearance on the 2d of January 1791; and from that time a paper was published regularly twice a week, till the end of 1794, when it was allowed to drop, in consequence of some of the principal members of the society having returned to Spain. The whole set of papers forms a collection of twelve volumes in octavo, eleven of which have lately fallen into our hands; and as the work is little known in this country, we propose to give a short abstract of some part of their contents.

Soon after the *Mercurio* appeared, a violent outcry was raised against it, and every sort of misrepresentation used to bring it into discredit, and put it down. But the firmness of the viceroy, who declared himself its protector, supported it against this opposition; and its success was at length so complete, and its reputation so well established, that its authors, who had at first concealed their names under fictitious signatures, were encouraged to avow themselves, and acknowledge their respective shares in the publication. From the publicity thus given to the authors of the *Mercurio*, we learn that the contributors to it were numerous, but that the most valuable communications were received from D. Joseph Rossi y Rubi, member of the royal tribunal of mines; D. Joseph Baguijano y Carrillo, professor of canon law in the university of St Mark; D. Joseph Maria Egana, superintendant of the police of Lima; and D. Ignacio Joseph de Leguanda, accountant-general of the customs.

Like all works in which many persons are concerned, the papers of the *Mercurio Peruano* are of very unequal merit. But they are in general distinguished by good sense, and freedom from prejudice; and their authors seem to be men of liberal minds. In some of the papers, we should have been better pleased with a plainer and less ambitious style, and have forgiven the authors if they had been less solicitous about ornament, and dealt less in metaphor. But we entreat our readers not to form their idea of the defects of the *Mercurio Peruano*, in these respects, from a translation of some of its first numbers, published at London under the imposing title of 'the Present State of Peru.' We can assure them, that whatever faults or obscurities of style or reasoning exist in the original, they are multiplied and augmented, without bounds, in the translation; and we will even venture to affirm, that, whether from ignorance or carelessness, or from both conjoined, a less faithful and more incorrect version of an original was never before obtruded on the public. *

We

* That we may not be accused of passing so severe a judgment without cause, we have subjoined a few sentences of the translation, compared with the original, from which our readers will be able to decide for themselves.

Present State of Peru. *Translation.*	Mercurio Peruano. *Original.*
Nature at times enriches them, p. 71.	*La naturaleza algunas veces los engana*, I. 22.; nature sometimes deceives them.

if

We apprehend that the best use we can make of these volumes, will be to extract from them what appears to us most original and interesting in their contents, and, without regard to the order in which our extracts are to be found in the original, to present them to our readers in a somewhat connected form. On a subject so little known and so interesting as the present state of South America, we trust that no apology is required for such a proceeding. Where *our* set of the *Mercurio* is incomplete, we shall borrow without scruple from the *Viagero Universal*, the author of which has compiled his account of Peru from the *Mercurio Peruano*, and the *Guia*, published annually at Lima.

Extent and Population of Peru.

Peru is much less at present than it was under the Incas. It was disjoined from Quito in 1718, and sustained a still greater diminution in 1778, by the separation of Potosi and other provinces on its south-east frontier, which were annexed to the viceroyalty

Tranſlation.	*Original.*
if we may judge from, p. 80.	*á peſar de*, I. 209. ; notwithſtanding:
reduced to the ſad neceſſity of toiling for thoſe by whom they were to be ſucceeded, p. 82.	*baſta el triſte eſtado de echar en ſuerte el que ſirvieſe de alimento de las demas*, I. 211. ; reduced to the ſad condition of caſting lots, which ſhould be firſt devoured by his companions.
very much to the purpoſe, p. 93.	*muy á los principios*, I. 223. ; very early.
the funds, p. 143.	*los fondos*, I. 95. ; lands and houſes.
banking houſes, p. 144.	*las fondas*, I. 95. ; inns.
arraigns the depraved taſte, p. 212.	*arrayga el guſto depravado*, I. 28 ; confirms or fixes the depraved taſte.
ſomewhat leſs of violence in the declamations, p. 212.	*menos exercicio en los apuntadores*, I. 29. ; leſs interference on the part of the prompters.
diſabuſed time of life, p. 221.	*una edad deſenganada*, I. 34. ; an age paſt the illuſions of youth.
the temple of ſpring, p. 26.	*temple de primavera*, IV. 15. ; temperature of ſpring.

We forbear, for want of room, to cite ſome of the paſſages of the tranſlation moſt remarkable for inflation and obſcurity of diction, and for a total confuſion of the metaphors, and perverſion of the reaſonings of the original.

royalty of the Rio Plata. It extends at present nearly 300 geographical leagues in length, from the river Tumbez, on the north, to the Sierra of Vilcanota, the boundary which separates it from the Rio Plata; but along the coast it stretches about 120 leagues further to the south, to the desert of Atacama. Its breadth is extremely variable, but exceeds not 80 leagues at a medium. Its square contents are estimated at 33,628¼ square leagues. It is divided into 49 districts (*partidos*), and contains 1360 townships (*pueblos*).

The population of Peru, by the last *census*, amounted to 1,076,122 persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions; but the *census* was made with so little care, and the Indians have so many motives to conceal their numbers, that the returns were considerably under the real population. The highest estimate, however, does not raise the population of Peru above 1,400,000 persons; and the more probable opinion is, that it does not exceed 1,300,000. Four tenths or more of this population are Indians. The remainder is made up of European Spaniards, Spanish Creoles, Mestizoes, Negroes, Mulattoes, and Samboes. *

The European Spaniards are either persons in office, employed in the military, civil, or ecclesiastical departments of the state, or mere adventurers, without fortune, credit, or connexions, who, in defiance of the laws, have escaped to America, in the expectation of acquiring, there, wealth and consequence. The greater part of this description of emigrants perish miserably, from the effects of their poverty and vices. Of the former class, a great number return to Spain, to enjoy the fortunes which they have acquired; but there are few who marry and leave families in Peru. Such are the effects of the policy which excludes Creoles from offices of trust and honour, and consequently degrades them below the native Spaniards. No man cares to be the founder of a family, which must sink to a lower rank and station than he has occupied himself. †

The Creoles of Peru are said to be mild and humane in their dispositions, and hospitable and kind in their conduct. Their natural talents are good; and where they have the advantages of education, they show an aptitude for learning and science. They are extremely vain, and fond of show and parade; but the greatest defects of their character arise from the lofty conception they entertain of their own superiority, and the contempt they feel for the other casts. These prejudices used formerly to prevent the Creoles and Europeans from engaging in domestic service, or followin[g]

* Mercur. Peruv. I. 16. 268.—Viager. Univ. tit. 20. 150. 160.
† Mercur. Peruv. I. 283.

following any mechanical profession; so that many useful occupations were not exercised at all at Lima, because the Creoles disdained to practise them, and the other casts were unable to carry them on. But the increasing number of white persons, many of whom are starving for want of employment, has tended much of late years to do away such prejudices; and they are now subsiding fast at Lima, and even in the provinces. The service of the church or state, commerce, and the professions of law and physic, were formerly the only occupations to which a Spaniard or a Creole could apply, without disgracing himself.*

Many of the Creole families have titles of nobility, and possess large estates. Some are descended from the ancient conquerors. Others have risen from commerce, or from employments under the crown. †

The Peruvian Indians are described to us in these volumes under very different colours from those used by Kotzebue and Marmontel. They are said to be of very limited capacities, and of little or no variety in their characters; melancholy from temperament; timid and dispirited from oppression; dastardly in moments of danger; savage and cruel after victory; and severe and inexorable in the exercise of authority. They stand greatly in awe of the Spaniards, and are docile and obedient to their commands; but they secretly dislike them, and shun their society, and only hate them less than they do the negroes and mulattoes. They are of distrustful tempers, and suspect every one who does them a kindness, of a design to impose upon them. They are stout and robust, and capable of enduring labour; but lazy, dirty, and improvident. Their habitations are miserable hovels, destitute of every convenience or accommodation, and disgustingly filthy. Their dress is poor and mean, and their food coarse and scanty. Their strongest propensity is to spirituous liquors; and to this indulgence they sacrifice every other consideration. Their religion is still tainted with the superstition of their forefathers; but they are great observers of the external rites and ceremonies of the church, and they spend large sums of money in masses and processions; a species of profusion to which they are naturally excited and encouraged by their priests, who profit by it. ‡

Soon after the conquest of America, that country was parcelled out into *encomiendas*, a sort of feudal benefices, which were distributed on certain conditions to the Spaniards. The *encomendero*, or holder of the benefice, besides owing military service to the

* Mercur. Peruv. X. 114. 264.
† *Ibid.* VIII. 46.
‡ *Ibid.* VIII. 48.—IX. 56.—X. 276.

the state, was bound to reside on his *encomienda*, to protect and defend the Indians living upon it, and to see them properly instructed in the principles of religion. The Indians were bound in return to pay him a stipulated tribute; but so far were they from being reduced to slavery, that he could not lawfully exact from them any personal service whatever. The system of *encomiendas* was introduced by the Emperor Charles V.; and though variously modified and changed by his successors, it was not finally abolished till the reign of Philip V. All accounts agree, that, however well intended, it was in its effects oppressive and injurious to the Indians. The *encomendero* was continually exacting from them more than he was entitled to demand, and doing for them less than he was bound to perform. *

The system of *encomiendas* was followed by the still more fatal plan of *repartimientos;* according to which the government, in consideration of the limited faculties and improvident character of the Indians, directed the *corregidor* or judge of the district in which they lived, to supply them with cattle, seed-corn, instruments of agriculture, and even clothes and other necessaries of which they were in want, according to his discretion and opinion of their necessities; but at a price regulated by law, and without any profit to himself. The abuses to which this system must have led, may easily be conceived. They became at length so enormous, as to call again for the interference of the government, which, after mature deliberation, determined on abolishing the *repartimientos*. This was accordingly done in 1779. †

The system followed at present with regard to the Indians, is more consonant to reason and justice, and more favourable to the development of their faculties, than any under which they have lived since the conquest. They are left to manage their own concerns as they please; and no one, under pretence of doing them good, can interfere with the disposal of their time or their property. It must be confessed, that, in some parts of the country, the indolence and sluggishness of their character have so far prevailed, since they were taken from under the controul of the corregidor, that they have suffered the breed of mules, so necessary for the mines, to decrease; but in other parts they have been roused to greater industry and exertion. At Lambayegue, in particular, they have applied to agriculture, manufactures and commerce, with such assiduity, as far to surpass the Spaniards; and as the produce of their farms and industry is exempt from the alcabala, and all other taxes, they have great advantages

* Mercur. Peruv. VIII. 47.—X. 277.
† *Ibid.* VIII. 47.—X. 279.

vantages over the other casts, of which they want only industry and ability to make a proper use. *

The Indians pay a personal tax or tribute, which is extremely moderate, and to be regarded rather as a distinctive mark and token of vassallage, than as a serious burden. Indians of noble birth, that is, of the families from which the Caciques are taken, enjoy an exemption from tribute, and are equally qualified with Spaniards to fill all kinds of offices under the crown. Where the Indians are the sole inhabitants, they are governed by their Caciques; and none of the other casts are permitted to encroach upon their lands, or to settle among them, without their consent. †

It may be questioned, whether these and other privileges of the Indians are, on the whole, advantageous to them, or favourable to the general prosperity of the country. The natural tendency of such a system, is to maintain a distinction and opposition of interests between the Indian and the other casts; to excite their hatred and jealousy against him, as belonging to a privileged order into which they cannot be admitted; and to impress a conviction on his mind, that the other casts are his enemies, continually leagued against him, and seeking to injure and oppress him. On the other hand, it is argued that the other classes are so much more active, bold, and full of contrivance, than the Indian, that they would reduce him to a state of slavish and degrading dependence, if he were not protected by the special favour and indulgence of the laws. The real cause, after all, of the maintenance of this system, for so many ages after the conquest, is, probably, the jealous and timid policy of the Spanish government, which dreads the too great prosperity of its colonies, and views, in the disunion of its subjects, the foundation of its own power.

The Indians are subject to another burden, the *mita* or compulsory labour in the mines. Every male Indian from 18 to 50 must take his share in this service; and, for that purpose, a list is kept of all the Indians of the requisite age, who are divided into seven parts, each of which serves in its turn. The term of service lasts for six months; and therefore, returns once in three years and a half. The *mitayo*, when it comes to his turn, is forced to leave his farm or other occupation, and go to the mine where he is ordered to serve.* Some Indians are compelled to travel 200 or 300 leagues from home; and many take their families with them to the mines. They have a small allowance for their

* Mercur. Per. VIII. 48.—IX. 55, 78, 82.—X 279.
† Ib. X. 275.

their travelling expenses, and receive, for their work in the mines, at least half a dollar a day, and, in general, a greater sum. *

The Indians and Mestizoes are the only casts in America who are able to endure the fatigue and unwholesomeness of the mines. The Spaniards and Negroes have been often tried in this species of labour, but they always sink under it after a short time. Besides the *mitayos*, there are Indians who serve voluntarily in the mines, and engage themselves for a stipulated hire. The greater part of the miners are indeed of that description; and it is to be regreted, that there should be any persons who serve upon other terms. A more intolerable hardship, and more flagrant injustice than the *mita*, cannot well be imagined. A forced conscription for national defence, though liable to great abuse, is on every principle a justifiable measure; but a forced conscription, for the purpose of digging riches from the bowels of the earth for the profit of another, is the extremity of cruelty and injustice.

The number of Indians in South America has diminished considerably since the conquest; and as the other casts have not increased in a degree corresponding to this diminution, the whole population of the country is less than when first discovered by the Spaniards. The first *census* after the conquest was made in 1551, when the Indian population of Peru, Santa Fé, and Buenos Ayres, amounted to 8,255,000 souls; but the same countries hardly contain, at present, 4 millions of inhabitants, of all classes and descriptions. A second enumeration of the Indians was made in 1581, by D. Francisco Toledo, viceroy of Peru, previously to the establishment of the *mita*; from which it appeared, that Peru and Potosi, without including Quito, Tucuman, Chili, or Buenos Ayres, contained, at that time, 1,067,697 male Indians, from 18 to 50, making a total population of at least 4,270,788 persons. But the whole population, from Tumbez to Buenos Ayres, does not exceed, at present, two millions and a half, or three millions of souls. Of whom not more than one third are Indians. †

Independent of these computations, there are many proofs of Peru having been formerly more populous and better cultivated than it is at present. Vestiges of former cultivation, and remains of extensive works for irrigation are still to be seen, where the country is now uncultivated and deserted; and travellers meet continually with the ruins of towns and villages, which have been long since abandoned, and without inhabitants. ‡

That

* Mercur. Per. VII. 37.
† Ib. I. 273.—VII. 37.—VIII. 48.—X. 273.
‡ Ib. VIII. 38.

That this devastation is to be attributed, in a great measure, to the mistaken policy, not to the inhumanity of the Spanish government, cannot be doubted; but many other causes have contributed to thin so dreadfully the number of the Indians. The abuse of spirituous liquors destroys vast numbers of them. Ulloa alleges, that the use of spirits is fatal to more Indians in one year than the mines are in fifty. The Indians of the *Sierra* are so immoderately fond of ardent spirits, that they are often found dead in the fields at break of day, from the intoxication of the preceding evening. In 1759, the government was compelled to prohibit entirely the sale and manufacture of spirits, on account of an epidemic fever then raging among the Indians, which owed its destructive power in a great measure to their habits of intoxication. The smallpox and measles make also great havock among them; and a pestilential fever, which broke out in 1720, swept away the inhabitants of whole villages, and caused every where the greatest mortality. Another cause, which is continually diminishing the number of the Indians, and which must, in the end, extinguish them as a separate race, is the progress of the other casts. It is observed, that wherever the Indians are settled along with the Spaniards, their numbers decrease; but as their place is supplied with Mestizoes and Samboes, this loss is not to be deplored, but viewed as the indication of a future period, when all the pure races, whether Creoles, Indians, or Negroes, will be lost and confounded. *

Both the Peruvian Indians and the Creoles are remarkably long lived, and retain their vigour and bodily faculties to a very advanced age. In the small province of Caxamarco, containing hardly 70,000 inhabitants, there were eight persons alive in 1792, whose ages were 114, 117, 121, 131, 132, 135, 141, and 147; and in the same province, a Spaniard died in 1765, aged 145 years, 7 months and 5 days, leaving 800 persons lineally descended from him. †

The *Mestizoes*, or offspring of the Spaniards and Indians, are the next class in rank to the Spaniards, and the most numerous after the Indians. They have neither the privileges and exemptions of the Indians, nor are they subject to the same burdens. They are cordially attached to the Spaniards, but constantly at variance with the Indians. The *Quarteroons*, or offspring of the Spaniards and Mestizoes, are hardly to be distinguished from Spaniards. The *Cholos*, on the contrary, sprung from the Indians

* Merc. Per. VII. 94.—VIII. 48.—X. 262.
† Ib. V. 164.

dians and Mestizoes, are classed with the Indians, and subjected to tribute. *

The *Negro* slaves in Peru are either employed in domestic service, or on the sugar plantations and farms of their masters. About 500 negroes are annually imported from Africa, formerly by Panama, but now by Chili and Buenos Ayres. The free negroes, who are very numerous, are in general idle and disorderly, and the authors of most of the murders and robberies committed in the kingdom. †

The *Mulattoes* are called by Spanish writers the gypsies of South America, on account of their resemblance in complexion manners and character to the Spanish gypsies. The female mulattoes are usually employed by the Creole ladies as wet nurses for their children; and they often acquire the confidence and entire management of their mistresses. The free mulattoes are usually tradesmen; and several mechanical trades are chiefly in their hands. ‡

Agricultural Productions.

Two chains of mountains traverse Peru from south to north, in directions nearly parallel. The one is the central chain of South America, or the Cordillera of the Andes; the other, which is much lower, is called the Cordillera of the coast. Between the latter and the shore lies the country of Low Peru, forming an inclined plane from ten to twenty leagues in breadth, and consisting for the most part of sandy deserts, without vegetation or inhabitants. The cause of this sterility is the natural dryness of the soil, and the total absence of rain; for it never rains at any season of the year in this part of Peru; and therefore, the only spots capable of cultivation are the banks of the rivers, and the places susceptible of being artificially irrigated. Deserts of twenty, thirty, or forty leagues in extent occur in every part of the coast from Tumbez to Atacama.

The country between the two Cordilleras is called the *Sierra*, or High Peru. It consists of barren mountains and rocks, intermixed with fertile and cultivated valleys. But these mountains contain the richest mines of silver known any where, and the most productive veins are usually found in mountains of the most desolate and unpromising appearance. The climate of the Sierra is variable; and if we are to judge from the longevity of its inhabitants, one of the most salubrious existing. The climate of Lima, besides the want of rain, is remarkable for the inconsiderable

* Merc. Per. VIII. 50. † Ib. VIII. 50.
‡ Ib. X. 115.

able variations of its temperature. The thermometer at noon is never obferved in winter below 60° Fahrenheit, and feldom rifes in fummer above 85°. The hotteft day ever known at Lima was in February 1791, when the thermometer rofe to 96°.

From this account, it appears how little fertile land there is in Peru, and how ill adapted it is by nature for becoming great or opulent by its agricultural productions. Patience and induftry, by conftructing roads and canals of irrigation, might indeed remove fome, and correct many of its natural difadvantages; but, in the prefent ftate of the country, the want of a market for its productions is an infuperable obftacle to any exertions for the improvement of its agriculture. Its population is fmall, and fpread over a territory of great extent; and the want of roads, bridges and canals, renders it difficult to convey bulky articles to a diftance from the fpot where they are raifed. The trade of a middleman, who buys in one market, to fell in another, the object of fuch fears and jealoufies in other countries, is unknown in Peru. One diftrict may fuffer all the extremities of want, while another is oppreffed and ruined by too great abundance. There are not even carts or waggons for the conveyance of commodities, or any other means of tranfporting them, but on the backs of mules; and the gangs of mules employed for that purpofe, are compelled, by the want of roads, to travel over the fields, where they trample under foot, and devour the corn, and deftroy the fences. For thefe reafons, though the foil and climate of Peru are well adapted for the cultivation of fugar and cotton, it is in vain to raife thefe articles for the European market, becaufe the expenfe of carrying them to the coaft, and the fubfequent freightage, are fo great, that they could not be fold in Europe without lofs. The court of Spain has offered every encouragement for the exportation of wool from Peru, but without fuccefs; for the coarfe wool of Peru cofts fo much in freightage, and other expenfes of tranfport, that when brought to Cadiz, it cannot be fold for the fame price with the fineft wool of Segovia. The Vicuna wool, on account of its fcarcity and fuperior finenefs, is the only fort of Peruvian wool which can bear the charges of carriage to Europe.

The firft object of attention in Peru ought to be, not its agriculture, but the improvement of its mines, and the amelioration of its roads and internal communications. In proportion as a market is opened for its productions, the attention of its inhabitants will be turned towards agriculture; and without fuch inducement, it is fruitlefs for the government to attempt forcing their induftry into that channel. So languid and backward is the agriculture of Peru at prefent, that Lima, and many other towns

upon

upon the coast, depend on Chili for their provisions. This has been the case ever since the earthquake of 1693, which was followed by such sterility of the valleys of Low Peru, that the people ceased in many places to cultivate them; and though the country has since recovered in a great measure its former fertility, it still remains uncultivated, and the maritime places continue to be supplied with provisions by importation.*

Mining.

There are three descriptions of persons in Spanish America, who find employment in the business of mining, viz. the speculator in the mines, who is often a practical miner, the *habilitador*, and the *rescatador*.

The speculator in mines is usually, in Mexico, a man of considerable property, who can afford to make large advances from his own funds for supporting and carrying on his works, and who therefore reaps the whole profit of his speculation when it succeeds. But, in Peru, he is in general a person in necessitous circumstances, who begins by borrowing money at an exorbitant interest to enable him to undertake his works, and ends by selling the produce of his mines at a disadvantageous rate, in order to procure the means of carrying them on. The Peruvian miner lives miserably, and labours hard, from morning to night, to the great benefit of others, but with little profit to himself. As he trades with borrowed funds, he is rash and incautious in his speculations; and being continually involved in difficulties, and oppressed by usurious contracts, he is apt to be improvident and dishonest. It is only where the business of mining is in such hands, that it is held in disrepute, and reckoned neither safe nor creditable. In Mexico, it is carried on by persons of the greatest fortune and distinction; and where it can be conducted on a great scale, it is considered as secure a line of speculation as agriculture or commerce. But, like all branches of trade requiring a great outlay of money, and though productive in the main, yet uncertain in their returns, it ought never to be undertaken by any one who has not a great capital, or great credit at his command.

The *habilitador* is a merchant and money lender, who supplies the miner with the capital necessary for beginning or carrying on his speculations; and this he commonly advances on the hardest and most oppressive terms. He obliges the miner, in the first place, to content himself with one half of the advance in money, and to receive the amount of the other half in goods, which are often

* Merc. Per. I. 213, &c.—III. 14.—VIII. 38.—X. 259.

often not fit for his use, and are always overcharged. He takes him bound, in the second place, to repay the advance in *pina*, at the end of a short period, generally of four months. *Pina* is silver bullion, freed from the quicksilver with which it has been amalgamated, but not smelted. The marc of *pina* is worth very nearly 7¾ dollars, before payment of the royal duties; but the *habilitador* allows the miner only 6¼ dollars for it in this transaction, and, consequently, he receives a dollar for the loan of 6¼ dollars for four months. But this exorbitant interest is in many cases not the only advantage which the *habilitador* derives from his loan. For his debtor, if unable to satisfy him at the stipulated term, incurs the penalty of a dollar for every marc of *pina* which he was bound to have furnished; and this penalty, as well as the original debt, he is compelled to discharge in *pina*, at the rate of 6¼ dollars per marc, though intrinsically worth 7¾. By this complicated system of usury and oppression, a miner, who has borrowed 325 dollars from an *habilitador*, one half in money, and the other half in goods charged above their value, may find himself compelled, at the end of six months, to pay 57¾ marcs of *pina*, worth 411 dollars, in order to procure an acquittance of his debt.

The *rescatador* or *rescatiri*, is another description of merchant, who buys *pina* from the miner, and gives him money in exchange for it. In the great mines and vicinity of the capital, the competition of different *rescatadores*, secures a fair price to the miner for his *pina*; but in poor mines, and remote parts of the country, the miner, who is in continual want of money to pay his workmen, and to purchase quicksilver and other necessaries for his mine, is completely at the mercy of the *rescatador*, and is often compelled, by his necessities, to part with his *pina* at an undervalue. During the rainy season, when there is little communication between the different parts of the upland country, the marc of *pina* was lately often sold at six dollars, and 6½ dollars, and sometimes as low as at 5½ dollars.

A stronger proof cannot be given of the want of spirit and activity in Peru, than that evils affecting so materially the vital interests and prosperity of the kingdom, should have been suffered to continue for so many ages, without any effort to remove them. It is only since the establishment of the Royal Tribunal of Mines in 1786, that banks *de rescate*, as they are called, have been erected for that purpose in the principal mines. These banks purchase *pina* from the miners on account of the Royal Tribunal of Mines; and as they give always a fair price for it, they keep down the profits of the *rescatadores*, and secure the miners from their extortions.

 The

The banks *de rescate* are also of essential service to the miners, by supplying them with quicksilver in small quantities as they have occasion for that article, so indispensable in their chemical operations. The miners had formerly no other resource, when they were in want of quicksilver, but to apply for it to the *caxas reales*, which are at a great distance from many of the mines; or to purchase it from the *rescatadores*, who charged them most exorbitantly for it.

The profits of the *rescatadores* have been so much reduced by the operation of the banks *de rescate*, that a great part of the capital employed in that trade has been withdrawn from it and laid out in advances to the miners. This increase of capital in the trade of the *habilitadores*, has tended, of course, to diminish their profits, and to free the miners from the subjection in which they were formerly kept by these avaricious money-lenders. The salutary effects of these changes have been already felt. The operations of mining are going on with greater activity and success, and the number of bankruptcies among the miners is fast diminishing; so that the merchants themselves will in the end be gainers by the change. Instead of exorbitant profits and great risks, they will have moderate gains unattended with danger.

The banks *de rescate* in the provinces, borrow what money they have occasion for from the collectors of the taxes, and the Royal Tribunal of Mines repays these loans to the treasury at Lima. This arrangement saves the trouble and expense of remitting the produce of the taxes in money from the provinces to the capital, which, for want of bills of exchange, was the former practice; and it prevents the provinces from being annually drained of their circulating specie by such remittances; an inconvenience to which they appear to have been subjected till the erection of the banks. Such a clumsy and inartificial system in the operations of the treasury, is a striking illustration of the little progress which commerce has made in Peru.

The banks *de rescate* in Peru, are private establishments, without any monopoly or exclusive privilege; so that the private *rescatador* is still at liberty to follow his occupation. But the great bank *de rescate* at Potosi, called the bank of *San Carlos de Potosi*, belongs to the crown, and enjoys exclusive privileges of purchasing *pina* from the adventurers in that celebrated mine. The bank of San Carlos was founded in 1747, by a voluntary association of the miners of Potosi, in order to liberate themselves from the intolerable oppression of the *rescatadores*. In 1779, they were prevailed upon by D. Jorge Escovedo, governor of Potosi, to transfer their shares and property in the bank to the crown; notwithstanding which, the bank, in 1793, was still in

a prosperous state. Besides purchasing *pina*, the bank of San Carlos makes advances of money and other articles to the miners, and thus exercises at once the trades of *habilitador* and of *rescatador*. These two professions are also not unfrequently conjoined by private adventurers in Peru. *

We subjoin a list of the mines of Peru wrought in 1791, with an account of the quantity of gold and silver obtained from them since 1780.

Mines of Peru wrought in 1791, with the number of gold and silver mines not then wrought. †

	Wrought.	*Not Wrought.*
Gold	69	29
Silver	784	588
Quicksilver	4	0
Copper	4	0
Lead	12	0

Produce of the gold and silver mines of Peru for ten years, from 1780 to 1789, both included, estimated from the produce of the royal duties. ‡

	Dollars.	*Reals de Plata.*
Silver made into plate	602,130	0
Silver made into ingots	29,126,024	0
Gold	4,424,035	0
Total produce	34,152,189	0
Annual produce	3,415,218	7

Coinage of Lima during the same period. §

	DOLLARS.		
	Silver.	*Gold.*	*Total.*
Annual purchase by the mint	3,328,386	520,933	3,849,319
Deduct the purchase of Moneda Macuquina	523,773	—	523,773
Remainder	2,804,613	520,933	3,325,546
Produce of the mines estimated from the duties	2,972,815	442,403	3,415,218
Difference of this estimate from the amount of the coinage	+168,202	—78,530	+89,672

 The

* Mercur. Per. VII. 25.—VIII. 2. † Ib. II. 146.
‡ Ib. IV. 91. § Ib. IV. 91.

The *moneda macuquina* is a provincial money which the government was at that time calling in. The surplus of silver, not carried to the mint, was probably used in plate; and the excess of the coinage of gold above the produce of the mines, was probably occasioned by the introduction of gold in bars from Potosi.

	Dollars.
The coinage of Lima, from 1790 to 1794, both years included, being a period of five years * -	27,967,566
Annual coinage during that period - - -	5,593,513
Annual coinage from 1780 to 1789 - - -	3,849,319
Increase during the second period	1,744,194

The famous mine of quicksilver at Huancavelica was discovered in 1566, and bought by the crown in 1570. It has continued ever since to be part of the royal domains, and to be wrought on account of the government.

	Quintals.	lib.	oz.
The total produce of quicksilver from Huancavelica, between September 1. 1570 and December 31. 1789, being a period of 219 years, amounts to - - - - -	1,040,452	25	2
Average of the annual produce during that period - - - - - - -	4,750	29	5
The greatest produce of any two years of that period, viz. from December 31. 1646, to December 31 1648 - - - - -	17,371	65	0
Produce from January 1. to August 31. 1790 †	1,406	0	0

Mines of Potosi.

The mine of Potosi was discovered in 1545, and the city of Potosi founded in 1547. By a *census* of its inhabitants made in 1611, its population is said to have amounted, at that time, to 160,000 souls. If this account be correct, Potosi must have greatly declined from its ancient state; for its whole population in 1792 consisted of only 18,181 souls; of whom 256 were ecclesiastics and persons under vows; 3482 Spaniards; 4872 Mestizoes; 8559 Indians; 1012 Negroes and Mulattoes. ‡

	Dollars.	Rials.
The produce of the royal duties from the mines of Potosi, between 1556 and 1780, 224 years - - - - - -	150,570,743	2

The

* Viager. Univ. XX. 152. † Merc. Per. I. 65.
‡ Merc. Per. VII. 25.

	Dollars.	*Reals.*
Brought over	150,570,743	2
The produce of the same from 1545 to 1556, estimated at - - -	5,500,000	0
	156,070,743	2
Corresponding produce of silver from the mines - - - -	2,400,000,000	0

But, as great part of the silver of Potosi is known not to have paid the duties, but to have been smuggled out of the kingdom, the real produce of its mines must have been greater than what appears by the preceding estimate. It is supposed, that for more than half of the 18th century, the contraband trade of Potosi with the Brazils was such, that only a third of the silver from its mines paid the royal duties.

	Dollars.	*Reals.*
The coinage of gold in the mint of Potosi, from 1780 to 1790, a period of 11 years, was equal to - - - - - -	2,829,718	0
The annual coinage of gold - - -	257,247	1
The coinage of silver in the mint of Potosi, from 1773 to 1790, a period of 18 years, amounted to - - - - - - -	69,864,764	0
The annual coinage of silver - - -	3,881,375	6
The annual average of the silver coinage at Potosi, from 1780 to 1790 - - - -	3,960,010	7
———————— gold coinage from 1780 to 1790 . - - - - - -	257,247	1
Annual average of both - - - -	4,217,258	0
The coinage of Potosi in 1791 * - -	4,365,175	0
The coinage of Peru in 1791 † - -	5,118,941	0
The total coinage of both - - -	9,484,116	0

Commerce of Peru.

The exports of Peru are gold and silver, wine, brandy, sugar, pimento, Jesuits' bark, salt, vicuna wool, coarse woollens, and some other manufactures of little value; and it receives, in return, European goods, live stock, provisions, tallow, cacao, Paraguay tea, coca leaf, indigo, timber, cordage, pitch and copper

Its commerce may be divided into three branches; viz. its com-

* Merc. Per. IV. 162. † Ib. V. 161.

merce by land with the provinces of the Rio Plata; its commerce by sea with the other colonies; and its commerce with the mother country.

The exports of Peru to Potosi and the other provinces of the Rio Plata, are valued at more than two millions of dollars annually, and the imports at 860,000 dollars; so that the balance in favour of Peru is near 1,200,000 dollars, independent of the profits on the carriage of the goods, which belongs also to Peru, as the carriers are Peruvians. Cuzco and Arequipa are the routes through which this trade passes.

The chief exports to the Rio Plata are brandy, wine, maize, sugar, pimento, indigo, and woollens. The brandy alone amounts to near a million of dollars. The woollens, which are next in value, are chiefly made in Peru, but part of them are brought from Quito. The provinces of the Rio Plata used formerly to take woollens, to a great amount, from Quito; but it is now found more economical to procure these articles from Europe by the way of Buenos Ayres. The indigo exported from Peru is previously imported from Goatemala.

The chief imports from the Rio Plata, are mules, sheep, hams, tallow, wool, coca leaf, Paraguay leaf, and a small quantity of tin from Oruro: 20,000 mules are imported annually from Tucuman, for the service of the mines. *

The commerce of Peru, by sea, with the other colonies of Spanish America, will appear from the following tables.

I.—Commerce of Callao with Chili, Guayaquil, Panama, and Goatemala, for the years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789. †

	Imports.		*Exports.*		*Balance for Callao.*		*Balance ag. Callao.*	
Chili	5,533,775	1	4,686,423	3			847,351	6
Guayaquil	2,547,643	1	2,906,305	0	358,661			
Panama	59,035	5	201,631	7	142,596			
Goatemala	210,295		29,416	4			180,879	[illegible]
	8,350,749	6	7,823,776	6	501,253	1	1,028,231	1
Annual Aver.	1,670,149	[illegible]	1,564,755	3				
Annual balance against Callao							105,391	1

II.

* Mercur. Peruv. I. 220.
† Viagei. Univ XX. 296.

II.—Commerce of Arica, Payta, and other ports of Peru, with the kingdom of Chili, and the ports of Panama and Guayaquil.

	Imports.	*Exports.*	*Bal. ag.*
Chili * - -	46 675		46,675
Panama and Guayaquil †	350,000	130,000	220,000
	396,675	130,000	266,675

III.—Result of both.

	Imports.	*Exports.*	*Balance ag. Peru.*
Annual trade of Peru, by sea, with the other colonies	2,066,824	1,694,755 4	372,069 4

Forty-one vessels, of different sizes and descriptions, are employed in this trade; and all of them, except three, belong to Peru. Their united tonnage amounts to 351,500 quintals, and they are manned by 1160 seamen. ‡

The chief exports from Peru to Chili are European goods, previously imported at Callao. Sugar; coarse woollens, made in Peru; indigo, from Goatemala; salt; cotton; pita yarn, and some other trifling articles. The imports are chiefly wheat; copper; negro slaves, some of them natives of Chili, but the greater part from Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Ayres; tallow; wine; paraguay tea; salt meat; timber; cordage; and leather. Part of the copper is used in the mint at Lima; and the remainder, except a small quantity sent to Guayaquil, reexported to Spain. The ports of Chili that trade with Peru, are Valparayso, Concepcion, and Coquimbo; but Valparayso alone carries on three times as much trade as the other two. The timber is brought from the isle of Chiloe.

Three fourths of the exports to Guayaquil consist of European goods, and the remaining fourth of flour, wine, brandy, and copper. The imports are chiefly cacao and timber. There is also imported into Peru, on account of the government, a considerable quantity of tobacco, the growth of Guayaquil, which is afterwards reexported to Chili; but this is not included in the preceding tables.

* Mercur. Peruv. I. 264.
† Viag. Univ. XX. 274.
‡ *Ibid.* XX. 274.—Mercur. Peruv. I. 220.

The trade with Panama, which was formerly of such magnitude, has declined since the middle of the last century, and is now reduced to a small importation of timber and cacao, and to the remains of a slave trade, which is every day diminishing. The exports from Peru to Panama are coarse woollens, sugar, flour, and brandy. There is also a remittance of 300,000 dollars a year from the treasury of Lima, to pay the garrison and civil government of Panama; without which that city must have fallen to still greater insignificance.

Indigo is the principal article of import from Goatemala. Small quantities of logwood, pitch, timber, and cacao, are also imported. The exports, which are very trifling, consist chiefly of wine and woollens. The wines and brandies of Peru might be exported with advantage to San Blas, for the consumption of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California; but though permission has been frequently solicited from the government, it has been constantly refused, from an apprehension of interfering with the trade of the mother country in these articles.

The trade of Peru with Spain was carried on by Porto Bello and Panama till 1748, when register ships were substituted for galleons, and the voyage by Cape Horn, for the circuitous route formerly in use. It is amusing to consider the progress made since that time in the art of navigation. The first Spanish vessels which sailed by Cape Horn, were insured against sea risk at Cadiz, at the exorbitant rate of 20 *per cent.* of their value; but the vessels which perform the same voyage at present are insured for two. * The register ships, though liable to objections, were preferable in every respect to the galleons. They shortened the intercourse between the mother country and the colony, and lessened the expenses attending it. By affording quicker returns, they led to more frequent adventures; and by meeting more effectually the demand, they diminished the inducements to contraband. But the trade was still clogged and impeded with much useless expense and unnecessary delay, and subjected to an arbitrary license, which was withheld or burdened with restrictions at the caprice of the minister.

The register ships continued to be employed in the trade of Peru with the mother country, till the war for American independence, during which there was little intercourse between Spain and this distant colony. At the peace of 1783, the system of free trade, the order for which had been issued at Madrid some years before, began to be carried into effect in the South Sea. According to this system, the most wise and liberal which Spain

* Mercur, Peruv, I. 247.

Spain has ever laid down for her colonies, an unlimited intercourse, without licenses or other restrictions, is permitted between certain ports of Spain and certain ports of Spanish America; and among the privileged ports of America, are Callao and Arica, both situated in Peru.

The result of these innovations has been highly favourable to Peru. Its inhabitants enjoy foreign luxuries and conveniences at a cheaper rate, and in greater abundance than before; while their industry has been excited, the value of their exports increased, and the produce of their mines nearly doubled. Nor has the change of system been less beneficial to the mother country, though some individuals have suffered by it. From 1714 to 1739, a period of twenty-five years, the whole exports to Spain from Peru, Chili, the Rio Plata and Santa Fé, did not exceed thirty-four millions of dollars. * But at present, the exports from Peru and Chili alone, exceed six millions annually; and the imports from Europe have increased in the same proportion. For some years, indeed, after the opening of the free trade, the merchants of the mother country, ignorant of the real state and resourses of Peru, poured into that country a greater quantity of goods than its effective demand required, or enabled it to consume; and by the consequent want of sale, and depreciation of these goods, the importers paid dearly for their rashness. But though some merchants suffered by their over-speculation, the manufactures of the mother country were benefited by it; and with regard to Peru, it would be difficult to show how the abundance and low price of goods could be injurious to the consumer. On the contrary, the spirit of industry has been awakened in that kingdom, by the sight of luxuries and accommodations, formerly unknown to its inhabitants, or placed beyond their reach; and the increase of its exports since the free trade, is the surest proof of its growing prosperity.

* Merc. Per. I. 246.

Tables

Tables of the Commerce of Peru with the Mother Country.

I.—Imports of Lima from Spain in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789. *

	National Goods	*Foreign Goods*	*Prime Cost when exported.*	*Cost with duties and other expenses to Lima.*
1785.	1,932,040 0 7/8	3.106,056 2 1/2	5,038,096 3 5/8	6,965,231 3 3/4
1786.	5,113.389 5 1/8	6.358.901 5	11.472,221 2 1/8	14,734,084 4 1/2
1787.	3,225,167 3 [illegible]	2 426,581 6 7/8	5,651,749 2	7,257,741 6 1/4
1788.	1,298,250 7 1/8	995,055 0 7/8	2,293,306 5 7/8	2,940,992 7 1/4
1789.	1,007,663 7 1/8	1,216,855 3 1/8	2,224,517 2 7/8	2,856,965 0 7/8
Total, according to the Customhouse entry	12,576,510 0 3/8	14,103,450 7 1/2	26 679,960 7 7/8	34,755,015 7 5/8
Addition of 22 p. cent.	2,727,064 1	2.990,4.8 5	5,717,492 6	7,[illegible]44,297 7
Total	15,303.574 1 1/8	17,093,879 4 1/2	32,397,453 5 7/8	42,099,313 6 5/8
Annual average	3,060,714 6 5/8	3,418,775 7 1/4	6,479,490 5 7/8	8 419,862 6 1/8

In this table are included imports from China by the Filipine Company to the value of 421,120 dollars; and imports of European goods from other ports of America to the value of 270,237 dollars 7 1/8 reals.

The addition of 22 per cent. to the official value, is considered as the difference between the real and the official value.

The freightage, insurance, duties and other expenses, from the time the goods leave the wharf, when they are embarked in Spain, till they are warehoused at Lima, are estimated at 28 dollars 3 5/8 reals per cent. on all goods sent round Cape Horn. A separate charge is made for the goods from China, and from the American ports.

The European goods in greatest request in Peru, are silks, superfine cloth, lace, fine linen, and other articles of luxury and show. There is also a considerable demand for ordinary linen, and for the inferior sorts of cloth and woollens. Cutlery, and all instruments of iron, are also in great request.

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* Viager. Univ. XX. 221.

II.

II.—Exports from Lima to Spain in the same period.

	Coin & Bullion.	Produce.	Total.	Total, with cost and duties, to Spain.
1785.	7,144,325 $2\frac{1}{8}$	733,587 4	7,877,912 $6\frac{1}{8}$	8,823,115 6[illegible]
1786.	8,285,659 $7\frac{6}{8}$	882,807 1	9,168,467 $0\frac{6}{8}$	10,369,502 3[illegible]
1787.	4,518,246 $3\frac{4}{8}$	906,022 0	5,424,268 $3\frac{4}{8}$	6,503,961 $2\frac{1}{8}$
1788.	5,463,973 $1\frac{7}{8}$	579,160 2	6,043,133 $0\frac{7}{8}$	6,798,374 0[illegible]
1789.	2,449,495 $6\frac{7}{8}$	523,080 0	2,972,575 $6\frac{7}{8}$	3,484,386 2[illegible]
Total.	27,861,700 $4\frac{7}{8}$	3,624,656 7	31,486,357 $3\frac{7}{8}$	35,979,399 $6\frac{7}{8}$
An. aver.	5,572,340 1	724,931 3	6,297,271 4	7,195,879 $7\frac{7}{8}$

In this table is included the sum of 2,790,000 dollars exported to Asia by the Filipine Company.

Silver brought from Lima to Spain, costs, in freightage, insurance, and duties, $9\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.;* and gold, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*

The articles of produce are chiefly Jesuits' bark, Vicuna wool, copper from Chili, cacao from Guayaquil, and a small quantity of cotton.

III.—Commerce of Peru with Spain, from 1775 to 1779, compared with the Commerce between the same Countries, from 1785 to 1789.†

	Imports.	*Exports.*
From 1775 to 1779	23,838,183 $4\frac{4}{8}$	21,302,385 2
From 1785 to 1789	42,099,313 $6\frac{1}{8}$	35,979,339 $6\frac{7}{8}$
Total for ten years	65,937,497 $3\frac{1}{8}$	57,281,725 $0\frac{7}{8}$
Excess of the 2d period above the 1st	18,261,130 $2\frac{7}{8}$	14,676,954 $4\frac{7}{8}$

It is further to be observed, that during the first of these periods, Potosi and the other provinces now annexed to the Rio Plata, formed part of the viceroyalty of Peru; and that, by the separation of these provinces, Peru, during the second period, contained only 49 or 51 districts, instead of 74, of which it was formerly composed.

But, to form a just estimate of the commerce of Peru, we must take Buenos Ayres into the account, and consider these two

† Viager. Univ. XX. 259.

two countries, and Chili, as parts of the same commercial system. It will then more fully appear, how small are the means, and limited the resources, of these extensive colonies, and what false and exaggerated notions have been circulated in this country with regard to them.

View of the Resources of Peru, Chili, and the Rio Plata, for maintaining Foreign Commerce.

	Dollars.	
Annual coinage of Lima, from 1790 to 1794 -	5,593,513	0
Coinage of Potosi in 1791. - -	4,365,175	0
Annual coinage of Santiago of Chili, estimated at * - - - - - - - - -	1,400,000	0
Annual export of produce from Callao, from 1785 to 1789 - - - - - - -	734,931	3
Export of produce from Buenos Ayres in 1796 †	1,328,840	0
	13,412,459	3

It appears from this statement, that the effective demand of these countries for foreign commodities, does not exceed, at present, three millions Sterling annually. It is true, that with a better government, and a more liberal system of commercial regulations, these resources might be greatly augmented; but such improvements are in general the work of time, and in South America many difficulties must first be surmounted. The population of the country is wonderfully small, scattered over an immense surface, and composed of casts which mutually hate and distrust each other. The Indians, who are the most numerous class, prefer a life of indolence and apathy, to enjoyments that must be purchased with labour. Among the other casts, emancipation from the mother country would be the signal of discord and political discussions the most adverse, during their continuance, to the progress of opulence, and the steady exertions of industry. Some improvement might be expected in the mines. The labour of extracting the ore might be abridged by machinery, and the processes for reducing it meliorated by more skilful applications of chemistry. But the scarcity of hands would prevent any great increase in the productiveness of the mines; and a separation from the mother country, by increasing the difficulty of finding a supply of quicksilver, might render them even less productive than they are at present. The mines of quicksilver in China are said, within these few years, to have been exhausted. None could be expected from Europe, in the present state of that quarter

* Viager. Univ. XX. 275. † Ib. XX. 109.

ter of the world. No resource would then remain but to repair the works at Huancavelica, and extract from it quicksilver for the other mines, without which, the greater part of them must be abandoned.

In some branches of produce, it is true, the exports from this part of America might be instantly augmented. The exports of hides, tallow, and salted provisions from Buenos Ayres, might be greatly increased. Copper, the value of which is rising every day at home, might be procured, in great abundance, from Chili and the Rio Plata. Valuable furs might be obtained in great numbers from the Andes; and in this species of industry the Indians, like their North American brethren, would more readily engage them in more settled occupations. Flax and hemp of the very best quality are raised in Chili; and if greater care were taken to gather the cotton of Peru, and more attention bestowed on the art of packing, both that article, and the wool of the same country might be sent to Europe at a price that could not exclude them from the market. Cacao, coffee, dye-stuffs, and medical drugs, might also be exported in greater quantity.

Revenue.

The revenue of Peru amounts to near five millions of dollars annually; of which 300,000 are remitted to Panama; 15,000 to the Isle of Chiloe; and a third sum to Valdivia. The clear revenue, after these remittances, and after defraying the expense of the government of Peru, does not exceed 500,000 dollars; and we are disposed to regard that sum as the total revenue which the King of Spain derives from this part of his dominions. *

The revenue of Potosi is estimated at 1,200,000 dollars; † and of this sum 200,000 are remitted annually to Buenos Ayres; ‡ so that the Crown derives no clear revenue whatever from the viceroyalty of the Rio Plata. The same is true of Chili, Caracas, and Santa Fé. New Spain used formerly to send remittances of 3,400,000 dollars to the governments of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hispaniola, Florida, Luisiana, Truxillo, and Manilla; but the loss of Luisiana and Hispaniola will have saved some part of that expense. The residue of the revenue of Mexico, after defraying the charges of its own government, is transmitted to Madrid, and amounts to about five millions of dollars. ‖ The produce of the customs collected in the ports of Spain, on account

* Mercur. Per. III. 40, 72. Viager. Univ. XX. 154.
† Ib. VII. 45. ‡ Viager. Univ. XXVII. 293.
‖ Viager. Univ. XXVII. 217.

count of its colonial trade, may be estimated at two millions and a half of dollars. The total revenue which the Crown of Spain derives from its colonies and foreign possessions, may therefore be reckoned at eight millions of dollars annually.

It is impossible to quit this subject without remarking the fatal effects of the system pursued by the court of Spain in the government of its colonies. A country so valuable and extensive as the one we have been considering; reaching from Buenos Ayres to Guayaquil, and from Guayaquil to the Isle of Chiloe; possessing every variety of soil and climate; furnishing in abundance the most rare and costly, as well as the most common and indispensable productions; having the advantage of navigable rivers, and an extensive sea-coast; situated between the populous and opulent empires of Asia, and the active and cultivated states of Europe; after two centuries and a half of undisturbed tranquillity, contains hardly three millions of inhabitants; and, though taxed beyond its means, contributes only half a million of dollars to the defence of the state. Such are the effects of political and commercial jealousy and religious intolerance. The court of Spain watches over the morals and faith of its colonies with the vigilance of a confessor; views their commercial prosperity with the ill-will of a rival shopkeeper; and contemplates their union and good understanding, with the fears of a despot trembling for his authority. It is true, that, with a contrary system, Spain would probably long since have lost possession of her colonies. But those colonies, before emancipating themselves from her yoke, would have grown into rich and populous states; and during their growth, they would have contributed to exalt the mother country to a pitch of grandeur and prosperity, which she would have maintained after the separation; the Spanish name, and language and character, would have struck a deep and permanent root in the new world; and the mother country, if ever reduced to a struggle for her existence, might have looked with confidence to the aid and friendship of her once rebellious, but now affectionate children.

ART. XIII. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, on the Importance of the Colonies situated on the Coast of Guiana.* By a British Merchant. pp. 19. London. Richardson. 1806.

We have already noticed a tract written with the intention of augmenting the prejudice which already exists in the public mind against peace. That work contained the general defence

fence of war by a speculative author, and might be considered as exhibiting a fair view of the sentiments entertained upon this important subject by the disinterested part of the community, who are only misguided by their ignorance and their perverted enthusiasm. The very small tract now before us, comes from another, perhaps a more formidable, description of persons, who seek war 'as a great gain.' The general remarks which we have submitted to our readers in the course of the present Number, upon the lamentable prejudices which prevail on this subject, would be incomplete, without a short notice of the conduct pursued by the interested class of enemies to peace.

The author of the letter under consideration applies himself to the proof of two things,—the great value of the Dutch colonies, and the possibility of England retaining them, without any detriment to her own settlements.

To make out his first position, he states, in a cursory manner, that the captured colonies in Guiana, contain more negroes and lands, and export more produce, than all our old islands, except Jamaica; and that they may be valued at twenty millions Sterling. If any instance were wanting to show how very unsafe guides, in matters of fact, mere practical men are, we might produce this statement. The slaves in our minor islands, twenty-five years ago, were upwards of 200,000, and, at present, they cannot be fewer than 250,000. We do not merely maintain, that this is greatly above the number in Dutch Guiana; but, admitting it to be correct, we assert, that our author's valuation of twenty millions Sterling is absurd; for, if there is any truth in the principles assumed by the planters in valuing their stock, a colony, containing 250,000 negroes, is worth, not twenty, but forty-five millions. They allowed twice the value of the negroes for the value of the lands and erections, with other property, exclusive of houses in the towns. In like manner, the tonnage, which he makes only 30,000, should be near 70,000. So much for the accuracy of this merchant's facts, and for the proof that, by his own showing, he has greatly mistated the value of the captured colonies, when he compares them to the minor British islands. His reasonings about the value of the customs derived from this source, are worthy of as little attention; for, admitting that 400,000*l.* are annually raised upon goods exported to Guiana, and brought from thence, whatever portion of this sum is gained clear of drawback on reexportation and other expenses, will be raised after the colonies shall have been given up, either on produce consumed in England, or on manufactures destined ultimately for the Guiana market.

The other part of our author's argument is, by accident, nearer the

the first view; for his interest happening to lead him towards the right side of the question, he maintains, that the retention of the captured colonies will not ruin the old sugar planters. We have no inclination to argue this matter one way or another. But we cannot pass over his very strange doctrine, that we shall be able to command the whole sugar market of the world, if we retain the Dutch colonies; for then, he says, we shall hold five sixths of all the sugars consumed, and may fix the prices accordingly. Without remarking that this proportion is quite unfounded in point of fact, and that the command in question should have already belonged to us much more securely during the war, we shall only observe, that a nation, holding a monopoly of any trade, is a very different thing from a company or an individual engrossing that trade. In the latter case, prices may be fixed by the seller, at least within certain limits. In the former case, competition operates among the different individual traders just as effectually, and in exactly the same manner, as if different nations held the traffic. The only advantage derived in this case is by the government, which, if the monopoly be complete, or nearly so, can levy certain duties on the sale, thereby augmenting the price generally. This rise the merchants will never concur in making, of themselves.

But, suppose that the greater part of these benefits really belonged to the possession of Dutch Guiana;—suppose, too, which we cannot deny, that those colonies have many signal advantages over the old islands,—the question is still left undecided, whether we ought to retain them at all hazards. and to make them a *sine qua non* of peace, as the planters and their consignees no doubt desire. For it is one thing to prove that an enemy's, or a neighbour's property suits us exceedingly well, and another thing to show that we ought never to rest till we make it our own. But there is such an avidity of foreign colony in the present generation, that this difference is entirely overlooked; and the custom is, now-a-days, to cry out for every vessel, settlement, and line of trade,—in short, for all things appertaining to commerce and navigation, as if it were one and the same thing to justify the longing by reason, and to take the place by ships. We shall not attempt to show, that the worst way of paying ourselves for the subjugation of Europe, is to seize on the rest of the world. Nor shall we say any thing against the policy of consoling ourselves for the misfortunes of our allies, by taking their colonies. But we must be allowed to glance at the calmness with which such reasoners contemplate endless war, when a sugar island is in view. The author of this tract, after enumerating the advantages enjoyed by Guiana, seems to perceive that his readers might possibly

possibly think it, after all, paying too dear even for Guiana, to make it a *sine quâ non.* Accordingly, he invariably begins the general praise of war. In peace time, he says, our enemies will do our trade far more injury. He reminds us that they said in 1802, 'leave England at peace, and we shall ruin her.' Our seamen, too, will desert into their service; whereas we have their seamen in ours. From this we are driven to conclude, that no peace can be compatible with our safety which does not include the retention of Dutch Guiana, the great defence against all those dangers.

The British planters, and, still more, the London merchants concerned in the Guiana trade, have no doubt serious reasons for holding such language. A peace, which should restore Guiana to the Dutch, would prevent the former from obtaining more loans, and would reduce the profits received by the latter, from a large commission, to a small interest upon their past advances. Therefore, we are not surprised at seeing those persons very clamorous for *sine-quâ-nons*, and exceedingly well pleased at the failure of negociations for peace. Traders in the government securities, in like manner,—loan contractors,—insurance-brokers, and other speculators who profit by fluctuations in the value of certain articles, and whose employment is of a gambling nature, are naturally averse to the termination of war, the element in which they exist. All those persons live near the seat of government, and they are of a forward, clamorous disposition. They frequently succeed in making their voice pass for the expression of the public opinion, and but too often cause the general interests of the community to be less thought of than their own. If Yarmouth, in the same way, were the seat of government, we should never know what a wish for peace is. It is quite wonderful to see with what composure the class of men alluded to contemplate the downfal of foreign empires, and the degradation of the species over a great part of Europe. They care no more about it, than they do about the African slave trade, or the traffic in crowns and princes carried on in the East Indies, or any other merely indifferent matter. They submit with exemplary resignation to the sufferings of the poor, and even the ruin of those traders who owe them nothing. They bear up, in a manner truly edifying, against the hardships of our soldiers and sailors, and would doubtless be comforted for the entire loss of our army, if the volunteers only remained, as their feelings are greatly soothed under the loss of seamen's lives, by the interesting occasions which it affords for giving swords and pensions. That such calm and pious observers should be hurried into any wish for peace, is altogether out of the question. But when the signal for new and

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wide-spreading war is given, and at the moment that the last chance of happiness has been lost to millions,—their feelings get the better of them,—they exult with all the steadiness of calculating zeal in the prospects of new percentage, and give way to an enthusiastic joy, because the gate has been torn off the temple of Janus. At all this outcry, no one should be surprised; nor can any one greatly blame it. The fault is theirs only, who call it the public voice, or allow themselves to be affected by the feelings from which it springs, or view in it any indication of the interests of the country.

ART. XIV. *Reflections on the Administration of Civil Justice in Scotland, and on the Resolutions of the Committee of the House of Lords on that Subject.* 8vo. pp. 115. Edinburgh & London. 1806.

Thoughts on Trial by Jury in Civil Causes, with a View to a Reform in the Administration of Justice in Scotland, in a Series of Letters. 8vo. pp. 70. Edinburgh & London. 1806.

Remarks on the Report of the Committee of the House of Peers, relative to the Administration of Civil Justice in Scotland. 8vo. pp. 42. Glasgow. 1806.

THE resolutions adopted by the House of Lords at the close of the last Parliament, as an avowed preliminary to bringing in a bill for new-modelling the Courts of Justice in Scotland, have now been before the public for upwards of eight months. They were circulated for the professed purpose of exciting discussion;—they touch upon some of the most important and delicate questions in jurisprudence and legislation; and were addressed, in an especial manner, to that industrious body of Scotch Advocates, who are proverbially known to write all they speak, and to print all they write. Yet the leisure of a summer, and the business of a winter, have been allowed to pass away; and all that has been produced on the subject, are the three anonymous pamphlets, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article. This, we think, is a kind of reproach, not only to those who have a more immediate concern in the consequences of the measure, but to the speculative and inquisitive in both ends of the island. So great an experiment in legislation, we believe, has not been projected since the days of Justinian or Alfred; nor one which promises to have an operation so extensive, both by its

its immediate effects upon this part of the empire, and by its example upon that to which it is not to reach directly. It would be strange, indeed, if a measure of this magnitude were to be adopted, without producing some sensation in the thinking part of the community; and though we make no doubt that many learned memorials and valuable suggestions have been privately communicated to the movers of the business,—that much profound discussion will take place in Parliament,—and that many, who have formed a general opinion upon the tenor of the resolutions, reserve themselves till they see how they are to be modified in the draught of the bill; still we must confess that we have been both surprised and mortified at the silence with which the overture has been received, and the disinclination which has been manifested, to express or to direct the public sentiment, as to the general principle of the measure.

It does appear to us, however, that this is a case in which the Legislature must look for illumination beyond its committees and official advisers; and in which every one who has had opportunities of knowledge, or habits of reflection on the subject, is called upon to assist the Legislature with his suggestions and advice. The pains that have been taken to circulate the printed resolutions, and the observations which were made when they were ordered to be printed, entitle us to believe, that this is also the feeling of the noble person with whom the project originated, and give us the firmest assurance, that a measure, begun with such laudable circumspection, will not be carried through with any degree of precipitation. The draught of the bill, we have no doubt, will be circulated with as much care as the resolutions, and an opportunity afforded to all who have been invited to consider the merits of the ground plan, to deliberate upon the effect of the elevation. It is rather with a view of setting an example to others, and of directing the public attention to a subject so worthy to engage it, than with any presumptuous expectation of being able to throw new light on the question ourselves, that we have ventured upon an article of this description, and thrown together the following considerations.

The institutions of a country for the administration of justice, are among the most delicate and important of all its establishments; and come more frequently and closely in contact with individual comfort and prosperity, than the political constitution itself. This, however, is by no means a reason for not altering them; but only for taking great care that they are altered for the better. When we say, that they are of incalculable importance, we mean, it is of infinite consequence that they should be good.

But they are delicate as well as important. This, we think, cannot be denied; and the sum of our opinion upon the subject is, that to improve them is always very difficult, and often very necessary; that they are very likely to require great reforms, but that these are apt to be attended with great hazards and inconveniences. Upon the whole, however, we prefer the hazard of reformation to the accumulation of established evils. Most of the evils from which men attempt to deliver themselves, are capable of remedy; and the dangers with which the attempt may be attended, should only engage us to greater vigilance and more deliberate exertion.

Whatever is established, has great advantages over what is only projected, both because its actual effects are known, and have been fully developed by experience, and because the conduct and the habits of men have been accommodated to its subsistence. In all novelty, there is something of hazard;—in all experiment, there is a risk of disappointment. No man can reason so accurately from the past, as to be perfectly certain of a future result; and that more especially in human affairs, where no two cases are ever found alike, or even very nearly analagous. Above all, our anticipations must be full of doubt and anxiety, when we look forward to the effects of introducing in one case, what we have only known as a compound element in another. Institutions which are coeval with the civilization of a people, and which have been assimilated to all the other parts of their establishment, may be harmless, or even beneficial among them; though they might prove in the highest degree pernicious, if transferred to a different community. Gin and tobacco are found to agree wonderfully with the constitution of an English or Dutch sailor; but they operate like deadly poisons on those who have grown up to maturity, without any experience of their effects.

In the elastic frame of artificial society, it is hard to say what vibrations may be excited, or to what extent they may be propagated, by a mere local impulse. It is a great living body, animated by sympathetic nerves, of which no anatomist has yet demonstrated the course or the connexion; and we may paralyze the hand or the tongue, while we are seeking to remove a blemish from the eye. It is a great chemical compound, which maintains its fluidity and transparency by the nice balance of innumerable quiescent and divellent affinities; and there is no saying what precipitations and perturbations may be produced by changing the proportion of a single ingredient.

Even if these hazards should be thought chimerical, it cannot be denied, that what is old, has at least this advantage, that it is familiar to those who are concerned with it, and that its evils are less

less perceived than those of a more recent system. The road perhaps may not be so short or so smooth as it might have been; but it has been made with great cost, and every one knows his way along it. People have built houses and villages by the side of it, and constructed fences and canals with reference to its direction. There are good inns from one end to the other, and horses always to be had to drag us over the steep and miry parts of it.

To this it may indeed be replied, that the desertion of these is but one temporary sacrifice, and that they will soon be reproduced in greater abundance as the new track comes to be better frequented. This would be unanswerable, if it were possible to obtain any assurance that the first change would be the last: But the spirit which throws down what is antient, will never spare what is new; and as it is impossible for human institutions to attain perfection, or for men to recognize it, perhaps, if it could be attained, it may be worth while to calculate whether a temporary destitution may not be too great a price to pay for a temporary improvement; and whether it might not be wiser to bear with an habitual inconvenience, than to purchase a respite by a series of great and periodical disorders. If we once pull down our old massive castle, out of disgust at its inconvenience and irregularity, there is reason to fear that the trim box which we substitute in its place, will not escape the hands of a still more fastidious generation;—no, although its front should be of modern gothic, and its pediment of most exquisite rustic.

Lord Chief Justice Hale seems to have been of this way of thinking. In his excellent, though imperfect treatise, 'of the Amendment of Lawes,' he delivers many observations nearly coincident with the preceding. It would be doing injustice to the following, to give it any other words than his own.

'It is most certain, that time and long experience is much more ingenious, subtile and inventive, than all the wisest and acutest wits in the world, co-existing, can be. It discovers such varieties of emergencies and cases, that no man could ever otherwise have imagined. And, on the other side, in every thing that is new, or at least in most things, especially relating to lawes, there are thousands of new occurrences and intanglements and coincidencies and complications, that would not possibly be at first foreseen. And the reason is apparent: because lawes concern such multitudes, and those of various dispositions, passions, wits, interests, concerns, that it is not possible for any human foresight to discover at once, or to provide expedients against, in the first constitution of a law. Now a law, that hath abidden the test of time, hath met with most of these varieties and complications; and experience hath in all that process of time discovered these complications and emergencies, and so has applied suitable remedies and cures for these various emergencies. So that in truth antient lawes, especially that

have a common concern, are not the issues of the prudence of this or that council or senate, but they are the production of the various experiences and applications of the wisest thing in the inferior world; to wit, time; which, as it discovers day after day new inconveniences, so it doth successively apply new remedies: and indeed it is a kind of aggregation of the discoveries, results and applications of ages and events; so that it is a great adventure to go about to alter it, without very great necessity, and under the greatest demonstration of safety and convenience imaginable.'

These considerations should never be lost sight of in any operation of which society is the subject; yet they should be looked to, rather to direct, than to repress our exertions for its improvement; to deter us, indeed, from light or frequent or inconsiderate alterations, but to give weight and steadiness to those great and necessary movements by which great advantages are gained, or enormous incumbrances shaken off. It is right that there should be that *vis inertiæ* in our establishments that resists slight impulses, and keeps them firm on their base, in spite of petty attacks; but it would be sad, indeed, if they could not be moved when reason and expediency mustered in full force to fix them in a more advantageous position. The anchor which holds the vessel of the state, should be heavy enough to resist all swells and squalls of the turbulent elements without, or to be pulled up by a few mischievous cabin boys or mutinous sailors within; but it would be miserable, if it could not be weighed by the joint efforts of the crew, when it was necessary to remove to a more eligible station.

There is wisdom in almost all prejudices; and almost all wisdom is apt to be debased by prejudice. Nothing, perhaps, has saved the world from so much distraction, as the wisdom that lurks at the bottom of the universal prejudice against innovation; and nothing has intercepted so many great improvements, as the prejudice which is alloyed with this wisdom. Upon the large average account of human affairs, perhaps the mischiefs it has prevented may nearly balance the advantages it has withheld; but in the particular column of law, we conceive the mischiefs have greatly preponderated. We scarcely remember an instance in which any very serious evil has resulted from injudicious reformations of the law. There is no country upon earth where an unprejudiced observer may not perceive the greatest inconveniences produced by a morose retention of its maxims, or of the forms in which it has been administered.

Indeed, if we consider how much of what is now established as law, was necessarily arbitrary or accidental at the beginning—how much of its authority must always depend upon precision and uniformity merely—and how often the equity and expediency of

a rule is really of less value than its notoriety and inflexibility,—we shall easily discern the sources of that superstitious veneration which vails the head indiscriminately to whatever has long stood in the place of worship, and considers precedent and usage as at least equal in authority to equity and common sense. If we add to this, the natural tendency of those who have spent their lives in the study of the existing system, to magnify, both to themselves and others, the value of the knowledge they have acquired—the great influence and authority which the profession of the law necessarily possesses over the public opinion—the universal disposition to venerate and admire what is imperfectly understood—and the strong personal interest which leads so many active individuals to resist alterations by which their fortune may be injured, and their occupation destroyed,—we shall be at no loss to understand how it has happened, that men have adhered longer to obsolete usages, and absurd formalities in law, than in any other department, and given more than a due weight to those considerations which can only be fairly employed to repress rashness and arrest precipitation. They require us, indeed, to be well satisfied of the magnitude of the evil, and, as far as possible, of the safety of the remedy; but they by no means require us to submit to great evils, or to reject obvious remedies. They enjoin us, in the words of Lord Hale, 'to employ a vast circumspection,' before we venture on any considerable alteration; but to alter resolutely where the evil is great and radical, and the hazards of the change themselves of a remediable nature. How little has been done in this kind, we appeal to those who are acquainted with the state and the practice of the law in either part of the island, and who are at all above the prejudices or the interested motives which lead so many to trumpet forth the praises of a system by which they have their living. 'For the reformation of the law,' says Lord Hale, 'the sages thereof are afraid to meddle with it, but let it live on as long and as well as it may, in the state they find it: only, to save their credit upon some occasions, they meddle with some little inconsiderable things;—they set a price upon turnips and carrot seeds; but nothing is dared to be done of use or importance.'

With these general impressions as to the occasional necessity, and the constant peril, of considerable changes in the law and judicial establishments of a country, we proceed to make a few observations on the projected alterations in the courts of justice in Scotland. They consist in the introduction of jury trial in civil actions, and in the multiplication of our supreme civil tribunals. In order to form any judgment of the merits of this measure, it is necessary to inquire, 1*st*, Whether the evils of our present system of administering justice be such as to call for a radical alteration

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by the authority of the legislature; and, 2dly, Whether the remedies suggested in the resolutions are such as ought to be adopted.

In order to enable our readers to judge of this first question, it is indispensable for us to lay before them a slight sketch of our present judicial system, and to explain what sort of things our courts of justice, and our administration of it, are. Such a detail, we are afraid, cannot possibly be made attractive to those who read for amusement merely; but we are anxious that it should not be disgusting to any of those who condescend to number our pages among their materials for thinking; and shall endeavour to give all the necessary explanation, with as little minute detail as possible.

We have trial by jury in Scotland already;—in all criminal cases, and in all revenue questions:—in all cases, that is, where an individual can have to maintain a contest with the executive government. All crimes are tried in the court of Justiciary, and all revenue questions in the court of Exchequer; but neither of these take cognizance of any civil action. The supreme civil court is the court of Session; and its jurisdiction is nearly as extensive as that of the court of Chancery, of Common Pleas, and the Plea side of the King's Bench put together. It has also the power of altering the judgments of the Admiralty and Consistorial courts. It sits in Edinburgh, in two sessions or terms, for six months in the year, and does not send its Judges on circuits. The Judges of Justiciary go on the circuits twice in the year, but for trial of crimes only; though, by a recent statute, they have an appellate jurisdiction in civil cases under 12*l*. Civil justice is administered in the country chiefly by the Sheriffs of counties and their deputes, and by the Magistrates of burghs, assisted by the town-clerk. Justices of the peace do less than in England, though their powers are nearly the same. All the decisions of inferior judges may be brought under review of the court of Session, except in a very few trifling cases, regulated by recent statutes. The court of Session, therefore, has almost an entire monopoly of the administration of justice between man and man in this country; and it is, accordingly, to its constitution that our attention must now be directed.

This court consists of fourteen Judges and a President, who sit together in one body; but causes do not come before this learned crowd in the first instance. Each of the fourteen sits for a week, by rotation, in the Outer-House, and hears and takes cognizance of all the causes that come into the court during that period. If the party against whom he gives judgment be dissatisfied with the decision, he brings it, by petition, under the review of the whole

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court, which thus sits, our readers will perceive, only as a court of appeal. There are a few cases, indeed, which may be brought before it in the first instance; but these form a very inconsiderable part of its business. Each of the Judges, it will also be observed, has thus a double duty to perform; first, to decide, singly, the causes which are brought before him in the Outer-House, and then to try, with his brethren, the appeals that are brought against the decisions of individual Judges.

There are now, upon an average, about 150 or 200 new causes brought every week before the Judge sitting in the Outer-House. It is impossible, therefore, for him to hear pleadings, or to give judgment in one fifth part of them; and the remainder are either postponed, or an order is given to state them in writing. After this first week, the Judge has a few occasional hours, in which he determines upon motions, or hears pleadings, in the causes thus originally enrolled before him; but these are so extremely limited, that it is calculated, in one of these pamphlets, that the whole time which any Judge can dedicate in Court to the causes which depend before him individually, is not more than 64 hours in the course of a year.

Here is the beginning of the evils which are now felt so oppressively. The Judge having no time to hear the causes pleaded, directs them to be stated in writing. The other party answers in writing also; and at last the Judge finds time to peruse these papers. If the cause is not pleaded to his mind, he orders more papers; and when, at length, a judgment is pronounced, the losing party has it in his power to give in a written pleading against that judgment; and this he may do as often as he thinks proper, till the Judge chooses to order that no more papers shall be received. He is then entitled to submit the whole cause, in the shape of a petition, to the whole fifteen Judges. This petition is printed; and the Court, if the case, upon this partial statement, appear attended with any difficulty, orders the other party to print a pleading in answer to it; additional papers are frequently printed also; and, after perusing all these, the Judges deliberate, and give judgment openly upon the cause. Even then, however, the decision is not final; and the losing party may argue the whole question over again in a second petition. It is only when two successive judgments have been given on the same side, that the written contest is terminated; and then the unsuccessful litigant has no resource but in an appeal to the House of Lords.

This slight view of the proceedings in the Court of Session, may give our readers a glimpse of the inconveniences that result from it; but it is necessary to look on them a little more nearly.

Judges

Judges who have no time to hear Counsel plead, cannot be expected to have leisure for examining witnesses; accordingly, when it is necessary to go to proof, a commission is granted to some other person to take the depositions of the witnesses, which are all written down, and transmitted by the commissioner to the Court. No separate judgment is pronounced, either by the commissioner or the Judge, upon the import of this written evidence, which becomes the subject of new written pleadings before the latter; and, upon the import and credibility of which, the most obstinate argument is usually maintained till the final issue of the cause.

The great expense, delay, and unsatisfactoriness of this sort of proof, naturally makes parties unwilling to have recourse to it; and they frequently content themselves for a long while with making contradictory averments, and endeavouring to show by reasoning, that those of their antagonist are improbable, or that, if they were admitted, they would not make out his plea. In order to demur to the points of law maintained by their opponent, it is not necessary, as in England, to admit his statement of fact; so the parties always deny both; and they deny both in one and the same pleading. Even after proof has been taken, the same mixed form of pleading is continued; they deny that the facts are established; and they deny that they infer the conclusions deduced from them; nay, they often continue to deny that it was competent to bring any proof of them at all. Upon this mixed argument, the Judge in the Outer-House for the most part pronounces a general judgment for one or other of the parties, without explaining particularly whether it is grounded upon the evidence or the law, or upon both: And from this judgment an appeal is taken to the whole Court.

Those who are accustomed to the accurate forms of pleading established in the southern part of the island, will have difficulty in conceiving the extreme looseness and prolixity of the written papers that are given in, even in this mature stage of the proceeding. It is rare that either of the parties will admit a single fact, or a single argument, maintained by his antagonist; and as it is equally open to them to make new assertions, and to offer new proof, as to argue against all that has already been obtained, so there is no latitude in which they may not indulge themselves, in the statement and illustration of their cause. They may quote any decision of any Scotch, English, or foreign court; and refer to the authority of any lawyer, from Papinian to the present Attorney-General: they may argue from topics of law, equity, or general expediency; and may embellish their arguments with quotations from Shakespeare, or choice morsels of Horace: according to the vein

of their advocate, they may be witty, humorous or pathetic; and may sprinkle their performances with *bons mots*, or political sarcasms and allusions. The expense and delay of preparing these elaborate treatises, may easily be conceived. They are, indeed, merely speeches in writing, with this additional disadvantage, that though a lawyer may be stopped when he wanders from the point in his pleading, the unfortunate Judge has no resource when he chooses to digress upon paper, but must plod through the whole mass of eloquence that is laid before him. The oppression to which these learned persons are this subjected, is almost incredible. It was calculated by one of their own number, about twenty years ago, that every Judge had to read, in the course of six months of Session, about 25,000 quarto pages of printed pleadings; and very nearly half as much more in manuscript from the Outer-House. The quantity, we believe, is now one fourth part greater.

Even these evils, however, are inconsiderable, compared with those which result from the looseness and inaccuracy of the pleadings, operating upon a court consisting of so may members. Each of the fifteen Judges reads his printed papers at home, and comes to deliver his opinion upon them in the hearing of his brethren. In performances so desultory and miscellaneous, it may easily be conceived that there may be something to please all tastes, and that one person will be struck with one thing, and another with another. The great number of the Judges, and the quantity of business they have to do, makes it impossible for them to concert any common opinion, or to consult each other in private as to the opinions they have separately adopted; and they often come into court, therefore, with the most opposite notions as to the merits of the case, and the most irreconcileable views of the principles upon which it should be decided. One thinks the proof satisfactory on the side of the plaintiff, but the law wrong: another thinks the law right, but the evidence inconclusive: a third thinks he is wrong on both, a fourth that he is right: a fifth proposes that a new proof should be allowed; and a sixth that another volume should be given in upon the abstract point of law. Each of these views is maintained with considerable warmth and obstinacy; the deliberation assumes all the characters of a debate; and, after much time spent in zealous argument and discussion, the scene is terminated by a vote, which gives the cause for one or other of the parties; but frequently leaves it impossible to determine upon which view of the law the decision has proceeded.

The evils that necessarily result from this system of proceeding, will suggest themselves at once to every person who runs over the statement we have now given. It is proper, however, to class and enumerate them.

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There is, in the first place, the evil of enormous delay and expense; from the whole pleadings being in writing; from the evidence being not only in writing, but its import being to the last a subject of argument; from the almost unlimited power of submitting judgments to review; from the time spent, worse than uselessly, in the wrangling deliberation of the Court; and from the Judges being all tasked, both as individuals and as acting together, far beyond what they have leisure to perform. By great exertions, and premature references to the whole court, the individual Judges are commonly able to get rid of four fifths of the causes enrolled before them, before it comes to them in rotation to take in a fresh assortment; but in the Inner-house, where the supply is not periodical, but daily, no exertion has been able to prevent a constant accumulation, which threatens in a few years to stop the movement of the machine altogether. There are at this time, we are credibly informed, on the roll of the Inner-House, as many causes ready for decision as would occupy the court nearly two years to decide, though no new ones were to be brought before them in all that time; and consequently, it follows, that if a cause abides the regular course of the roll, it could not come to be decided, for the first time, for almost two years after the pleadings were concluded. As the country increases in wealth and population, the number of lawsuits may be expected to increase also; and it does not seem to be particularly the ambition of the present race of advocates to be more concise than their predecessors. If this arrear of undecided causes, therefore, has been constantly increasing during the last twenty years, it may be expected to increase still more rapidly hereafter; and if no remedy be applied, we may live to see the time when a litigant cannot possibly obtain judgment, in the simplest question, in less than seven or eight years; and that in the only court to which it is possible for him to resort. The effects of delay are, to ruin or exclude poor litigants; to encourage oppressive and unjust litigation; and to bring the courts of justice into odium and contempt with the great body of the people. There never was a case, we believe, that so imperiously demanded a remedy as this.

The second great evil is the immaturity and uncertainty of the law; arising partly from the inaccurate forms of pleading, the utter impossibility of the Judges finding time to study the more difficult cases that come before them, and the want of sufficient communication between the judge and the counsel,—but chiefly from the continued confusion of the facts and the law in every particular question; and the dissension and ill prepared debates of the Judges among themselves in their public deliberations. This last mischief may be ascribed altogether to the

excessive

excessive number of the Judges. It is impossible to set fifteen men a talking upon any subject upon which they are ultimately to vote, without producing considerable eagerness of opposition, and altering in some degree the tone of judicial discussion to that of polemical debate. A judge who thinks he is right, is naturally anxious that his opinion should be adopted by his brethren, and to point out the fallacies by which they are prevented from falling in with it. He is provoked, too, at the slowness of some, the misapprehension of others, and, what will appear to him, the prejudices and perverse obstinacy of a third party. He pleads for his own view of the matter with some warmth, and with some partiality. Though intending nothing but what is perfectly candid, he unconsciously treats the law that is opposed to him with too little ceremony, and claims too extensive an authority for that which he supports. His opponents do the same thing; and if two or three different opinions find advocates on the Bench, it is easy to perceive how an auditor must be puzzled to find out how the law actually stands, and how impossible it must be for a reporter to say how it was delivered. Our reporters, accordingly, for the most part, give us nothing more than a summary of the argument upon both sides, with the ultimate deliverance of the court.

The third great evil of the present system results from the former two, and consists in the general dissatisfaction and discontent of the people with their supreme tribunal; the multiplication of disputes in all sorts of transactions; and the adoption of modes of decision, which do not tend to cut off the causes of future misunderstanding.—The notorious expense and delay of a suit in the court of Session, is sufficient to account for a pretty general prepossession against it; but the manner in which its deliberations are conducted, frequently gives a better pretext for defamation. It must be a bad cause indeed, or very ill argued, in which there is not something that seems plausible to one or two out of fifteen Judges;—they, of course, say something still more plausible in support of it, and very possibly detect some oversight or inaccuracy in the opinion of those who are opposed to them. This is eagerly reported to the unfortunate litigant, who is thus encouraged to proceed with a desperate cause, and believes, to the last hour of his life, that its merits were misapprehended by all but those who voted in his favour. This, perhaps, is the common case; but, in very many instances, the decision is carried by a small majority: and it is really too much to expect, that a client shall entertain much respect for a judgment, which was loudly reprobated by nearly one half of the Judges,—or for a Court, which could be so much divided upon a question of

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ordinary occurrence. That this unsettled state of the law will naturally produce many disputes, is too obvious to require any illustration; and the fact is, that, in our great commercial towns, the abundance of these disputes, and the hopelessness of getting them effectually settled by the court of law, has given rise to a set of professional arbiters, to whose judgment most persons prefer submitting themselves. Now, though arbitration be a very expedient thing for the parties, it does by no means tend to fix or make known the law. The sentences pronounced by these private judges, have no authority beyond the cases to which they have been applied. They make no law between any other parties; and have neither weight nor notoriety enough to be referred to as precedents for the direction of others. They have no effect, therefore, in preventing future misunderstandings; and their multiplication among men, to whom the occasions of misunderstanding must frequently come round, is one of the most decided symptoms that can be imagined, of a general distrust or dissatisfaction with the regular judicial establishment.

If these evils, or any considerable part of them, may really be traced to the faulty constitution of this supreme judicature, it seems impossible to deny, that a case is made out which calls for the interference of the Legislature. That they are remediable evils, we think, is apparent, from the bare statement of them; nor does it even seem very difficult to indicate, in a general way, the remedies that ought to be applied. It is perfectly plain to us, that one court is too little for the civil business of this litigious country; therefore, there should be more courts than one to do the business that is now done, or rather undertaken, by the Session. It is no less evident, that fifteen Judges are a great deal too many to sit together in one judicial assembly: the number of Judges in each of these courts should therefore be greatly diminished. It is undeniable, in like manner, that the practice of taking proofs by commissioners, is a very cumbrous and imperfect way of getting at the truth; witnesses ought therefore to be examined in presence of the Judge, and the import of their evidence finally fixed, perhaps, by the verdict of a jury. The plan of trying most cases, in the first instance, by a single Judge, we think, is laudable, and ought to be continued; but the Judge to whom this duty is committed, should have full time to discharge it, and we rather think should do no other duty. A more strict form of pleading ought to be introduced; written pleadings ought to be in a great measure abolished; and limits set to the power of reviewing solemn judgments.

These things, we admit, are easily said; and we say them, with the help of *one perhaps*, without much diffidence or hesitation:

tation: yet we are fully aware of the difficulty of reducing them to practice with safety and effect; and feel, as we advance to the consideration of the practical details, that our greatest wisdom must be in a choice of hazards; and that the best service we can perform, is to patronize scepticism, and prolong deliberation.

While the country was poor, and not very industrious, few persons could afford to go to law but landed proprietors. To them a lawsuit was a sort of luxury; it succeeded the feud of arms; and they were in no hurry to be done with it. The questions turned frequently, too, upon points of feudal law, where the facts were not much disputed, and those who were learned could not ultimately disagree. The inconveniences of this system were but little felt, therefore, in these times; but when we became at last a commercial and enterprizing people, the business of the Court multiplied; and cases arose, in which the investigation of facts became necessary, and principles of a more arbitrary and disputable nature were necessarily brought into action. The evil then began to be felt; and various proposals were made to remove it. Nothing, however, appears to have reached the British Legislature till the year 1785, when a bill was brought into Parliament for reducing the number of Judges to ten, and increasing their salaries. This measure met with a violent opposition from James Boswell, who wrote a pamphlet against it, exceeding all his other compositions in extravagance and absurdity; and does not appear to have been generally relished in the country. It was dropped, accordingly, without a struggle; and only deserves to be noticed here, for the sake of the very able argument which was written in support of it, under the title of 'An Explanation of the Bill for increasing the Salaries and lessening the Number of the Judges,' &c. This performance was generally ascribed at the time to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, by whom the bill was introduced, and who now fills the important situation of President of the Court. As it may be of consequence to satisfy some readers, that the necessity of some great change in the constitution of the Court has long been perceived by those who had the best opportunity to know its real operation, we make no apology for extracting from this publication the following convincing reasons for diminishing the number, or separating the functions of the Judges. It is written with a degree of reserve and management, for which we no longer see any occasion; but it is quite sound and decisive in principle, and deserves well to be considered by those who can see no harm in the present system.

'In general, it may be laid down as a certain truth, that when a court is composed of many Judges, whose duty it is equally to officiate, it will seldom happen that they are all equally effective, and well disposed

posed to do their duty, especially if it be laborious, and if the chief burden may occasionally be thrown from one upon another. The inconvenience, too, will be much heightened, if the system of law by which they are guided happens to be formed upon abstract reasoning, more than upon fixed and positive rules. Hence may arise a looseness of proceeding, and many irregularities, which can easily be figured.

'I hope no one will mistake me so far as to suppose that this observation is literally applicable to the present state of the court of Session, or that the most distant insinuation is meant against the purity and honour of so respectable a body of men. I know the Judges individually to be men of as great worth as any who exist, and of the most eminent ability in their profession. But this I must be permitted to say, that the present established mode of conducting business in that court, owing chiefly to the number of its Judges, has a tendency to produce those mischiefs, and will in time do so, if an effectual remedy be not applied.

'It is obvious, that a numerous body of Judges is better calculated for debate than for decision. The dignity of the character is lessened in proportion to the number, not only in their own feeling, but in the eye of the world; and they are less sensible of responsibility than the same men would otherwise be.

'I might add, that the state of such a Bar as that of Scotland, cannot at all times afford a multiplicity of experienced men to fill a very numerous Bench, as well as the other departments of the law. Neither will a statesman think it always necessary that every one of fifteen Judges should be of the first eminence in his profession. It is not to be expected that political nominations will always continue to be avoided if we have too numerous a Bench; and the consequence of taking any liberty of this kind, may easily be foreseen.

'These things are but slightly hinted at, because they are obvious; and being only stated as *possibilities*, require not to be enlarged upon.

'We have been told that the 15 Judges of the Court of Session with difficulty overtake their business, and, therefore, that a smaller number cannot be sufficient.

'To those who are unacquainted with the practice of that Court, this may seem a very plausible argument; but it ought not to have been used by gentlemen who have access to know how the fact really stands. It is true, that some of the Judges, according to the present forms of proceeding, are overburdened; and the case would be just the same, if there were thirty Judges instead of fifteen.

'In the Outer-House of the court of Session, each of the fourteen ordinary Lords sits, or ought to sit in his turn, for one week, as an individual Judge, to hear the causes which are enrolled before him, and with respect to which he is called the *Lord Ordinary*; because, having once been fixed before him, they remain there till they go through the necessary forms, and either receive his judgment, or, upon report from him, that of the whole Court. When the Ordinary gives his own judgement,

judgement, the losing party may reclaim to the whole Court, i. e. to the Judges in a body sitting in the Inner House; and therefore these Judges, consisting of fourteen when the Court is full, or perhaps fifteen, if the Ordinary of the week be likewise among them, perform the office of a court of appeal, in reviewing the judgements of Ordinaries. They act, too, as an original court, in receiving and determining upon the report of Ordinaries; and there are some instances of causes which come directly into the Inner House, without being at all subject to the cognizance of Ordinaries.

'Now I admit that there is an absolute necessity for having such a number of Judges in the court of Session, as shall be able individually to overtake, with ease, the business which must come before them, by turns, in the Outer House, and likewise to execute a separate branch of business, which they do in the same manner, viz. determining upon bills of advocation and suspension. But I maintain, in the *first* place, That fourteen Judges are not necessary for that purpose; and, *2dly*, That, in the Inner House, not only are fourteen or fifteen Judges sitting in a body unnecessary; but the number does harm, and therefore ought, in all events, to be abridged.

'As to the business done in the Inner House, the smallest reflection must satisfy every one, that the number of the Judges does no way tend to distribute the labour so as to make it easier to each individual; for they must all read the whole papers, and hear the whole argument; they must all judge at the same time; and the case is by no means similar to that of carrying a load, where, in proportion to the number, the burden is heavier or lighter to each. On the contrary, adding to the number of Judges, rather increases the weight, and makes it more cumbersome, owing to the debate which it occasions, and to the errors which must be corrected.

'The dispatch of business, accordingly, suffers; ill humour is occasioned; and the utmost exertion of the highest abilities in the Chair, will not prevent irregularity of proceeding, and many evils which, happily for us, are not felt under the present set of Judges, but may too soon, perhaps, become unavoidable.

'Even were the Court to remain as it is, without any diminution of number, it seems to be clear, that a regulation ought to be made, dispensing with the attendance of so many of the fifteen (suppose the six [illegible] of the five youngest) in the Inner House, and confining them to Outer House business, while [illegible]; indeed, it would be better that they did no business at all, than that fourteen or fifteen men should be employed in the [illegible] of the Inner House.'

This [illegible] would have been an imperfect remedy for the evils by which [illegible]; but it would probably have led [illegible] to more fundamental improvements. [illegible], however, and the [illegible] of [illegible] continued to be felt, and to call [illegible] those who suffered most directly from

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their continuance. In 1789, Lord Swinton, one of the Judges of the court of Session, published a very elaborate and valuable pamphlet on the reformation of that Court. In this work, which is still by far the most accurate and important which has appeared upon the subject, the learned Judge proposed that the Court should be divided into two chambers, each consisting of five Judges and a President, who should act as separate and independent courts; though, upon new and difficult cases, they might meet together as a court of review; and that one of them at least should be empowered to try certain civil causes, with the assistance of a jury. It is surprising that this plan, which has really great merit, and evidently forms the basis of the late resolutions of the Lords, should have attracted so little notice at the time. We find it treated with affected contempt, in a few trifling pamphlets that appeared soon after; and have not been able to learn, that those who had then the management of affairs made any inquiry into the grievances which it proclaimed. The French revolution, indeed, followed soon after; and for some years, reform and rebellion were considered nearly as synonymous terms. The Judges, however, and practitioners, perceived every day more clearly, that some great reformation was indispensably necessary; and, even before the late change of ministry, if we are not misinformed, some communication had been held with Government as to the means of carrying it into effect. The country was shaken for some time with a variety of rumours and speculations, till, in June last, Lord Grenville came forward with the resolutions to which we alluded in the outset; and announced it to be his intention to bring in a bill, in the ensuing session of Parliament, for carrying the substance of them into effect.

The fundamental parts of this plan are, That the present court 'shall be divided into such number of separate chambers as may be found convenient;' each to act as a distinct court: That a stricter form of pleading shall be introduced, by requiring from each party a precise statement of facts at the outset of the cause: That when the parties differ as to facts, the Court, upon the requisition of either party, or of its own discretion, shall order the issue of fact to be tried by a jury, except in cases that may be specially excepted: That where it appears expedient, such trials shall be remitted to the nearest circuit; and that, in all cases, it shall be lawful to complain of verdicts as having been given contrary to evidence, or by misdirection: That a new chamber of review shall be erected, composed of Judges who do not sit in the chamber whose sentence is appealed from; and that no appeal to the House of Lords shall be competent, but from the judgements of this chamber of review. There is room for meditation here, and for much anxious inquiry.

As to the proposed multiplication of courts for trying civil actions, we have already given it our decided approbation. We conceive it, indeed, to be a measure of absolute necessity; but whether this should be done by dividing the Session into separate chambers, or by erecting our other courts into a fair competition with it, is a question that may admit of some hesitation. The court of Exchequer, with us, does but little business; and the court of Justiciary meets only occasionally, when a criminal is brought before it. If we were to open these courts for the trial of civil causes, we should have a sufficient number of judicatures, without any new creation; and should only have to reduce the number of the Judges in the Session. If trial by jury is to be introduced, it will be found already established in the Justiciary and Exchequer. It was by a similar extension of jurisdiction, effected indeed by a sort of clandestine usurpation, that the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer in England came to decide in civil actions; and their rivalry soon became so formidable to the Common Pleas, that that venerable court, in the words of Lord Hale, 'was put to very unhandsome shifts to keep pace with them.' The consequence was, however, as has been well observed by the author of the Wealth of Nations, that all three were excited to an emulation highly beneficial to the community—each striving to attract suitors by the speediest and most effectual administration of justice; and to this competition of those concurrent judicatures, it seems reasonable to impute much of the admitted excellence of the English system of jurisprudence.

Whether it be thought adviseable, however, to revive and enlarge our existing courts, or to create new ones, we trust that some provision will be made, in the projected bill, for regulating the business that is brought before the single Judges in the Outer-House. It would be best, we humbly conceive, that these Judges should sit there permanently; but, at all events, much of the old evils will return, if full time be not allowed them to hear the pleadings of counsel, and to preside over the proof of facts.

The Resolutions do not state expressly into what number of chambers it is proposed to divide the present establishment; but, from the expressions employed as to the chamber of review, we gather that more than two are intended; and the general understanding is, that there are to be three, each consisting of five Judges. We cannot help thinking three too many. They will not be sufficiently occupied; and the truth is, that we cannot expect to breed so many as fifteen Judges, so qualified as they ought to be in this new system. All England with difficulty furnishes twelve. Two chambers, we are persuaded, would be found fully adequate to the necessities of the country; and it would not

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only be easier to find ten or twelve Judges than fifteen, but the situation being more important, would be sought by men of higher pretensions. We have suggested three courts, indeed, in proposing to throw open the Exchequer and Justiciary; but, in that case, these two would do their present business also. If there are only two chambers, there should be five or six Judges in each, two of whom should be constantly in the Outer-House.

We are inclined to demur stoutly as to the new chamber of review. There are too many reviews and stages of litigation already, in our system of procedure. Nothing encourages litigiosity so much, or makes the loser so dissatisfied with the ultimate decision. But if this chamber is to be constituted as common fame has reported, it appears to us that it will soon put an entire stop to every part of the new system. It is to be formed, we have been told, and the words of the resolutions certainly countenance the assertion, by the reunion of the two chambers which were not concerned in the decision appealed from, and is to decide, as in the House of Lords, upon printed cases and solemn pleading. It is perfectly manifest to us, however, that every cause which now goes into the Inner-House will be carried to this chamber of review, of which the entrance will be easier, and from which the exit will be more expeditious. Now, the Inner-House finally determines about twelve or fifteen causes in the week, by deliberating upon papers which the Judges have studied at home; but if two or four counsel are to be heard upon every question, it is plain that the chamber of review will never be able to decide one half of that number; and if as many be brought before them, we shall thus have two of the chambers sitting constantly together, without being able to keep pace with the business. If they sit constantly together, however, they can never sit separately; and the whole scheme of the three chambers will be annihilated in the first session of the experiment.

This result appears to us to be so obvious and inevitable, that we can scarcely believe that such a scheme is in contemplation. We should have great objection, however, to *any* new chamber of review; at least to any such chamber formed of a large number of Judges, or of Judges who are also to sit in another capacity. A court of review, consisting of ten or twelve persons, and as easily accessible as the present Inner-House, would have almost all the disadvantages of the present Inner-House. In fact, it would be nothing but a new Inner-House, most preposterously superadded to a scheme, the chief merit of which consists in getting rid of that establishment. It is obvious, indeed, that any one court of review, to which the litigants could come from all the separate chambers at a small expense, would have the infal-

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lible effect of virtually destroying the plurality and separate existence of these several chambers. *Every* cause would come there, as it now does to the Inner-House; and, in the end, we should have but *one court*, as at present, to struggle and be encumbered with all the civil causes of the country. The chambers, instead of being separate and independent courts, would just come in the place of the individual Judges who now sit in the Outer-House. There would then be two classes of preparatory Judges, indeed, one above the other, by which delay and expense would be multiplied; but there would be but one court; and that one court could never be made equal to the whole business of Scotland. We do not see how these objections are to be obviated, by providing, that causes shall be conducted in the chamber of review by printed cases and hearing of counsel. If this be the best mode of conducting causes, and we rather think it is, why should it be confined to the chamber of review? It ought evidently to be established in the Inner-House of each of the separate chambers. We should not object to the occasional reunion or consultation of the whole chambers, to consider extraordinary or very difficult cases; but to put it in the power of every litigant to call for such a reunion, and to make it easy for him to obtain their opinion, really appears to us to be defeating the very end of the whole projected reformation, and leading us, by a flattering circuit, into our old perplexities. The proposed regulations for discouraging litigious appeals to the House of Lords, seem highly judicious and expedient.

By far the most important feature of the plan, however, is the proposed introduction of jury trials in civil causes. And here, we are well aware, that we shall excite the wonder and contempt of most of our English readers, by professing, that we have some doubts as to the expediency of such a measure. Upon the whole, however, we are certainly for trying the experiment; but our expectations are less sanguine as to the result, than those of the persons by whom it has been projected.

Jury trial is one of the objects of English idolatry; and we are not partial to idols. There is a kind of established cant upon the subject, which we suppose must always be used to the vulgar, like the slang about roast beef and liberty; but it does not seem necessary to speak this language to the judicious; nor will passion and eloquence help us much in the determination of a delicate problem in legislation. The truth is, that trial by jury has deserved and acquired all this popularity by its services in criminal cases, or cases where an individual is set to maintain a contest with the executive. Its excellence and utility, there, cannot be too much commended; but that topic is entirely excluded from the present discussion. We have

jury-trial in Scotland already, in all criminal and in all revenue questions; and all that remains to be considered is, whether it would be expedient to introduce it, in common civil actions. In cases which are truly of a criminal nature, though tried in civil courts, such as cases of libel, seduction, and others in which damages are claimed for injury, it seems impossible to deny that juries should be employed, for the same reasons that have established their utility in cases of crimes. But, in questions of pure patrimonial interest, or legal obligation, where the moral qualities of the parties are necessarily laid out of view; where there is, or should be, no sympathy with suffering, or indignation at injustice, it is obvious that the greater part of these reasons cease to apply; and that, if juries are to be employed at all, they are to be employed on very different principles, and for very different purposes. It is very possible that a jury may be a convenient instrument for ascertaining facts, or terminating disputes; but it is not by this kind of operation that it is to secure the liberties of the subject, and to make our constitution immortal. There is no occasion for the sentimental eloquence of a German novel, in inquiring into matters of this sort; nor does it seem to us, that the glorious privileges of Britons would be materially endangered, although the courts of law were to determine, without the assistance of twelve tradesmen, whether a red cow should belong to Dick or to Philip; or an old wall be repaired by John or by James.

Certainly, at first sight, it does not appear very obvious, that twelve men, unaccustomed to weigh evidence, or to balance contradictions, should be better able to form a just estimate of a complicated proof, than two or three who have passed their lives in the study of such cases, and have been promoted to eminent stations for their proficiency in that study. Neither is it self-evident to our apprehension, that twelve men, of ordinary rank, from the vicinage of two contending parties, are more likely to be free from partiality or corruption, than one or two of elevated station, totally unacquainted and unconnected with the parties or their cause of quarrel. If a man has incurred popular odium by his vices or his virtues, it is well known how difficult it is for him to get common justice from a jury, in any question whatever. When the odium is political, indeed, there may be danger of partiality in a judge as well as in a jury; but, we sincerely think, rather less in the former case than in the latter. Wilkes had no difficulty in obtaining, from Lord Chief Justice Pratt, a sentence against the warrants of the Secretaries of State.

The fact is, as we have already hinted, that we are misled into an admiration of juries, from what we see of them in criminal cases.

caſes. There, their taſk is always eaſy, and their errors, for the moſt part, virtuous. If there be the ſlighteſt doubt in the caſe, the reſource is acquittal. They can never be put upon a nice adjuſtment of evidence. If the ſcale of the priſoner do not kick the beam, he is delivered; a large make-weight of mercy is thrown in, and turns it the other way. The proſecutor muſt make out a caſe that leaves no room for ſcruples or heſitation; and no injuſtice is held to be done, though a few guilty perſons ſhould eſcape. In civil actions, there is no ſuch comfortable ſolution:—the defendant is no more entitled to favour than the plaintiff; and the jury cannot eſcape from a caſe of difficulty by a humane preſumption of innocence, or an amiable averſion to bloodſhed. They muſt weigh the evidence with an even and equal hand, grain againſt grain, and ſcruple againſt ſcruple; and the purpoſe of their nomination is defeated, if they make the ſlighteſt miſtake in the calculation. Are twelve ordinary men, taken by rotation, the ſafeſt perſons in the world to truſt with ſo tickliſh an operation?

The common anſwer to all this, is, that it is idle to perplex ourſelves with arguments, when we may lift up our eyes and ſee the queſtion determined by experiment. The Engliſh have juries in civil caſes—they think them the beſt part of their ſyſtem—and their ſyſtem is admitted to be far better than ours.

We muſt begin with the end of this enthymem. That the Engliſh think their own ſyſtem very near perfection, may be inferred, indeed, from the eulogies which all their lawyers are in the practice of beſtowing upon it. The Engliſh, however, have a fooliſh trick of praiſing every thing that is peculiarly their own. Among authors, it is a ſecret for popularity; among lawyers, it may be a receipt, perhaps, for ſomething ſtill more ſubſtantial. That there are faults, and very groſs faults too, in the Engliſh ſcheme of adminiſtering juſtice, is obvious to every one who reads the very books in which its praiſes are recorded. But there have been Engliſh lawyers who have confeſſed this, and lawyers of no mean name. It has been more common, indeed, to emulate the treatiſe *De Laudibus*; but Lord Hale, and Sir W. Blackſtone, have both pointed out ſome ſtupendous abſurdities; and the former, in his treatiſe on the amendment of the law, has enumerated a multitude of fundamental defects, that are to this hour without remedy. The moſt intrepid and formidable attack, however, has been made by a living author, Jeremy Bentham; by far the moſt profound and original thinker who has yet been formed in that ſchool of juriſprudence. In ſpeaking of the ordinary detail of practice, this learned author obſerves,

'The practice, or routine part of it, has been ſettled, ſomehow

how or other, between the ſubordinate officers and the attornies; no body knows when, nor by whom, nor how, nor for what reaſon. It is, accordingly, in the language of lawyers, like every thing elſe that has been done by lawyers, 'the perfection of reaſon;' that is, different in all the different courts, repugnant in every one of them to the ends of juſtice, but extremely convenient, and not a little beneficial, to all parties concerned, except the ſuitors.'

As to the boaſted deſpatch of this ſyſtem, he obſerves,

'Delay is fixed inexorably for all cauſes, becauſe it is poſſible that it may be neceſſary in ſome. A certain meaſure of delay, every defendant is entitled to, whether he needs it or no, and without telling any lies to get it. Another meaſure, upon telling certain lies, which not being rendered puniſhable, are told without reſerve or myſtery. Another meaſure, again, upon giving ſuch reaſons as, true or falſe, ſhall have been fortunate enough to have paſſed the teſt of examination. So long as you make a point of keeping ſuitors at a diſtance from each other, and from the judge, this profuſion of delay is unavoidable. When you cannot tell how much time a man may honeſtly have occaſion for, you muſt make ſure of giving him enough. As you will not aſk any body that can tell you, it is impoſſible you ſhould know how much he has occaſion for. You muſt therefore give him what, in ninety-nine inſtances out of a hundred, will be too much. Such is the conſequence of unbending rules in a ſyſtem of procedure.'

In anſwer to the common vaunt, that twelve Judges are able to decide properly all the cauſes which are brought for trial in England, he obſerves that this ariſes, in fact, from the enormous expenſe and delay of litigation, which prevents moſt perſons from ſeeking redreſs in that manner. Twelve Judges, he ſays, might be made to go as far in any other country, if they would only

—'enact a law, that no man ſhall ſue another for a ſhilling, without ſpending 30l. before he knows whether he ſhall get it or no; and as much more, up to 300l. or 400l., as the circumſtances may require.'—'In fact,' he proceeds, 'the expenſe of judicial proceedings naturally tends to produce oppreſſion; if one man, by ſpending from a hundredth to a hundred thouſandth part of his own fortune, can be the deſtruction of another's, malice, or the luſt of dominion, may purchaſe gratification at a cheap rate. The Engliſh law, by the matchleſs enormity of the artificial burthens it has thrown upon juſtice, and the ingenuity it has ſhown in their diſtribution, has inſured this gratification to every man who can afford to give a handſome price for it. In doing ſo, it has conferred on every man an arbitrary power over every other man leſs favoured by fortune; a tyranny which nothing has prevented from being intolerable, but the influence of public opinion.'

Upon the whole ſubject he concludes,

'There is no nation hitherto whoſe laws have ſuch large features of excellence in them, as thoſe of England: yet none perhaps whoſe laws [illegible] are

are more abundant in particular and very gross defects. No Judge can well sit on the Bench for a day together, without being witness to numerous exemplifications of them. In one of the houses of Legislature, all the Judges have always had seats, and at all times some of them have had votes; yet who ever heard of a representation of this sort spontaneously given by a Judge to the Legislature? And how many instances do the annals of Parliament afford, of bills brought in by law Lords for the amendment of the law? Is a bill of this sort attempted to be stole in by an unlearned hand? Learned eyes are not wanting for spying out the defects, not of the law, but of the bill which seeks to remedy it; and scorn is the reward which public spirit gets for its temerity.' *

We do not take all that Mr Bentham says here for the naked and simple truth; but we believe there is much truth in his statements; and that when the spirit of reformation has gained more strength and purity, it will alter many parts of that English system which is now held out as a model, according to which every thing else should be altered.

But admitting that the English system is excellent, we may next be permitted to inquire, whether it be excellent by means of jury-trial in civil cases, or in spite of such jury-trial. This system is a vast and complicated whole, in which many functions are performed by many parts; and after it has been long in action, it is nearly impossible to say what parts have promoted, and what have obstructed, its salutary movements. It is a great living body, in which it is vain to look for the immediate seat of vitality. That this vivifying principle resides in jury-trial, has indeed been an opinion among lawyers; as it has been an opinion among anatomists that the soul resided in the pineal gland; but the pineal gland, when detached from the rest of the system, is merely a piece of pulp, about the size of a pea; and jury-trial, taken by itself, may perhaps be something of the same value.

The strict forms of pleading which have been long established in the courts of England; the limitation of the power of review from judgments upon evidence—and, above all, the examination of witnesses in presence of the Judge,—will certainly go far to explain the admitted excellences of this part of their system of procedure,

* Those extracts are made from a work of Mr Bentham's, entitled, 'Draught of a new Plan for the Organization of Judicial Establishments,' which was printed in 1790, and was meant to be presented to the National Assembly of France. It was never regularly published; and we owe some apology, perhaps to the author for having printed these citations. It contains, like all his other productions, many profound reflexions and acute remarks, with a variety of dogmatical sarcasms and paradoxes; to all of which, we are persuaded he would not adhere at present. We wish he could be prevailed on to write on our present subject.

cedure, without leaving much to be set to the credit of the twelve slow men who are interposed between the witnesses and the court. That they have sometimes been felt as an incumbrance, appears evident from the multiplied provisions that have been found necessary to get the better of their errors. The writ of attaint, the motion for new trial, the bill of exceptions, and the pleas in arrest of judgment, are all proofs of this. Is it not true, besides, that many cases are referred to arbiters, after issue joined, purely from the impossibility of having them well tried by a jury? that Judge Blackstone has said of the court of Chancery, in which there are no juries, that it is 'by much the most important of any of the King's superior and original courts of justice;' and that Mr Bentham has said expressly of the trial by jury, that 'it is an institution admirable in barbarous times, not fit for enlightened times,' though it may be 'necessary as matters stand in England?'

That this contrivance of a jury accomplishes that separation of the fact from the law, without which the latter can never attain to maturity, is a proposition at which it is impossible not to hesitate, when we find that, in a great majority of cases, the fact and the law together are sent as inseparable to the Jury on the general issue. In such cases, how is the law separated, but by the direction of the Judge? And would not his decision separate it as well directly, as by the intervention of a jury, whose mistake may make a new trial, or a plea in arrest of judgment indispensable? In all cases, where it is possible to separate the fact in a verdict, it would be easy to provide that the court should also separate it in their judgment; and that this judgment, upon evidence, should only be liable to review, under the same conditions as are now required for reviewing the verdict of a jury.

But, conceding this point like the last, and admitting that jury-trial is an excellent thing in the excellent English system of procedure, we should beg leave to ask whether it follows as a necessary consequence that it would prove an excellent thing in ours? It is connected in that country with an immense multitude of institutions, which it has not yet been proposed to us to adopt;—with their whole system of pleading—courts of equity distinct from courts of law—bills of exception—special verdicts—attaints—challenges—new trials—tie-turners—arrests of judgment—and writs of error. With the help of all these to controul, correct, and assist it, jury-trial may be allowed to have been found serviceable in England. Without these it may be fairly presumed, it would be found pernicious and inconvenient. Are we to borrow all this complicated and cumbrous part of the English law? We have never understood that this was intended. Are we then to take trial by jury, without what are there considered

fidered as its neceffary correctives and accompaniments? Is not this a hazard fomewhat too great for the advantage that it promifes? Or, are we to devife a new fort of correctives and regulations, better accommodated to our own ufages, and amalgamating more kindly with our own forms? We doubt much if all the lawyers of both countries, affembled in one vaft confultation, could digeft fuch a fyftem, or fave the country from much inconvenience and difcontent in the courfe of the experiment.

The judicial inftitutions of a nation are parts of its living body. They have been developed together from one radical germ; and have modified each other in the courfe of their expanfion. The fame blood circulates through them all; and they fupport and are fupported along the whole chain of their dependence. Another nation may admire them, and may adopt the habits by which they were gradually produced; but it cannot borrow them, and ingraft them at once on itfelf, any more than a man can borrow the legs or arms of his more beautiful neighbour. The nofes of Turks are handfomer than thofe of negroes; but if a beau of Caffraria fhould become ambitious of fuch an ornament, and fhould fend to Conftantinople to obtain one, he would find, in the firft place, that it would not fuit his complexion, nor harmonize with the reft of his features; and, in the fecond place, that it would not grow on his face; and that he had mangled his natural countenance, in a vain attempt to perfonate a different fpecies.

It cannot appear a very chimerical apprehenfion, that *we* fhould be embarraffed with the new powers and rights of Juries, when it appears that our neighbours, who have been praifing them from time immemorial, have not yet agreed about the moft elementary principles. The old maxim was, that the Jury fhould try fact, and the court decide upon law. But the impoffibility of feparating thefe two before trial, foon gave rife to general iffues, upon which the Jury had unqueftionably a power to determine on both together. The judges however contended, that they were *bound* to follow their direction as to the law; and that, though they had the power to difregard it, it was a power to do an illegal act, as much as the power, which a murderer has to cut the throat of a fleeping man. They have been wrangling upon this fundamental point in the inftitution for thefe laft fifty years; and it is fettled, we believe, nearly in this fatisfactory way,—all Judges maintain they have the right to dictate the law, and all Juries maintain they are bound to take no more of their doctrine than they approve of.

So lately as the year 1792, the twelve Judges gave a folemn and unanimous opinion on a reference in the Houfe of Lords,

that

that all Juries were bound 'to compound their verdict, of the fact, as it appears in evidence; and of the law, as it is declared to them by the Judge.' And the Legislature immediately proceeded to pass a statute, in the very face of this opinion, declaring, that in cases of libel, the Jury should try the guilt of the writing as well as the mere fact of publication. The Legislature, we think, was quite right upon constitutional and equitable grounds; but it would be bold to say that the twelve Judges were all ignorant of the law; and if the law stands as they then declared it, is it possible to conceive any thing more absurd than the eulogies which all parties have pronounced upon this institution of Juries? A nation, as the very perfection of wisdom, gives to twelve men the power of doing, what they [illegible] by law no right to do, and exposes them to great temptation [illegible] exercise this power. When they do exercise it, a great wrong is confessedly committed; and yet no remedy is provided for this wrong in many cases, and no effectual remedy in any case. In all criminal trials, the verdict is final; and in civil cases, the only means of redress is by a new trial, in which, if the Jury chuse to rebel a second time, the law must submit to violation. This appears to us to be miserable. If it be wise to intrust the law in these cases to Juries, it should be fairly admitted that they have the right to decide upon it according to their consciences. If it be really meant to deny them this right, the power should be taken from them, and arrest of judgment awarded on account of error in law, whether it appear on the record or not. If we are to have jury trial in Scotland, is this point to be settled for us by statute? or are we to succeed to the hereditary feud of English Judges and Juries?

It is not allowable, perhaps, to speak of the awkwardness with which we shall handle this new tool for a while, nor of the mischief we may do in our awkwardness. That is the necessary price of all alteration; and if it be clearly for the better, it should be paid cheerfully: but it is of more consequence to observe that there are some things in the habits and character of the Scotish nation that threaten to agree very ill with the institution of Juries in civil cases, and to make it prolific of much inconvenience. The chief use of Juries is, to cut short litigation upon fact, and to separate the law from it in pleadings and decisions; but in order to prevent this limitation from becoming oppressive, it has become lawful to send general issues to trial; and it is declared competent, in the resolutions, 'to complain of verdicts of Juries as being given contrary to evidence, or by misdirection in law.' Now, we in this country have been so long indulged in a tenacious adherence to all our pleas, and in such unlimited powers of

of appeal, that we apprehend it to be quite certain, that as many verdicts will be complained of, after Juries are established, as there are judgments complained of now that there are none; and that in all these cases, the complaint will be laid *both* on the misconstruction of evidence and misapprehension of the law. We shall therefore have a mixed pleading against every verdict just as long and as irregular as we now have against every judgment; and if these are to be in writing, they will not differ in any thing from our present breed of petitions; — except only, that as there will be no evidence on record, the parties will contradict each other more furiously as to the purport of what was delivered, and construe the notes of the Judge into a thousand opposite meanings. We have in vain endeavoured to get some light as to the practical rules by which the English courts proceed in rejecting or admitting motions for new trials; but from the habits and dispositions of this people, we venture to predict, that unless some vigorous system of rejection be adopted, no one litigant will stop at the first verdict, if bold allegations and relentless importunity can help him to a second.

It may be proper to consider also, that the middling ranks of the Scotch are conceited, irritable, self-willed and sagacious, far beyond the average of English jurymen; and that the Judges, from their great number, have not hitherto sat so high above them as in the sister kingdom. It is probable, therefore, that they will be considerably more intractable and absurd than English Juries usually are.

It may next be observed, that in many parts of the country the old clannish spirit is still too strong to admit safely of this appeal to the vicinage. We believe the Campbells, and Gordons, and Sutherlands, to be a very honourable and valiant race; but we should be afraid that it would be no easy matter to get a verdict against the Duke of Argyle, or Gordon, or the Countess of Sutherland, within the sphere of the family influence.

Finally, it should be considered that we are a much more litigious people than the English, and that the duty of acting as Jurymen would consequently be much more oppressive. In Edinburgh, it is probable, we should need as many juries as are now assembled in Westminster; and this, considering the relative population, would be a burden altogether intolerable. If our Juries should consist of fifteen, as they do in criminal cases, the disproportion would be still greater.

We have thrown out these free and hasty considerations on the nature of Juries in civil cases, with a view to lead men to a sober and dispassionate consideration of this great measure; and we have enlarged the more upon the apparent hazards and disad-

vantages

vantages of the institution, because the tide of public opinion, as well as the inclinations of those in office, appear to us to run too strongly in an opposite direction. In such a situation, it seems unnecessary to state, at any length, the arguments which may be employed in favour of this experiment; but as we have declared, in the outset, that we are inclined to have it put upon its trial, we shall run over, in a very few words, the reasons that reconcile us to this opinion, in spite of the doubts and difficulties that are suggested by the preceding considerations.

In the first place, there is a considerable class of cases, in which, from their affinity to criminal actions, it seems manifest that Juries should be admitted; and we think it probable, that it will be chiefly in this department that they will be first employed. Whenever the question turns upon the demerit of one individual, and the suffering of another, we think a jury of persons of the same rank is by far the most equitable tribunal.

In the next place, we think that very considerable advantage may be derived from putting the Judge to the necessity of making the law, and the reason of the law, intelligible to an ordinary Jury. This increases the authority and knowledge of the law throughout the country, and will lead the Judge himself to perceive the fantastical or unreasonable parts of it more readily, than any form of intercourse with those who have studied it as a science. Its equity and reasonableness is thus repeatedly tried upon the minds of the middling and most important classes; and what is absurd, or no longer applicable, is more speedily discarded, than by the slower conviction of those who have been educated in a reverence for the whole system. In this point of view, even the rebellion of the Jury against the direction of the Judge, if it be not done in pet or caprice, may be of use in accelerating the abolition of oppressive maxims. The rigour of the letter may receive a temperament from the mediation of this more sympathizing body; and the rust be rubbed off the engine, without impairing its powers.

In the third place, we suspect that a formal institution of this kind may be necessary, in order to insure that separation of the fact from the law, without which the latter can never become systematical; and though we are sensible that it performs this function in an imperfect manner, we are not aware that there is any other on which we could depend upon its being performed so well. To give it full effect, we should be very slow in granting new trials on pretence of misconstruction of evidence; and should either grant them very freely on proof of error in law, or allow judgement to be stayed in all cases, upon this ground alone; and that whether the error appeared on the record or not, if it was sufficiently certain, by the Judge's report or otherwise, that the verdict

dict had proceeded on such erroneous or questionable law. This would plainly be a much more effectual method of getting the better of such erroneous verdicts than new trial, and would answer the great end of separating the law from the fact infinitely better.

In the last place, the use of jury trial would probably insure a greater despatch than could be commanded in any other way, without great harshness; and would, at the same time, have a tendency to raise the consideration and characters of that great middling population, on whose intelligence and self-esteem, the welfare and strength of a nation depends so immediately.

For these reasons, we repeat, that we are very much disposed to encourage the experiment of introducing Juries, though our expectations from the effect are not altogether so exalted as those of many people seem to be. It is partly on account of this diffidence of the issue, and partly from a sincere anxiety that the experiment should not be defeated by the rash repentance and unreasonable alarm of those who are now most rash in their hopes, and most unreasonable in their confidence, that we are, above all things, solicitous that it should be gone about in a temperate, circumspect, and gradual manner; and that we should not be hurried at once into a state of things, from which we could not escape but by a disgraceful or ridiculous retreat. It is but reasonable to expect that some embarrassment and perplexity will be encountered in the first stages of the experiment; and that advantage will be taken of this, by all who disapprove of the system, to excite a general clamour and show of discontent throughout the country. This revulsion of public opinion is most to be apprehended in those light and empty bustlers, who are now loudest in their cry for reformation; and, in order to guard against the effect of the panic they may inspire, we should think it adviseable not to advance so far as to give any reasonable cause of alarm. The experiment should be tried avowedly as an experiment; and the effect of a reformation in the *other* parts of our present system, should be tried separately at the same time.

If the obvious reforms which have been suggested in our present system be sufficient to remove most of its evils, the necessity of hazarding so great an innovation as jury-trial, may not be so apparent. It is expedient, we think, to try what can be made of our old law before we perplex ourselves with a new one; or, if the prospect of still further improvement should induce us to make the experiment, we should try it at least on a separate subject, and have something more solid than theory and conjecture to go upon, before we absolutely abolish the only forms with which the country is acquainted.

In

In illustration of this view, we should humbly suggest, therefore, that, instead of the plan indicated in the Resolutions, something to the following purport should be adopted. The court of Session to be divided into *two* chambers, each consisting of six Judges,—four to sit together as an Inner-House in each chamber, and two to be constantly in the Outer-House, hearing and trying causes individually. *One* only of these chambers to have power, at their discretion, to try cases by a Jury. The other to have it in their power to send special issues to them to try in that manner; and in all cases where they do not exercise this power, to be bound to examine witnesses in their own presence, or that of their Outer-House Judges; except where proof is to be taken abroad, or in other extraordinary circumstances. All pleadings in the Outer-House to be *viva voce* only; in the Inner-House upon short printed cases. All pleas, in fact or in law, to be entered on the record, with the deliverances of the Judges; but no argument in detail. Judgments upon evidence to be liable to review, only on the same terms as verdicts of Juries; and judgments of the Inner-House on law, only to be opened up by an order of the Court granted upon cause shown on a motion for a new hearing. Occasional consultations of the two chambers; but no intermediate court of appeal.

We throw out these hints hastily, and with more inward humility than will be guessed at, we fear, from the expression. Our object is to excite some attention to a subject of no vulgar importance, to suggest reflections, and to abate prepossessions on both sides of the question. Our purpose will be answered, if any body is roused to confute every thing we have advanced. We have no bigotted attachment to any of the doctrines we have delivered; and are only anxious that their real tendency should be discovered by more competent judges, before any thing is done upon them, that cannot be well persisted in, or handsomely recalled. The country, we think, is greatly indebted to the disinterested zeal and activity of those by whom this necessary reformation has been undertaken; and the steps they have already taken, give us the firmest assurance that they will not cancel the obligation, by carrying it through in an imperious, precipitate, or improvident manner

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INDEX.

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A

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